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ETIENNE HENRY GILSON

1884 - 1978

Danti mihi sapientiam dabo gloriam.

ETIENNE HENRY GILSON (1884-1978)

Laurence K. Shook, C.S.B.

Etienne Gilson died in the Centre Hospitalier, Auxerre, early Tuesday morning 19 September 1978. He had moved some five days before to the hospital from his home in Cravant, where he had passed the last quiet years of retirement. In hospital he retained his usual lively awareness right up to the last day when he fell into a coma and passed away peacefully. He knew he was going to die and eagerly received the last rites of the Church from the hospital chaplain, M. l'abbé Bernard Gallet. His body was taken to a chapel in, appropriately, the Cathédrale de Saint-Etienne, Auxerre, from where it was brought before the main altar for the funeral Mass on Friday 22 September. Professor Gilson had asked that the obsequies be simple and intimate, which they were—held at 9 o'clock in the morning with his family and close friends present, and a number of representatives from the Académie Française, the Collège de France, the University of Paris, the Government, the military, most of these also close friends. Also present were the three de Paulhacs (the present owners of Vrin), Mlle Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny who is directing the *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, and three Fellows from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. The principal celebrant of the concelebrated Mass was Msgr. Denis Ponsot, vicar general of the archbishop of Sens-Auxerre, Msgr. Eugène Ernoult. The celebrant first read the warm and deeply appreciative letter from the archbishop to the members of the Gilson family and the friends who were with them, pointing out the great indebtedness of the French Church and of all the People of God to the work of Etienne Gilson on their behalf. Priests present, most of whom were concelebrants, were Robert Lechien, rector of the Cathedral, Henry Rouyer the vicar general for Auxerre, Père M.-D. Chenu, O.P. and H. D. Saffrey, O.P. (the one Gilson's oldest living friend, the other the present prior of the Saulchoir house in Paris), the past and present curés of Vermenton and Cravant, a number of other local clergy, and three Fellows from the Institute in Toronto: Edward A. Synan, president, Laurence K. Shook, C.S.B., and Edmund Colledge, O.S.A. The plain oak coffin was draped with a pall, on which were laid the sword and cocked hat of the Académie, and a large bronze laurel

emblematic of the countless *palmes académiques* which Gilson had received during his long life. He was buried with his wife Thérèse in the North Cemetery of Melun with prayers read by Père Chenu.

I

Born 13 June 1884 in Paris, Avenue Lamotte-Picquet 25, in the parish of Saint-Pierre-du-Gros-Cailou, Etienne Henry Gilson attended first the Christian Brothers' free or private school in the neighbouring parish of Sainte-Clotilde where, as he has said, he received the foundations of both his faith and his metaphysics, and then, through *belles-lettres* in 1901, the important diocesan Little Seminary of Notre-Dame-des-Champs where he became deeply immersed in classical languages, the three literatures, music and religion. For his philosophy he transferred to Lycée Henri IV from which he took his *baccalauréat ès lettres-philosophie*. During 1903-1904 he served his year of military service in the new barracks at Eu in Normandy, where he began writing his informative *Lettres à Maman* which he continued sporadically in subsequent absences from Paris. In 1904 he became a student in the Sorbonne, taking successfully his *licence* in 1905 and his *diplôme d'études supérieures* in 1907 from the Faculté des Lettres and also in 1907 his teaching *agrégation* from the Ministère d'Instruction Publique. That year he was the only Sorbonne student to pass his tests and become an *agrégé*. While at the Sorbonne, Gilson took courses from Léon Brunschvicg (general philosophy), Frédéric Rauh (ethics), Emile Durkheim, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Marcel Mauss (French philosophy and sociology). With Victor Delbos he acquired special interests, writing, for example, a class paper (which survives, with Delbos' comments) on Malebranche's polemic against Aristotle and scholastic philosophy, and studying the works of Maine de Biran. Since all these Sorbonne professors were Descartes scholars, it is not surprising that Gilson elected to write his thesis on Descartes, nor that he chose for his director the clearest lecturer of them all, Lévy-Bruhl. How he came to work on Descartes' medieval background, he used often to tell his students: 'I really wanted to do something on pure philosophy. Ever since I had followed my first course with Bergson in the Collège de France when I was still a student in Lycée Henri IV, I was deeply stirred by philosophy itself. My professors urged me to do something more "positive". All right, I said, I will choose something in the history of philosophy, if that is positive enough.' Apparently it was. His empathy with Bergson endured into his old age: 'I have known in my lifetime', he said one day during his retirement, 'three men who were unquestionably great philosophers: Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Henri Bergson. The first two I knew through their writings alone; Bergson I also experienced in the act of philosophizing—which is somehow different.' Nevertheless he trained as, and was always formally to claim to be, a historian of philosophy.

Between 1907 and 1913, Gilson was appointed successively to six lycées and taught in five of them: Bourg-en-Bresse, Rochefort, Tours, Saint-Quentin, (Orléans), and Angers. In these schools he taught no scholasticism, no Thomism, but the general spiritualism, *morale*, logic and history prescribed by the Ministry through its control of the examinations. While in the lycées he worked independently on Descartes' background and produced in five years his two complementary theses which, when published, were called *La liberté chez Descartes et la théologie* and *Index scolastico-cartésien*. In 1908 he married his distant cousin, Thérèse Ravisé of Melun, and established his lifelong patterns of intense domesticity, wide and profound cultural interests especially in music, a feverish work pace, and a sense of mission which expressed itself in thorough classroom preparation, impatience to get his work published, and a willingness to give public lectures when asked. Gilson's defence of his theses, 29 January 1913, the year he was teaching at Angers, was a memorable event, and received a good deal of publicity in learned journals and societies, partly through the approval it received from the Sorbonne masters, partly because the examining board (Lévy-Bruhl, Lalande, Delbos for philosophy, Picavet for medieval thought, Delacroix for theology and Rebelliau for Descartes criticism) gave it a *mention très honorable*, and partly too for the good order and extreme clarity Gilson brought to the subject. His work on these theses convinced him that, for its own integrity, thought should never be isolated from theology. Just before and just after his defence, his daughters Jacqueline and Cécile were born. His son Bernard was born later in 1929. Shortly after the defence in January, and still awaiting a university appointment, Gilson resolved to prepare some lectures on St. Thomas which he hoped sometime to be able to offer in one of the national universities. The opportunity came quickly. In August of 1913, the Ministry appointed him to the University of Lille where the rector, M. Lyon, asked him to give, in addition to his closed university courses, two public courses: one of twelve lectures on the history of secondary education and one of twenty-five lectures on the system of Thomas Aquinas. The rector was aware that his university was suffering, by comparison with nearby Louvain, because it ignored St. Thomas; moreover, Lille had a reputation among the citizens of the city of being soft on freemasonry. The rector hoped that Gilson and St. Thomas might restore public confidence. Thus he came to give eventually about twenty-five lectures on St. Thomas' 'system', nine of which, some only in summary, were printed serially in Strowski's eclectic *Revue des cours et conférences*. Only the outbreak of war prevented the entire series from appearing. Gilson also began, this year at Lille, a private research project on the mysticism of St. Bonaventure. Thus he wrote to Maman in November 1913: 'I am splashing about as I please in Bonaventure, and the exercise is both hard work and a fine existence.'

All this new activity was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of war in August 1914. Gilson was called up immediately as a sergeant and began shortly to train

sergeants behind the lines, a task which he continued for the next nine months. During this period he also trained as a machine gunner. He was moved to the Verdun front 17 June 1915 where he became a second lieutenant and won the Croix de guerre. On 16 February 1916 he was dug out of a shell hole by his batman only to find himself covered by enemy guns. He was a prisoner of war until the end of 1918, first at Mainz, then at Vörenbach in the Schwarzwald, then in Burg-bei-Magdeburg, and finally in Ströhlen, Kreis Sulingen (lower Saxony). He spent over two and a half years in the prison camps and made use of the time to study modern languages—English, German, Russian especially—with fellow prisoners. He continued working on Bonaventure, whose works local booksellers brought to the camp, and also wrote (and got published in Paris) an article entitled 'Du fondement des jugements esthétiques' (*Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* 83 [1917] 524-46). On one occasion he prepared and delivered in prison a short course of lectures on Bergson which he was later to revise and give again in Rio de Janeiro in 1936.

In 1919, Gilson returned to Lille and his interrupted teaching. Within a few months he was named to the Strasbourg mission and chaired the faculty committee which planned the gala reopening in the fall of 1919 of that venerable university. For two years he was professor of the history of philosophy at Strasbourg, working closely with Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch on how best to prepare universities to cope with the new disciplines emerging from philosophy and history. Out of such reflections came many of the teaching and research strategies that were to go into his own programme for medieval studies. While at Strasbourg he published the Lille lectures under the title of *Le thomisme*, which he thought a useful but undigested book, and he was to continue revising and updating it to correspond with his own development. A better volume from the Strasbourg years was the collection of his early papers, *Etudes de philosophie médiévale*. It was from Strasbourg that he attended the Oxford Conference of 1921 which, though not a fully international conference—it was still too close to the war for that—was a major gathering of philosophers, including Bergson who gave the Inaugural, Sir James Eddington, A. N. Whitehead, Bertrand Russell, Baron von Hügel. This was Gilson's first experience of such a gathering. Although he gave no paper, he discovered secrets he was to put to good use in the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of Philosophy in Naples 1924 and at Harvard 1926. Moreover, he remained in England with Thérèse for ten wonderful days during which he acquired an admiration for the English, their universities, and the personal scholarship of their professors which was never to leave him.

The years 1921 to 1926 were marked by Gilson's splendid lecture courses in the Sorbonne and seminars in the Ecole pratique des Hautes-Etudes and by the appearance of some highly successful books: *La philosophie de saint Bonaventure*, the third edition of *Le thomisme* (which appeared in Bullough's English translation

before it came out in French), and his richly annotated edition of Descartes' *Discours de la méthode*, which was to be reprinted for decades. In these years, too, he made his first lecture tours into Belgium (Brussels) and England, when word began to spread that a competent and altogether different kind of Thomist philosopher—and a Catholic too, who was working within the French national universities—was on the scene.

Gilson's *annus mirabilis* came in 1926. First, in April, he replaced the president of the University of Paris, who fell ill, on a delegation to an industrialists' congress called by the Canadian National Council of Education in Montréal over which Vincent Massey presided. Gilson read not only a conference paper on this occasion on St. Thomas and education, but also an important extra-conciliar paper jointly requested by the Canadian Franciscans who were marking the 500th anniversary of the death of St. Francis and by the Department of Philosophy of the University of Montréal. The subject of this paper was 'Saint Thomas and Franciscan Thought'. In the audience, unknown to Gilson was Father Henry Carr who resolved on the spot that one day Gilson would come to his St. Michael's College in Toronto where already Msgr. Leon Noel of Louvain had been giving courses. Secondly, also in 1926, Gilson and Gabriel Théry, O.P. launched *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, as a service to scholars and as a kind of *rapprochement* between thought and letters. The third extraordinary event of this year was Gilson's second visit to America to attend the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy in Cambridge, at which he read two papers. Preceding the Congress he gave a summer course at the University of Virginia, and following it he stayed on at Harvard for the fall as exchange professor of philosophy. He returned to Harvard in this same capacity in the autumn of 1927 and 1928. In 1929 he spent the first of many autumns to come at his own Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, dividing the bulk of his teaching time henceforth between Paris and Toronto.

Gilson's first visit to Toronto took place between 30 January and 2 February 1927 when, after his first half year at Harvard, he made a lecture tour to Urbana, Chicago, Montréal, Quebec City, Ottawa, Toronto, New York. During his three days in Toronto he discussed with Fathers Carr, Phelan, McCorkell and others the feasibility of establishing there the kind of programme in medieval studies which he had been thinking about for now six or seven years. The Institute of Mediaeval Studies was formally opened 30 September 1929.

From 1929 to 1940 Gilson's courses were usually given in Paris and Toronto, with visits to universities in Europe and North and South America. Until 1932 his Paris station was the Sorbonne and the Ecole pratique des Hautes-Etudes; thereafter, it became the Collège de France to which he was elected in that year. He particularly liked the Collège de France because it allowed him a fairly flexible schedule, called for only thirty lectures a year, and provided him with a personal chair in the history of medieval philosophies. His printed *exposé de titres*—a

statement of what he took medieval thought to be and of his own qualifications for such a chair if and when established—is also a commentary on the programme of medieval studies he was planning to establish in Toronto in 1935 when the younger scholars whose studies he was even then directing would be returning to the Institute.

The thirties marked Gilson's returning interest in pure philosophy as his two sequences of books and major articles after 1928 make clear. In the first of these sequences, which can be said to begin with his *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1929), he was constantly coping with St. Augustine's expression 'Christian philosophy' and moving into the position he proposed to the Société française de philosophie, 21 March 1931, in his magistral 'La notion de philosophie chrétienne', a presentation of positions he was taking as he worked on his three successive lecture series, the Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen (1931-32), the Henry James Lectures at Harvard (1936), the Richards Lectures at Charlottesville (1937), all of which made important books: *L'esprit de la philosophie médiévale*, 2 volumes (Paris: J. Vrin, 1932); *The Unity of Philosophical Experience* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937); *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938). The second sequence in which Gilson's more philosophical stance can be observed began with several controversial papers which he finally pulled together for Yves Simon and published as *Le réalisme méthodique* (Paris: Pierre Téqui, 1935), and revised and republished in the even more controversial *Réalisme thomiste et critique de la connaissance* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1939). Gilson's concern here—what did Saint Thomas say and mean?—was that contemporary criteriologies were Kantian critiques, not the Thomism of Thomas Aquinas, and he had to be more than a historian to make his point. While all this was occupying him, Gilson worked also for the welfare of his Institute. He succeeded, after trying since 1928, to get Jacques Maritain to come to Toronto in 1933, his first visit to America and the first of a long series of courses given in Toronto. Gilson also, with Fathers Carr, V. L. Kennedy, and T. P. McLaughlin, sought and obtained in several stages pontifical approval of his Institute project. By 1935 he had his request before the Holy See, not for a faculty or faculties of theology and philosophy as he at first requested, envisaging the Institute's needs in terms of the provisions of *Deus scientiarum dominus*, but for, *simpliciter*, a Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. He was always grateful to Msgr. (later Cardinal) Ernesto Ruffini for telling him to ask for what he wanted, not for something he did not want. The pontifical charter came through in 1939, four years after the provisional programme had been implemented.

The patterns of the thirties were broken by the outbreak of World War II during which Gilson remained in Paris, gave his lectures in the Collège de France, and revised and updated some of his earlier works, notably *Le thomisme* (twice), *L'introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin*, and *La philosophie de saint Bonaventure*.

Also during the war, in the tradition of spirituality he had set with his *La théologie mystique de saint Bernard* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1934), he gave his important inaugural lecture of the chair in history of spirituality in the Institut Catholique de Paris: 'Théologie et histoire de la spiritualité', which marked what was to be one of his dominant interests for the rest of his life.

Following the war new kinds of recognition—other, that is, than academic—came to Gilson: he was sent as a member of the French Delegation to the San Francisco Conference 1945, to UNESCO 1946, to The Hague 1948. He was appointed a *conseiller* or senator of La République by the party leaders of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire. Above all, he was admitted to L'Académie Française in 1947. One setback came during these postwar years, namely, the 'Affaire Gilson' which arose over a combined political issue and a misrepresentation. The political issue was whether France should be part of the Atlantic Pact or take a position of armed neutrality as the best way of countering Russian influence; the misrepresentation concerned remarks on neutrality he was supposed to have made at a private reception in the United States. Time was quick to rectify the misrepresentation: 'L'affaire tournait à la confusion des accusateurs' (*Le Monde*, 10 March 1951); but slower to justify his politics: 'Il avait raison', said *Le Monde*, 22 September 1978.

The Gilson of the fifties, sixties, seventies, has been an unrepentant Thomist, a rigorous and demanding historian of medieval thought, an informative and entertaining expositor of texts, an outspoken but on the whole patient objector to changes in the Church since Vatican II. His publications in various fields have continued and are well known to most readers of this journal. Generally unknown, however, is the full nature of his personal sacrifices for learning and for the Church in a long life governed by his dedication to both. Close friends know of his frustration in prison when his father died in 1916, and his anguish at his mother's passing in 1937, and his total desolation when Thérèse died in 1949. No one knows the full story of his sacrifices in revenue and domestic consolation that his mission to truth and learning might go on. The following excerpt from a letter to his wife from Harvard speaks volumes: 'I see that our present separation is a bitter grief to you. You can be sure that I am not happy about it either. I have to go over and over again in my mind all the reasons I once had for our present situation just to explain to myself how I happen to be here at all. I believe I have acted reasonably; I am not sure that I have acted well. What I feel confident about is that the way I have taken is the only exit open to us to a less wretched material future. I cannot find it in me to become resigned to the programme ahead of us. Only the future can tell us how right or wrong our calculations were; and this in no way alleviates my present anguish in trying to live without you. I am lost, my dear, without your love and our life together' (19 October 1926). 19 October in 1926 was a Tuesday. It is unlikely that anyone in his classes on Wednesday, 20 October even suspected this side of

their brilliant and inspiring exchange professor. In a sense, this was the trouble with Gilson: he thought that to reveal his utter humanity was a weakness. The result is that there were always two Gilsons, and the finer one was only too often the one he refused to show. Jean Guitton of the Académie Française had something like this in mind, but did not quite say it, in his beautiful tribute in *Le Monde* the day before Gilson's funeral. After recalling how as Gilson's student in the Sorbonne, he could hear him lecture one hour on St. Thomas and the next on Descartes and be moved to say: what a Thomist Gilson is, and how remarkable is Thomas *gilsonise*! What a Cartesian Gilson is and how remarkable is Descartes *gilsonise*! This, of course, was Gilson the great and positive teacher. Guitton goes on: 'After fifteen years in the Académie Française, I have discovered another Gilson, no longer the professor but the man: square-shouldered, plump, heavy: plainly demonstrating plain sense through paradox, concealing tenderness by bullying. How marvellous he was in his digressions: friend to all the arts, musician, philosopher of painting, learned as men are learned no longer.... perhaps he was our last French humanist; and how Catholic he was in the full sense of that word.'

II

The life of any man is beyond summary: the long and full life of Etienne Gilson is particularly so. It covered almost exactly one half the life-span of France itself since the Revolution, and touched on a wide range of that nation's rich and varied experience: on its philosophy and academics, on its statecraft and politics, its peace, wars, journalism, its theology, literature, music, and, in a sparkling way, on its missions of mind and mercy to the outside world. If, however, the details of his life are beyond summary, its legacies are not. They can arbitrarily be said to be four in number.

Gilson's first legacy to scholars, and above all to scholars interested in the Middle Ages, is a sense of perspective. Everything medieval has its own combination of perspectives; and scholars have to start with them. Too long, he felt, have the Middle Ages been viewed, and especially in France, from the perspective of rationalist philosophy, and in England from that of Reformation history. Nor is it enough to replace them by a Thomist perspective. Each document, each thought has to be approached on its own set of terms. Gilson's classical illustration of this was shared with the members of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy in 1926 when he addressed them on the need for reading Arab philosophers from an Arab, not a Christian, point of view. Medievalists of today have largely accepted this legacy.

Gilson's second legacy has to do with a discipline, the discipline of philosophy which tries to divorce from philosophical speculation real knowledge coming from other than rational sources. The result is an inadequacy within the discipline itself.

Knowledge is properly knowledge when its object is truth, and philosophy focussed on truth, albeit revealed truth, continues to be both philosophical and philosophy. Gilson spent much of his life in a defence, not really of the Middle Ages, nor indeed of theology, but of philosophy itself. Certainly he made progress with his defence, but he has not settled the problem. Progress of this kind is also a legacy, even though not accepted.

A third legacy, largely of Gilson's own making, one sparked along the way by his own preference for *opera omnia* over individual pieces and by his having encountered here and there a Henri Bergson, a Lévy-Bruhl, a Marc Bloch, an A. N. Whitehead, a J. D. M. Ford, a Ralph Barton Perry, a Gerald B. Phelan, and a Jacques Maritain, is a professional medieval programme that is specialized, is interdisciplinary, is subject to one queen, and makes the sensible prerequisite that a medievalist be able to read medieval texts. This legacy, like the first, is widely accepted.

The fourth legacy from Gilson to his survivors is a host of persons inside and outside the world's academic communities who now look knowledgeably and pleasurably on medieval studies through his profound yet readable books, and through his generous response to endless invitations to speak to his ideas in all parts of the world.



ANTON CHARLES PEGIS (1905-1978)

Armand Maurer, C.S.B.

Anton Charles Pegis was born 24 August 1905 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His parents, Costas and Euphrosyne Pegis, were of Greek descent, and they provided their son with an education in the Greek language, thus giving him an invaluable tool for his future studies in philosophy. He attended Marquette University, receiving the B.A. in 1928 and the M.A. in 1929. While he was a scholarship student at the University of Chicago in the fall of 1928, he attended the classes of Paul Shorey, who lectured on Plato and Aristotle, and Carl Buck, who taught ancient Greek dialects. These professors instilled in him a profound love of Greek literature and philosophy that remained with him throughout his life.

In the fall of 1929 Pegis entered the newly founded Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, where he studied and carried on his research in philosophy under the direction of Etienne Gilson and Gerald Phelan. In 1931 he received the Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Toronto. His doctoral dissertation, *The Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century*, was published by the Institute in the St. Michael's College series *Mediaeval Studies*.

Pegis started his teaching career in 1931 in the Department of Philosophy of Marquette University. In 1937 he left to join the faculty of Fordham University, but he always maintained close ties with his alma mater. From 1964 to 1973 he was a special visiting lecturer at Marquette, and this university conferred on him an honorary LL.D. in 1956 and the Alumni Merit Award in 1972.

In 1944 Pegis became a member of the staff of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, as professor of the history of philosophy. He was also elected the Institute's first Fellow. In the same year he became professor of philosophy in the Graduate Department of Philosophy in the University of Toronto. From 1946 to 1952 he was president of the Institute. Under his direction the Institute flourished: the staff in history, philosophy and theology was enlarged and the auxiliary disciplines, especially Latin and palaeography, were promoted; the Publications Department was also expanded.

For many years Pegis regularly attended the meetings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, giving it his enthusiastic support and frequently addressing its members. He was elected president of the Association in 1946 and in 1975 he received its Aquinas Medal. In 1950 he was elected to the Royal Society of Canada.

In 1952 Pegis resigned the presidency of the Pontifical Institute and accepted the editorial directorship of the Catholic Textbook Division of Doubleday and Company in New York. This move was prompted by his concern for high standards in Catholic publications. Among the many books published under his direction were the popular *Image Book* series. He himself edited *A Gilson Reader: Selections from the Writings of Etienne Gilson*. During the next nine years he remained a Fellow of the Institute, returning to Toronto to give occasional lectures. In 1961 he moved back to Toronto and taught full time at the Institute and University of Toronto. He became emeritus in 1971, but such was his popularity as a teacher that he was asked to continue his graduate lectures. This he did until his retirement in 1974. During his last years he taught an advanced course in the philosophy of St. Thomas at St. Michael's College, Toronto. He was also actively engaged in developing a graduate Center of Thomistic Studies in the University of St. Thomas in Houston, Texas. Besides drawing up the programme of the Center and stocking the library with needed books, he offered lectures on the philosophy of St. Thomas in confrontation with modern philosophy. His final lectures were given only a few days before his death on 13 May 1978 in Wellesley Hospital, Toronto.

Pegis came to philosophy through reading the Greek authors. When, under the guidance of his professors at Toronto, he discovered the riches of mediaeval thought, he found Greek philosophical ideas still living but transformed and deepened in their new Christian setting. He came face to face with the reality of mediaeval philosophy, and especially Thomism, as both a genuine philosophy and a child of Christian revelation. Thus he readily accepted the notion of Christian philosophy proposed by Pope Leo XIII in *Aeterni patris* and defended by Etienne Gilson. In his *Christian Philosophy and Intellectual Freedom* Pegis wrote that '... the light of divine truth helps the human intellect to philosophize in a better way, and does this without in the least coloring or compromising the specific nature of philosophy.' Throughout his life Pegis strongly defended the rationality of philosophy, while convinced that Christian revelation, far from destroying that rationality, strengthens and improves it.

The philosophy of St. Thomas appeared to Pegis as the finest example of Christian philosophy, and he wrote and lectured extensively to make it better known and understood. His two-volume *Basic Writings of St. Thomas* made Thomism available to thousands. It is in the works of St. Thomas, he insisted, that Thomism is to be found, not in the scholastic manuals. He never tired of reminding his students that Thomism is first and foremost a theology, and that the philosophy

contained in Thomism is functionally part of a theology. As such it lacks the freedom and independence proper to a philosophy. To excerpt St. Thomas' philosophy from its theological setting and present it as 'Thomistic Philosophy' yields not a philosophy but a dead theology. Thus the modern Thomistic philosopher has the task of creating a philosophy true to the philosophical principles of Aquinas, in dialogue with contemporary philosophers and scientists, and open to the light of Christian revelation.

Though Pegis' research in the history of philosophy and his personal philosophical inquiry covered a wide range of topics, they focussed on the twin Augustinian themes of God and the soul. In article after article he examined the way to God in the writings of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas and Henry of Ghent. With St. Thomas he was convinced that the philosopher's chief occupation must be the search for God. Second only to this, in his view, should be reflection on the human person. At the beginning of his career he wrote his doctoral thesis on the problem of the soul in the thirteenth century, and he continued throughout his life to reflect on man, human knowledge and freedom, and the unity of man. He saw the human person as an incarnated spirit, the embodiment of his spirit being a necessary and natural condition for its growth towards God.

Pegis' main concern was to be himself a philosopher, using as tools the history of philosophy and contemporary philosophical ideas. He read deeply in the modern philosophers, especially Husserl, and in later life some of his most memorable and popular lectures were devoted to the problem of intentionality against the background of Husserl's phenomenology and the philosophies of Aristotle and St. Thomas.

On the occasion of his retirement, colleagues and friends of Pegis published a *Festschrift* entitled *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974). This volume contains a bibliography of his writings up to 1974. To this bibliography the following items should be added:

'After Seven Hundred Years: St. Thomas Aquinas in 1974', *Eglise et théologie* 5 (1974) 137-53

'The Second Conversion of St. Augustine' in *Gesellschaft-Kultur-Literatur ... Beiträge Luitpold Wallach gewidmet*, ed. Karl Bosl (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1975), pp. 79-93

'Medalist's Address', *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 49 (1975) 228-37

'Human Intelligence and Symbolization' in *The Origins and Future of Life*, ed. Michael Pisano (New York: St. John's University, 1976), pp. 43-55.

Pegis' death regrettably prevented his completing books he had been writing for many years: the multi-volume *The World of the Philosophers* and *St. Thomas and the Unity of Man*.

PETRUS DE BRACO AND HIS *REPUDIUM AMBITIONIS**

Norman P. Zacour

THE purpose of what follows is to rescue from obscurity a curious poem of some historical if no literary value, and in so doing to bring together what little can be learned of the career of its author, a fourteenth-century lawyer named Petrus de Braco. Not much is known about him. Hitherto it has amounted to three unquestioned facts: that he came from Piacenza, flourished around 1380, and wrote two works, a *Repertorium iuris canonici* and a *Compendium iuris canonici*. All three are wrong.

Early in the eighteenth century Casimir Oudin drew attention to some manuscripts of Petrus de Braco on canon law. He then went on, however, for no apparent reason other than the similarity of name, to identify him with a certain Joannes Petrus Bracchus of Piacenza who had been known as the translator of some orations of Demosthenes and dialogues of Lucian from Greek to Latin. To this he added the conjecture that Petrus de Braco flourished around 1380, although we may note here once for all that he was dead before 14 January 1352.¹ Fabrizio's brief note merely repeated all this; and although a few years later Giammaria Mazzuchelli wisely hesitated to accept the view that Petrus de Braco was the same person as the translator of Demosthenes and Lucian, he unaccountably continued to describe him as being from Piacenza. In this he was followed by Girolamo Tiraboschi, and more importantly by Johann Friedrich von Schulte, whose work remains to the present day the starting point for all research in the sources and literature of medieval canon law and canon lawyers. It is no surprise, therefore, to find Petrus de Braco still

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¹ C. Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Frankfurt, 1722), 3.1219-20. He discovered Joannes Petrus Bracchus in Josiah Simmler, *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Zürich, 1555; rpt. Osnabrück, 1966), fol. 106v. He is possibly the 'Jo. Petr. Bracchus' to whom Josephus Niger Cremonensis addressed some verses in the sixteenth century; see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum I* (London-Leiden, 1963), p. 50. For the date of Petrus de Braco's death, see U. Berlière, *Suppliques de Clément VI* (Analecta Vaticano-Belgica 1; Rome-Brussels-Paris, 1906), p. 606 (no. 2341).

described as coming from Piacenza in the more recent notices of Chevalier, van Hove, and Chabanne.²

On the other hand, everything we know about him suggests that he came from southern France. There is no evidence that he was ever in Italy or received any Italian benefices. The first benefice granted him for which we have notice, when he must have been a young man (13 March 1318), was a canonry in the church of St. Alan in Lavaur, a new diocese recently carved out of the diocese of Toulouse.³ He still held this canonry some fifteen years later when acting as one of the executors for some collations made by Pope John XXII,⁴ by which time he held a second canonry in the church of Noyon. He would soon obtain a third in the cathedral church of Bourges.⁵

As an executor of papal provisions (in 1333) he was associated with a canon of Bourges who was the nephew and in the service of Etienne Aubert, professor of civil law at the University of Toulouse and also judge in the seneschal's court in Toulouse. Etienne was soon to become bishop of Noyon (1338-40), bishop of Clermont (1340-42), cardinal (September 1342), and ultimately pope (as Innocent VI, December 1352). That Petrus de Braco was also in his service in France from an early date is a reasonable conjecture, supported by a memorandum that Etienne drew up in 1338 while at Noyon, in which he listed Petrus among his *socii et capellani*.⁶ Petrus would spend the rest of his life with him. When Etienne went to the papal court in Avignon in 1342 after his appointment as a cardinal, so did Petrus, where he soon became an honorary chaplain of pope Clement VI.⁷ When

² J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis* (Padua, 1754), 1.267; G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia, 1763), 2/4.1968: 'Noi non osiamo di affermar francamente che questo Pietro de Braco sia lo stesso con quel Gio. Pietro Braco o Bracco pur Giureconsulto Piacentino che traslatò nella lingua Latina dalla Greca due orazioni di Demostene'; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, new edition (Florence, 1807), 5/2.377; J. F. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart* 2 (Stuttgart, 1877; rpt. Graz, 1956), pp. 262-63; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge: Bio-bibliographie* 1 (Paris, 1905), p. 686; A. van Hove, *Prolegomena ad codicem iuris canonici*, 2nd edition (Mechlin, 1928; rpt. Mechlin-Rome, 1945), p. 503; R. Chabanne, in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 6 (1957) 1473.

³ G. Mollat, *Lettres communes de Jean XXII (1316-1334)*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1904-47), 2.101 (no. 6596). Lavaur was made a bishopric on 26 September 1317 (*ibid.*, p. 11 [no. 5625]).

⁴ *ibid.* 12.134 (no. 60064) 15 April 1333; and p. 177 (no. 60693) 3 July 1333.

⁵ *ibid.* 12.25 (no. 58588) Noyon; J. M. Vidal, *Benoit XII (1334-1342: lettres communes*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1909-11), 2.148 (no. 6706) Bourges.

⁶ Daniel Williman, 'Memoranda and Sermons of Etienne Aubert (Innocent VI) as Bishop (1338-1341)' *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975) 13, where he is described as 'official' of Paris.

⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano (abbr. ASV). Instr. Misc. 5827, fol. 11v. Cf. the supplication of October 1345 in Philippe van Isacker, *Lettres de Clément VI* (Analecta Vaticano-Belgica 6; Rome-Brussels-Paris, 1924), 1.629 (no. 1705).

the cardinal went to France as a papal nuncio (1345-47) for the purpose of making peace between the kings of France and England,⁸ Petrus accompanied him.⁹

Like most familiars of high-ranking churchmen in Avignon, Petrus enjoyed the income of various benefices. These gradually increased in number and importance, and references to them in the papal registers of supplications reflect a confusion of reception, resignation and exchange common in the careers of curialists. For example, not long after Petrus arrived in Avignon, the cardinal recommended (22 February 1344) that he be given a canonry and prebend in the collegiate church of Moyennoutier in Bourges. By this time he seems to have given up Lavaur and Noyon; but the supplication also indicates that he had meanwhile received a canonry in the church of Vatan in the diocese of Bourges, and would retain his canonry in the cathedral church of Bourges.¹⁰ Furthermore, he also held the archdeaconry of Châteauroux in the church of Bourges which, only a few weeks later (14 March), he agreed to exchange, in a package with his canonries of Vatan and Moyennoutier, with another cleric in return for the archpresbytery of Lubersac in the diocese of Limoges.¹¹ Some years later (10 April 1349) the cardinal petitioned that Petrus might be given an additional canonry and prebend in the church of St. Ursinus in Bourges,¹² and again a few months later (27 September) a canonry and prebend in the collegiate church of St. Peter of Aire in the diocese of Thérouanne, at which time he is first described as an *auditor sacri palatii*.¹³ The exchange of Moyennoutier either did not take place, or else Petrus reacquired it, because when Cardinal Etienne petitioned Pope Clement VI to redistribute to various of his familiars the benefices left vacant when Petrus de Braco died (14 January 1352), this was the benefice that went to Petrus' nephew Jocundus.¹⁴

Hitherto, there have been only two slight clues to Petrus' origins: the designation 'de Braco', which taken alone cannot be identified with any certainty, and the fact that his first benefice (or at least the first we know about), customarily in one's

⁸ He and Cardinal Annibaldo di Ceccano left the curia on 25 November 1345; see E. Deprez, J. Glénisson and G. Mollat, *Clément VI (1342-1352): lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1901-59), 2.83-84 (no. 2157), 84-85 (nos. 2159-69).

⁹ His presence in Paris in January 1347 is noted in H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-97), 2.602 (no. 1137).

¹⁰ ASV, Reg. Supp. 6, fol. 210v.

¹¹ *ibid.*, fol. 232v.

¹² ASV, Reg. Supp. 19, fol. 218v.

¹³ ASV, Reg. Supp. 21, fol. 1r, although he is not known as such to E. Cerchiari, *Capellani papae et apostolicae sedis auditores causarum sacri palatii apostolici seu sacra romana rota 2: Syntaxis capellanorum auditorum* (Rome, 1920). Nor does he appear in the register of oaths in the apostolic camera; see Hermann Hoberg, 'Die Rotarichter in den Eidregistern der apostolischen Kammer von 1347-1494', *Quellen und Forschungen aus den italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 34 (1954) 159-69.

¹⁴ ASV, Reg. Supp. 23, fol. 198v.

native diocese, was at Lavaur, i.e., originally in the diocese of Toulouse. However, that he was in the service of Etienne Aubert, who had been an important figure in Toulouse earlier in his career, is suggestive. Furthermore, we may note a manuscript miscellany in Toulouse, several items of which indicate its local compilation and use, including the following: 'Ista que sequuntur ponit petrus de braco super c. ex tenore de fo. compe. [X, 2.2.11] de materia salvagardie. [*inc.*] Hic fit mencio de proteccione quod idem est quod salvagardia.'¹⁵ None of this is conclusive, but it looks as though Petrus de Braco may have been a student at the University of Toulouse or active in Toulouse in some legal capacity, or both. Coincidentally, there was a village of Brax (<Bracus) in the diocese of Toulouse in the fourteenth century.¹⁶

As we have noted, he has traditionally been credited with the composition of two works, a *Repertorium iuris canonici* and a *Compendium iuris canonici*. These are different titles, however, for the same work, an alphabetical collection to facilitate the consultation of legal texts and commentaries. The preface to what has often been described as a *Repertorium (inc.* 'Quoniam inter cetera dampna que suis posteris intulit prothoplaustorum transgressio non minimum fuit oblivio...') is the place where Petrus himself called it a *Compendium*: 'Idcirco ego Petrus de Braco ... ad remedium contra oblivionis grave dispendium ... breve *compendium* ex diversis textibus et glossis iuris canonici ... concepi....'¹⁷ He nowhere uses the word *repertorium*, but so the work was soon described by some of those who owned copies, such as Heinrich Neithart whose library was catalogued in the fifteenth century,¹⁸ Hugh 'de Gennasi', a professor at the University of Avignon, who donated his copy to the university in 1430,¹⁹ and Cardinal Jean Allarmet, who also had been a professor at Avignon and had founded the College of Annecy there to which he left his library including a *Repertorium*.²⁰ The work subsequently came to

¹⁵ Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 377, fol. 12v.

¹⁶ For the existence of which see Mollat, *Jean XXII* 2.75 (no. 6318); cf. *ibid.* 5.207 (no. 20425), referring to 'Guillelmus de Volnerio, prior O.F.P. Brag, prov. Tolosan.'

¹⁷ Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania ms. Lat. 121, fol. 2r. Cf. Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 27.

¹⁸ Paul Lehmann, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz 1; Munich, 1918), p. 366: 'Repertorium Petri de Braco in iure canonico in pappiro mixto pergamento, habet folia 428....' Unfortunately, it has not been identified among the Neithart mss. which passed to Munich or to the Stadtbibliothek in Ulm (*ibid.*, pp. 306-307).

¹⁹ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) 27 (*Avignon* 1) (Paris, 1894), p. 1v: 'unum librum in pergamento scriptum et de littera formalis, nominatum Repertorium P. de Braco.'

²⁰ 'Repertorium Petri de Braco, in pergamento, copertum pelle viridi, incipiens in secunda linea secundi folii "non tamen excusat absentem" et finit in eadem linea, ubi est parrafus [*sic*] linee

be described in various catalogues under one or other of the two titles, creating an illusion of two different works.²¹ The copy that found its way into the library of Tours, there regrettably to be consumed in the fire of 1940, was called a *Repertorium* in the catalogue which then went on to quote the last few words: 'explicit *compendium* magistri Petri de Braco...' ²² At Cambrai, the cataloguer described the work as a *Repertorium*, and then, misreading the preface, added that Petrus had indicated his intention (!) of writing a *Compendium*, thus furthering the illusion of two works.²³ Recently, two codices of the Vatican Library have been cited as though they were the *Repertorium* and *Compendium* respectively,²⁴ but it takes only a cursory examination to see that they are in fact one and the same work.

Petrus dedicated the *Compendium*, as we should call it, to his patron, Cardinal Etienne Aubert. In the dedication he describes him as cardinal priest of SS. John and Paul, indicating that the work was finished between September 1342 and January 1352 when we know that Petrus was dead. He refers to himself as the cardinal's chaplain, making no mention of the fact that he was an auditor of the Rota, which might suggest either a delicate modesty or that the work was finished by 1349 at the latest.²⁵

sequentis "perjuro"; in penultima linea, penultimo folio, finit "comixtionibus"; see Marcel Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1890-94), 2.404. Fournier has also published the catalogue of the library of the college of Annecy in which this ms. is no. 74; see 'Les bibliothèques de l'université et des collèges d'Avignon pour les étudiants en droit', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français* 15 (1891) 86. On the cardinal himself, see L. H. Labande, 'Un légiste du XIV^e siècle, Jean Allarmet, cardinal de Brogny' in *Mélanges Julien Havet. Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853-1893)* (Paris, 1895; rpt. Geneva, 1972), pp. 487-97. The cardinal acknowledged the usefulness of Petrus de Braco's work in the making of his own *Breviarium iuris* (ibid., p. 496).

²¹ There were two volumes in the library of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon, now presumed lost, which were called a *Repertorium* (no. 38) and a *Compendium* (no. 46) respectively; see Oudin, *Commentarius*; Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* (Paris, 1739), p. 1287. It is possible that these were not two different copies, but rather the one work in two volumes. The seventeenth-century list drawn up by P. Dumay, *Bibliotheca Ioviniana sancti Benigni Divionensis* gives only a single item 'Petri de Braco Repertorium' (*Catalogue général* [Octavo Series] 5 [Paris, 1889], p. 456).

²² *Catalogue général* (Octavo Series) 37 (Paris, 1900), p. 286 (no. 604). It had earlier been described as a *compendium* by Montfaucon, ibid., p. 1276.

²³ *Catalogue général* (Octavo Series) 17 (Paris, 1891), p. 238 (no. 613): 'L'auteur ... y déclare son intention de composer un *Compendium* ex diversis textibus et glosis juris canonici.'

²⁴ Vatican Library Vat. lat. 2362 and Ross. 1086; see Bernard Schimmelpfennig, 'Zur Glossierung kanonistischer Texte an der Kurie in Avignon', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 2 (1972) 40. Ross. 1086 belonged to Cardinal Domenico Capranica in the fifteenth century; see A. V. Antonovics, 'The Library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica' in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), p. 145.

²⁵ Cf. n. 13 above. For the dedication, see *Catalogue général* (Octavo Series) 39 (*Rheims* 2) (Paris, 1904), p. 102 (no. 764); cf. Vatican Library ms. Vat. lat. 2362, fol. 1. Von Schulte notes in passing (*Geschichte* 2.250) that the work is based on the repertory of Johannes Calderinus, which in turn drew on that of William Duranti.

The *Compendium* was not, however, his only work. Besides the brief work on *salvagardia*²⁶ he seems to have been the compiler of an *opusculum compendiosum* designed to compare and explain away the contradictions between the *glose ordinarie* of Gratian's *Decretum* and of Gregory IX's *Decretales*. The work contains 220 *contrarietates*, each with its own solution.²⁷ In the fifteenth century there was also attributed to him a *Limitaciones Innocentii*—a compilation of references to the *Sext*, *Clementines*, and the more recent canonical literature, designed to bring parts of Innocent IV's *Apparatus* up-to-date.²⁸

Finally, we can also catch a glimpse of him at work in Avignon, where as an *auditor sacri palatii* he was active with his colleagues in the study of canonical commentaries used as a guide in making decisions in the Rota. Some anonymous glosses in a manuscript of Guido de Baysio's commentary on the *Sext* mention that on more than one occasion the auditors discussed Guido's opinions with the vice-chancellor, Cardinal Pierre des Prés. In one instance the cardinal agreed to accept Guido's opinion; in another he preferred that of another commentator, Johannes Andreae. Three auditors took part in these discussions, namely, the bishop of Cassino, Petrus de Braco, and Simon of Sudbury, as well as a certain Helias of Mayne, Gerald of Capdenaco, and the anonymous author of the glosses who describes himself merely as *minimus omnium*.²⁹ As an auditor, of course, Petrus

²⁶ See above, p. 4.

²⁷ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek ms. Reichenau, Papierhs. Aug. 1: *inc.* 'Glosas ordinarias contrarias in iure canonico et earum soluciones quas in presenti colligere potui sub compendio quo valeo et stilo describo clariori' (fol. 399v); *expl.* '... corrige legens. Expliciunt contrarietates glosarum etc.' (fol. 415v). See Alfred Holder, *Die reichenauer Handschriften* 2 (Die Handschriften der grossherzoglich badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 6; Leipzig-Berlin, 1914), p. 1 (no. 1). The entire ms. is given over to the work of Petrus de Braco: the *Compendium* (fols. 1-384v), a table of the articles in the *Compendium* (fols. 386r-391r), and an index of the more notable items (fols. 398r-399v), immediately followed by the *Contrarietates*. The final paragraph of this last, the customary plea for the reader's indulgence ('Obsecro ... ut legentes ... presentis opusculi collectorem diligant'), contains no indication of authorship. The fact, however, that it was copied with the *Compendium* is in itself suggestive. The 'etc.' at the end, coming where an indication of authorship would normally be found, suggests that the copyist (whose work is full of errors) may have seen no reason to repeat the author's name. For the earlier history of this ms., once owned by Otto, bishop of Constance (1410-34; d. 1451), see Lehmann, *Bistümer*, p. 204.

²⁸ Vatican Library ms. Vat. lat. 2645 (fifteenth century). The work itself gives no indication of authorship, but a later hand has written at the top of fol. 1: 'Limitaciones Inocentii per p. de Braco', and another has added at the end the siglum 'Bra' (fol. 66rb).

²⁹ Schimmelpfennig, 'Glossierung', 39-43. Simon of Sudbury was the future archbishop of Canterbury. For a *questio* of Helias of Mayne, *De accusationibus*, see Toulouse ms. 377, fol. 46v (above, n. 15). Helias was 'prior ponteraco' (ASV, Instr. Misc. 5827, fol. 9r). Schimmelpfennig has put the discussions in the early years of Innocent VI's pontificate, on the assumption that the bishop of Cassino must have been Francesco degli Atti whom Innocent appointed in April 1353. But since Petrus de Braco was dead before 14 January 1352 (ASV, Reg. Supp. 23, fol. 198v), the discussions must have taken place late in Clement VI's pontificate. The bishop of Cassino should therefore be identified with Francesco's predecessor, William of Rosières, for whose adventures on the way from Naples to Avignon in 1348 see E. G. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne I, reine de Naples, comtesse de*

must have had to hear many legal cases having to do with benefices, but of these we can know nothing.

About his life in Avignon, however, he has left a very personal expression, entitled *Repudium ambitionis contra miseros cardinalium servitores*. It is a versified bill of divorce addressed to personified Ambition—the rival of repose, mother of vexation, deceitful snare, fomentor of treachery, fetter, noose, first of deceivers, nest of fornications, daughter of Babylon—who had enticed Petrus into a turbulent marriage. The result of the union was exile from a home where he had been respected and honoured to a papal court where he was neglected, humiliated and scorned, all the while tormented by desire for promotion. In the course of his complaint he has some pointed things to say about the nature of the court, where there were many like himself, and about those in high places, the cardinals, upon whom they were dependent. He reflects on the inevitable rivalry and jealousy among those who, like himself, had been drawn by Ambition to seek advancement at the court only to find spiritual ruin instead: ‘If a colleague is promoted, I say that he does not deserve it, and that I was passed over though I thought myself worthier; this is the sin leading to my downfall’ (stanza 24). As for the cardinals, ‘they are rich in goods, enjoying great wealth which they refuse to acknowledge; they are happy, however, to see it in others’, he adds with heavy irony, ‘citing in their support the sacred verse “we must apply to our beast a burden, fodder, and a stick”’ (stanza 14). One cannot doubt that he has in mind his own patron, the future Pope Innocent VI, among others. His lord is aloof, severe, haughty, quick to find fault. Like the devil, cardinals attribute their own shortcomings to their servants. They are full of promises of a promotion that never materializes, or, when a vacancy does occur, goes instead to a nephew. There is more than a touch of sarcasm in the suggestion that one had to be dead to be promoted. Petrus tells of a rumour that a certain person had died, whereupon his patron let it be known that he would have got him a promotion to bishop if only he had lived; how embarrassed he was, however, to learn that the rumour was false, ‘for he had given nothing to him when alive whom he “promoted” when dead’ (stanza 28).

Petrus recognizes in all this the real evil, that even when one is promoted one is never satisfied: the more one gets, the more one wants; the more one wants, the

Provence (1343-1382). La jeunesse de la reine Jeanne, 2 vols. (Monaco, 1932), 2.84, 491-94. These glosses are apparently the only indication we have that William was an *auditor sacri palatii*; neither Cerchiari nor Hoberg mention him (above, n. 13). He was probably not on good terms with Innocent VI who, as soon as he became pope, transferred William from Cassino to Tarbes (April 1353), a much poorer diocese, where he seems to have taken up residence, withdrawing from the curia and ceasing to be an auditor. Although Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* 1.474, assumed that he died in 1361, in fact he died late in 1360 ‘extra Romanam curiam’; see H. Hoberg, *Die Einnahmen der apostolischen Kammer unter Innocenz VI.* (Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstliche Hof- und Finanzverwaltung 7; Paderborn, 1955), pp. 299-300 and cf. p. 369.

more one suffers. All of which leads to the climax of the poem, the dissolution of the marriage with Ambition, to be effected in proper fashion by a *repudium* based on four legal codes: the Old Testament, canon law, the New Testament, and Roman civil law.³⁰ He concludes with a brief invocation to Jesus, who had driven the money changers from the temple, to drive away his greed and free him from the toils of Ambition. We know that Petrus died *extra Romanam curiam*;³¹ this *repudium*, therefore, may have foreshadowed his physical withdrawal from the papal court and resignation from his duties there.

The work is in the form of forty-two quatrains with rhymes at the caesura and the end of the line. In most stanzas the caesura-rhymes and the end-rhymes are carried throughout, although in some the rhymes are in couplets. Each line, consisting of two (rhythmical) half lines, comprises between seven and ten syllables; the syllabic count, moreover, is even in each stanza, although there is an occasional faulty line. The most interesting feature, however, comes at the end of each stanza where Petrus, true to his professional training, cannot resist documenting the sentiment just expressed by some appropriate citation from the Bible, from canon law, or from some commentator or other among whom pride of place goes to Guido de Baysio. He certainly had before him, although he does not cite it directly, Guido's lengthy description of the ambitious man copied from Innocent III's *De miseria humane conditionis*, which may have suggested the theme for the poem.³² The citations following each stanza are not merely postscripts; although they break with the metre and the rhyme scheme, they are integral to the poem. This is most evident in stanzas 11, 14, 22, 23, 26 and 42, where the citation completes the sense of the stanza itself.

Some manuscripts of the poem also include marginal identifications of the biblical texts quoted or paraphrased therein.³³ Whether these were added in the archetype by Petrus or later by someone else we cannot say. Many of the marginalia give the biblical source for citations which Petrus had in fact culled from canon law; others provide an identification not made in the poem itself; a few (at stanzas 19, 38, 39) refer to civil or canon law. In one manuscript there are also several interlinear glosses;³⁴ in all but one case, those referring to Petrus are in the first person, which might suggest that they originated with the author himself.

³⁰ On the grounds of moral turpitude, unknowingly being married into servitude, spiritual fornication, and the plotting of one spouse against the life of the other, in that order.

³¹ Reg. Supp. 23, fol. 198v.

³² *Lectura ... domini Guidonis de Baysio ... super decreto quam ipse Rosarium appellavit* (Lyons, 1516), fol. 51va, commenting on D. 47 c. 3, s.v. *assistere*. Cf. Michele Maccarrone, ed., *Lotharii cardinalis (Innocentii III) de miseria humane conditionis* (Lucca, 1955), pp. 59-60 (2.26-28).

³³ Vatican Library Reg. lat. 598, fols. 1-4v; Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale 764, fols. 353-354r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 1821, fols. 82r-84r.

³⁴ Reg. lat. 598, although a second ms., Vat. lat. 3989, has two of these glosses at stanzas 13 and 23, and another, Rheims 764, has incorporated one into the text of the poem itself at stanza 24.

Given the prosaic nature of his other works, to put it mildly, the fact that he chose to make his complaint in verse form is of some interest in itself. One is tempted to ask whether he may not have been influenced by the poetic craze that was sweeping the curia at the time. Petrarch makes more than one slighting allusion to it, describing it as a new kind of disease: 'Who would believe it? What do you think the lawyers and doctors are doing? They now ignore their Justinian and their Aesculapius; they do not hear the cries of their clients and patients, for they have been deafened, thunderstruck, by the names of Homer and Virgil, and wander in the wooded vales of Cirrha to the sound of the Aonian stream.'³⁵ And again: 'Never in Athens or Rome, never in the times of Homer or Virgil, has there been so much talk about poets as there is today on the banks of the Rhone. And yet I should think that at no place and at no time has there been so much ignorance of the subject.'³⁶ At first glance he appears to refer to a kind of untutored enthusiasm for the classics, but it is more than likely that he has in mind versifiers of all sorts. For example, he writes of a cardinal who 'in those conversations with his friends in which I was often honoured by taking part, whenever mention was made of someone who had learned to inscribe three words to be delivered in public, or to compose a letter of safe-conduct, would question me attentively, not to say with astonishment, almost in these words: "Is he not a poet of whom we speak?" I would keep quiet. What else could I do? But when he asked me about certain schoolmen scribbling, out of habit rather than for any reason, some fat and rancid work, and on one occasion I could hardly keep from laughing, that most observant man noticed the expression on my face, and so pressed me over and over to tell him the facts of the matter.... I concluded by showing him that the poets were fewer in number than he thought.'³⁷

Not that Petrarch was likely to know of our poor poem, the sentiment of which, at

³⁵ 'Nichil actum erat, nisi et in ipsam Romanam Curiam—quis crederet?—novissime latens morbus irreperet. Quid enim iurisconsultos putas agere, quid medicos? Iustinianum iam atque Esculapium non norunt; clientes atque egros ululantes non audiunt; obsurderunt enim Homeri Virgiliique nominibus attoniti et ad strepitum fontis Aonii nemorosis Cirre vallibus oberrantes'; *Familiares* 13.7 in Vittorio Rossi, ed., *Francesco Petrarca. Le Familiari*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1933-42), 3.81.

³⁶ 'Nunquam Athenis aut Rome, nunquam Homeri Virgiliique temporibus tantus sermo de vatibus fuit quantus est ad ripam Rodani etate hac, cum tamen nullo unquam loco aut tempore tam nullam rei huius notitiam fuisse arbitrer'; *Familiares* 13.6 (ibid. 3.72).

³⁷ 'Ille ergo vir tantus inter familiares sermones quibus me sepe dignatur, quotiens mentio incidisset alicuius qui vel tria verba ad populum facere vel securi conductus epistolam dictare didicisset, me attentus, ne dicam attonitus, percontari solebat in hunc ferme modum: "Est ne hic de quo loquimur poeta?" Ego autem tacebam; quid enim aliud facerem? Id enim vero cum ex me sepe de quibusdam scolasticis pingue quiddam et rancidum usu potiusquam ratione dictantibus quesivisset, et ego semel egre risum continerem, animadvertit oris mei habitum vir ille cautissimus; itaque magis et magis instare cepit ut dicerem quid rei esset. ... in hanc sententiam conclusi, ut ostenderem sibi pauciores poetas esse quam crederet...'; *Familiares* 13.6 (ibid. 3.78).

least, he might have approved³⁸ even while deploring everything else about it. But he was in Avignon in the autumn of 1351, being pressed by pope and cardinals to accept the post of papal secretary;³⁹ he was well known to Petrus de Braco's patron Etienne Aubert, who held him in abhorrence, being convinced that he was a necromancer because he read Virgil, and whose later election as pope Petrarch would greet with a psalmodic cry of anguish. Being a distinguished man of letters he must also have been known to Petrus de Braco, at least by reputation, but whether he noticed Petrus in turn we cannot say. At all events, the poetic fashion which he derided seems to have been in full swing when the *Repudium* was produced.

The poem was more than a private exercise in self-consolation. It was surely intended for colleagues who might share its sentiments, appreciate the ironic play between verse and canonical citation, and above all profit from its strictures. It is not likely, however, to have been written for wider circulation. There were many satires and invectives against the papal court going back well before the fourteenth century. They were not usually written by members of the court itself. Not that curialists were indifferent about morals at the court.⁴⁰ We may recall that Petrarch, who was notorious for his attacks on the papal court and on several of its members, had himself been very much an insider, at one time the chaplain of Cardinal Giovanni Colonna. His outspoken comments, however, would come much later, after he had established his independence. Petrus de Braco was assuredly not alone, therefore, in many of his opinions, but his *Repudium* is now almost unique as a sustained criticism of the court by one of its more important officials. Understandably, the point of view is different. Whereas the outsider might expostulate on nepotism as it related to venality, the bureaucrat saw it as a barrier to advancement for merit. As a result, the poem's appeal would have been limited to a narrow circle.

It gained a limited circulation abroad, however, by the accident of being appended to some copies of the *Compendium iuris canonici*. This was probably not the doing of Petrus himself, for the poem certainly would not have accompanied the dedicatory copy to the cardinal. It is occasionally to be found added at the end of the *Compendium*,⁴¹ and since the latter was known not only in Avignon but elsewhere in

³⁸ Cf. *Familiares* 22.5 (ibid. 4.114): '... utinam non tot essent, quos avaritiae stimuli et flatus ambitionis in omne precipitium impellant, qui nullum iter nullam horreant mundi plagam, qua ventosi honores et periture divitiae adeantur.'

³⁹ *Familiares* 13.5 (ibid. 3.68-69).

⁴⁰ For an outburst of Cardinal Guido Dens in the twelfth century ('asserit enim in Romana ecclesia quandam duplicis esse radicem et fomentum avaritiae quae caput et radix est malorum omnium'), see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 6.24, ed. C. C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1909), 2.69; John Dickinson, trans., *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury* (New York, 1927), p. 254.

⁴¹ e.g., Rheims ms. 764, fols. 353r-354r; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania ms. Lat. 121, fols. 336r-337r; Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 604, fols. 360v-361v (now destroyed); it was with a two-volume set of the *Compendium* in Laon (Q.7, V.7) which is no longer extant (see

France and in Germany,⁴² the *Repudium* must have had a modest readership. It also had something of an independent existence. One copy was bound, along with Pope Benedict XII's constitutions on monastic reform and the *Sacramentale* of William of Montelauduno, in a volume which was catalogued in the papal library as early as 1375.⁴³ Another forms part of a fourteenth-century collection together with Petrarch's *Secret*, the *De planctu naturae* of Alan of Lille, and several other items.⁴⁴ A copy was to be found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin.⁴⁵ And in the seventeenth century an old copy of it caught the eye of those whom Christine of Sweden employed to acquire books for her library. They apparently tore it out of some other volume in order to have it bound into a miscellany for the queen.⁴⁶

Still, we cannot claim that the *Repudium* gained much attention, although it did move one reader to a brief reflection, not as we might expect on the conditions to be found in the papal court, but rather on the ideal relationship between master and servant.⁴⁷ Thereafter it sank into the deep sea of history, to surface again briefly

Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca*, p. 1295); and it may also have accompanied another two-volume set, Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale mss. 85-86, from which someone has torn out the last five folios.

⁴² In addition to the mss. already mentioned (above, nn. 18-24, 25, 27, 41), others may be found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4139 and lat. 14337-14338; Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale 331; Cambridge, Jesus College Q.A.7; and Basel, Universitätsbibliothek C.II.16-17. The library of the cathedral in Toledo has only the first volume (ending with the letter M) of what must have been a two-volume set; see A. García y García and R. González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos jurídicos medievales de la catedral de Toledo* (Rome-Madrid, 1970), p. 144 (ms. 39-32). The copy in Hildesheim, referred to by von Schulte, *Geschichte*, cannot now be located either in the Bistumsarchiv or the Stadtarchiv of Hildesheim.

⁴³ F. Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum* 1 (Rome, 1890), p. 544; now Vat. lat. 3989.

⁴⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 1821; see H. Omont, 'Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1900-1902', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 64 (1903) 24; it had earlier been in the Ashburnham collection (*Catalogue of a Portion of the Collection of Manuscripts Known as the 'Appendix' Made by the Late Earl of Ashburnham* [London, 1899], p. 23).

⁴⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6709; see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 4 (Paris, 1744), p. 270.

⁴⁶ Now Vatican Library Reg. lat. 598, fols. 1-4v; see A. Raes, *Les manuscrits de la reine de Suède au Vatican: réédition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles* (Studi e testi 238; Vatican City, 1964), p. 79. The *Repudium* had been fols. 157-160 of another volume. On the breaking up of the volumes which went into Christine's library, see J. Bignami Odier, 'Le fonds de la reine à la bibliothèque vaticane' in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita* 1 (Studi e testi 219; Vatican City, 1962), p. 180.

⁴⁷ A later hand has added at the end of one copy of the poem (Reg. lat. 598, fol. 4v): 'Verus obediens mandatum non procrastinat, sed statim parat aures auditui, linguam voci, p<e> des itineri, manus operi, et se totum intus colligit ut mandatum peragat imperantis. Iracondi [ut vid.] doctores per rabiem furoris discipline modum ad immanitatem crudelitatis convertunt, et unde emendare subditos poterant inde potius vulnerant. Talem te redde subditis ut magis ameris quam timeris; non sis terribilis in subiectis; sic in eis dominare ut tibi delectentur servire.' There are marginal references to 'beatus benedictus' and 'beatus Ysidorus'.

only in 1881 when Louis Duchesne came upon the queen of Sweden's copy and printed it in a journal no longer easy to locate.⁴⁸ He left out most of the marginalia, overlooked a few of the glosses, made several small corrections (some silently), but then introduced more than a few errors of his own.⁴⁹ His purpose is clear from the brief introduction of some 500 words or so, mildly witty at the expense of contemporary publicity-minded churchmen, but of no historical importance.⁵⁰

There are six mss. extant of the *Repudium*, all of the second half of the fourteenth or the fifteenth century, all marred by obvious errors, some more than others. They are as follows:

- V1 Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3989, fols. 100r-103r. Third quarter, fourteenth century. The stanzas are in single column in the centre of the page, each followed by its citation which is often preceded by a paragraph sign.
- V2 Vatican Library Reg. lat. 598, fols. 1-4v. Mid-fourteenth century. Title in red ink. Decorated initial of first verse 'Q'. The stanzas are marked off by paragraph signs, which appear alternately in red and blue, and are in single column. The citations follow each stanza; the biblical references are in the right-hand margin.

⁴⁸ 'Une satire du xiv^e siècle', *Bulletin critique* 1 (1881) 354-61, using Reg. lat. 598.

⁴⁹ Among the more notable misreadings are the following:

- [stanza] 3: proditionis *for* promotionis; et *for* id est.
 4: nunquam *for* non.
 10: illis *for* eis.
 11: factura *for* facturam; nocendi *for* querendi.
 12: accipio *for* recipio.
 14: favere *for* facere.
 22: nisi *for* in fi[ne]; de despero, impii *for* de despo[nsatione] impu[berum]; Z *for* et.
 25: proprio *for* propitio.
 26: presb. *for* per.
 28: iii *for* in.
 30: fit *for* sit; presb. *for* per.
 31: diviserunt *for* dimiserunt.
 35: enim *for* eum.
 37: perceptionem *for* preceptionem.
 41: et *for* ex.
 42: amaris *for* a maris; suis *for* tuis.

⁵⁰ e.g. (p. 354): 'Quant à l'opuscule que j'ai l'honneur de présenter au public, je m'en voudrais mortellement si quelqu'un se mettait en tête d'y voir une allusion si faible que ce soit à des situations contemporaines. Il y a sans doute encore, aux environs de la cour pontificale, des solliciteurs patients du type que décrit Pierre de Brac; mais leurs prétentions, fort platoniques, ne visent en général qu'un ruban de Saint-Grégoire ou le droit de montrer des bas violets. Le canoniste, pressé d'arriver fréquente maintenant les bureaux des ministères; il porte de la copie au *Soir*, à la *République française*, au *Télégraphe*.' And with tongue in cheek: 'C'est donc uniquement en vue de conserver à la littérature une petite pièce assez spirituellement écrite que j'offre ... le *Libellus repudii* du bon Pierre de Brac.'

- R* Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale 764, fols. 353r-354r. Late fourteenth century. The stanzas are in double columns. The citations follow each stanza. The biblical references are in the left- and right-hand margins beside the appropriate stanzas.
- Pn* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library Lat. 121, fols. 336r-337r. First half of the fifteenth century. The stanzas are in double columns, with the citations following each stanza. The length of each line is determined by the space available, so that the verses are continually broken, destroying, at least visually, any sense of a rhymed and rhythmic poem.
- P1* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 1821, fols. 82r-84r. Late fourteenth century. The stanzas are in single column on the left side of the page, with the citations beside each stanza on the right.
- P2* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6709, fols. 69v-71v. Mid-fifteenth century. Except for the first page (fol. 69v) where they are in single column, the stanzas appear in double columns with the citations given beside their respective stanzas in the left- or right-hand margin as appropriate. A unique feature is that the stanzas are given in half lines, thus emphasizing the internal rhymes. This ms. also stands apart from the others in that it omits three stanzas (5, 18, 26) while including three others which are unique. It also has many changes in the ordering of the stanzas, as the following concordance shows:

<i>P2</i>	Others	<i>P2</i>	Others	<i>P2</i>	Others	<i>P2</i>	Others
1	1	8	9	15	16	22	23
2	3	9	6	16	17	23	27
3	2	10	7	17	19	24	28
4	10	11	8	18	20	25	—
5	11	12	13	19	21	26	—
6	12	13	14	20	25	27	—
7	4	14	15	21	22	28	24
						29-42	29-42

The three additional stanzas of *P2* (25, 26, 27) have been appended at the end of the following edition. While it is possible that Petrus de Braco was their author, there are reasons for suspecting that he was not, not merely because of their uniqueness, or the fact that the version in which they appear has been severely rearranged, but because the subject matter—the suggestion that bribery is necessary to get a promotion—was a point of view more likely to be found outside the curia than within it.

The many variants to be found in the mss. indicate that no witness depends directly on another. There are, however, some indications of distinct groupings. *VI*

and *V2* share some peculiarities not to be found in the others. In stanza 19, for example, the *est* in line 4 of *V1* appears in *V2* as an addition above the line in a second hand. It appears in no other version. The effect is to add an extra syllable to the line and to destroy its rhythm. Again, in stanza 25 the word *michi* appears in line 1 of both though not in any other version, adding two extra syllables to the line. The effect is the same.

R and *Pn* share several significant variants: *quia* for *qui* (stanza 5); *unde* for *ubi* and *excuiar* for *excuior* (6); *me semper hic circundant* for *semper hic me circundant* (8); *solus* for *solum* (9); *defleant* for *lugeant* (10); *petisti* for *petistis* (13); *velud, velut* for *vel* (27); *iuste eris* for *eris iuste* (36), and the addition of *amen* at the end of the poem. Some of these variants are shared by *P2*. *R* and *P1* have one significant variant in common: *semper* for *continue* (13). Both share with *V2* the numerous marginal biblical references, some of which are also to be found in *P2*.

The text that follows is based on *V2*, probably the earliest and certainly the freest from obvious error, departing from it in those instances where other versions agree on a more convincing reading, although *excuior* has been retained in place of the more grammatical *excuiar* (stanza 6). Capitalization and punctuation have been modernized, and the stanzas numbered for easy reference. The many slight variations between mss. when referring to canonical sources have been ignored, as not being true variants; the form in *V2* has been followed throughout except, of course, in the case of outright error.

REPUDIUM AMBITIONIS CONTRA MISEROS CAR-
DINALIUM SERVITORES.^a RUBRICA.^b

- [1] Quid michi et tibi ambitio?^a Cur me tam dire^b saucias?
Cur^c me tradis^d exilio et vetas edes proprias?
Nec horam das^e de spacio, quin me semper afficias,
Sine quoquo^f remedio me^g rodas^h et percutiasⁱ
Quoniam vermis infernalis es^j qui non moreris
neque dormis: xix. q. iii.^k quoniam.^{1 1}
- [2] Tu es odoris balsamus quando arridens incipis,^a
Et sicut sponsum thalamus gratanter quemque^b recipis;
Sed post hec^c ut jusquiamus^{d 2} sensum eius intercipis,
Sicut pisces^e latens hamus^f eum latenter^g decipis,
Quia de te dictum est, quasi hamo capiet^h eum etⁱ
in sudibus^j perforabit nares eius:^k de peni. di. v.
consideret.^{1 3}
- [3] Tu es quietis emula, nutrix vexationis,
Cunctis fallax decipula,^a fomes^b proditiōnis,^c
Pedita^d et tendicula, princeps deceptionis,^e
Mortis emittens iacula sub spe promotionis.
Abscondita est^f enim in terra, id est in curia,
pedita tua et decipula^g tua super semitam gradientium
ad eam.^h

[Title] a servitorum *V1*: Repudium ambitionis *man. rec. P1*: Repudium ambitionis curie Romane per dominum et magistrum petrum de braco compositum *P2*: Repudium ... servitores *om. R* // b Rubrica *om. V1RP1P2Pn*

[1] a ab initio *Pn* // b dure *P2* // c ut *P2* // d tradas *P2* // e des *PnP2* // f quoque *V1P2* // g ne *V1* // h radas *P2* // i percussias *V1* // j ens *V1* // k iiii *V2* // l Marci ix capitulo [9:43] *in marg. V2R*, Mathi ix *in marg. P1*

[2] a incipit *R* // b quoque *P1P2* // c hoc *V1Pn* // d jusquianus *P1*: quisquiamus *Pn*: sed si post hec jusquiamus *P2* // e picis *V1* // f hanus *P2* // g nequiter *P2* // h caput *V1* // i et *om. V1* // j faucibus *V1* // k quia de te ... nares eius *om. P2* // l considerat *P1*: conciderat *V1*: consisteret *R*; Job xl [40:19] *in marg. V2P1R*

[3] a discipula *R* // b frames *P2* // c perditionis *P2* // d pedita *R*: laqueus *P2* // e promotionis *V1* // f es *P1* // g discipula *R*: discipulina *Pn* // h Job xviii [18:10] *in marg. V2P1R*; abscondita est ... ad eam *om. sed add. nam casum appetit qui postpositis gradibus per abruta querit ascensum xl distinctione sicut [Gratian D.40 c.8] P2*

¹ Gratian, C.19 q.3 c.5.

² Henbane, a foul-smelling, poisonous plant, in contrast to the sweet-scented balsam.

³ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.5 c.1.

- [4] Fedum fedus^a coniugii tunc errans tecum pepigi
 Quando^b miser appecii sub^c servitute redigi,
 Tui^d flammis^e incendii incessanter^f affligi,
 Et cordi^g meo petii toti^h puncturas infigi,ⁱ
 Quoniam ignis^j infernalis es^k qui semper exuris
 et nonundas: de pe. di. iii. inter hec i.^{1 4}
- [5] Ut equus herbis affluens et non contentus habitis
 Sed herbas clausas intuens optavit^a uti vetitis,^b
 Et in eas transiliens interemptus est sudibus,^c
 Sic ediam^d non patiens iustis^e premor doloribus.
 Edia cum fugitur,^f succedit^g inedia,^h quippe
 jure malis premiturⁱ qui^j bona non patitur,
 nam mens avida abstinere nescit a vetitis nec
 gaudere concessis: xlvii. di. virum.⁵
- [6] Duxisti^a me ad curiam ut sim sine quiete
 Et ut captivus^b serviam nec unquam vivam lete.^c
 Heu miser! ubi^d fugiam? Iam sum clausus in^e rethe,
 Nec scandalum effugiam si excutior^f de te,
 Quia parasti pedibus meis laqueum tortuosum
 facientem^g scandalum: xxiii.^h q. iii. transferunt;⁶
 de pe. di. i.ⁱ periculose.^{j 7}

[4] a fedus fedum *P1* // b qui *P2* // c in *V1* // d tuis *P2* // e fulminis *R* // f et incessanter *PIP2*: me -ter *R* // g corde *Pn* // h punc tot *R*: tantas *P1* // i infligi *P2*: tui ... affligi *post* et ... infigi *P2* // j vermis *P2* // k ens *V1* // l i. om. *V1*; hec i. in *marg. R*

[5] a opertam *V1*: aptavit *Pn* // b vetitis *Pn* // c subdibus *V2*: sudibiis *corr.* ex subdibiis *R*: esudibus *Pn*: ymbribus *V1* // d etiam *P1* // e iustus *Pn* // f edia confugitur *V1* // g sequitur *P1* // h inedia *Pn* // i premitunt *V1* // j quia *RPn*

[6] a diduxi *R*; o ambitio *gl. V2* // b captivus *Pn* // c serviam nunquam viviam lete *P2* // d unde *RPn* // e in om. *R* // f excutiar *RPn*: excustiar *P2* // g facientis *V1* // h xx. *V1* // i iii. *V1* // j periculosum *Pn*; Mathi. i et v [1:20, 5:31-32] in *marg. V2P1R*

⁴ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.3 c. 34 § 1.

⁵ Gratian, D.47 c.6.

⁶ Gratian, C.24 q.3 c.33.

⁷ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.1 c.23.

- [7] Domi solebant prospere cuncta michi succedere;
Oblata multa libere consuevi recipere.
Reverebantur milites impendentes honores,
Et nunc blasphemant pedites etiam viliores.
Et sic secundum multitudinem glorie mee multiplicata
est ignominia^a mea et sublimitas mea conversa est in luctum.^b
- [8] Quam infelix^a angustia! Domi opes habundant;
Deficiunt in curia hec que foris redundant.
Et quando sum in patria maiores obsecundant;^b
Paupertas et convicia semper hic me circundant;^c
Et merito, quia initium bone vite et mentis bene
constitute^d est ut sciat quis^e habitare secum, secundum
Senecam^f et recitat Gui.⁸ de pe. di. v. c. i. in fine.⁹
- [9] Non solum^a infelicior sum sub tua tutela,
Nec^b solus ego crucior in hac tua sequela;
Multis^c quidem associor de tua parentela
Sed nec in hoc allevior nec est michi medela,
Quia non minus ardebunt^d qui cum multis ardebunt:^e
ii. q. i.^f multi in fine.¹⁰
- [10] Deducis^a ad curiam senes non ut peccata defleant,
Provectos simul^b et^c iuvenes ut statum suum augeant.^d
Nec est eis^e difficile quicquid^f mali sustineant,
Unde pereunt^g facile nec^h sunt quiⁱ eos^j lugeant,^k
Quia periit memoria eorum cum sonitu campanarum.^l

[7] a ignomia *Pn* // b i machabeorum i [1:42] *in marg.* *V2P1*; mathei i *add.* *P2*

[8] a felix *V1* // b obsecundant *P2* // c me semper hic circundant *RPnP2* // d constituta *V1* // e quod *P2* // f secundum Senecam *om.* *V1P1*, Seneca *in marg.* *P1*

[9] a solus *RPnP2* // b non *P2* // c multum *V1* // d ardebit *V1* // e ardebit *V1* // f ii. q. c. i. *V1*

[10] a ducis *RP1* // b sic *R* // c ac *P2*: *om.* *V1* // d provectos nec non iuvenes sed statum suum augeant *P1* // e ei *P2* // f quisquis *V1* // g parentes *V1* // h ne *V1* // i per *Pn* // j eos *om.* *P2* // k defleant *RPn* // l campanarum *om.* *P1*; Josue xv in fine [15:63] *add.* *R*; psalmo ix [9:7] *in marg.* *V2P1RP2*

⁸ *Lectura ... domini Guidonis de Baysio ... super decreto quam ipse Rosarium appellavit* (Lyons, 1516), fol. 319ra.

⁹ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.5 c.1.

¹⁰ Gratian, C.2 q.1 c.18.

- [11] Venit dives consumens Christi patrimonium,^a
 Venit pauper assumens^b mendicantis obprobrium;
 Et improbe se ingerunt^c alienis obsequiis,
 Excusationem proferunt^d ex divinis^e eloquiis:
 'Panem nostrum comedemus,^f vestimentis^g nostris
 operiemur, invocetur tantummodo super nos nomen tuum.' ^h
- [12] Ecce^a ferox et impia tu plures facis miseros,
 Quos non sine^b fallacia spondes^c facturam^d prosperos
 Et eorum cum gloria manutenere posteros;
 Sed^e hos^f cum^g indigentia tandem ducis ad inferos,
 Quia ferox^h es et finemⁱ querendi non habes,^j
 et recitat Gui.¹¹ xlvii.^k di. bonorum.^{1 12}
- [13] Ad alterius^a sompnium dormio^b iuxta communem ritum,
 Cibum continue^c recipio ad alterius^d appetitum,^e
 Musam^f ad fores^g facio ferens^h imbresⁱ et^j ventum,
 Sed^k hec mea afflictio domino^l est delectamentum.
 O quam perversa caritas de aliorum fletu ridere! ^m
 xiii.ⁿ q. ii.^o quæsta;¹³ extra. de privile. petistis.^{p 14}
- [14] Domini bonis affluunt magno fruentes^a ere^b
 Que^c in se scire renuunt; in aliis^d videre

[11] a Christi consumens patrimonium *V1*: se consumens et Christi patrimonium *R*: consumens domini patrimonium *P1* // b et assumens *R* // c gerunt *P2* // d perferunt *V2RPn* // e divis *Pn* // f comedimus *V1* // g vestibus *corr.* *V2*: et vestimentis *P1* // h nomen tuum super nos *PnP1P2*; invocetur ... nomen tuum *om.* *sed add.* inno ad ephe. v *R*; Isaie iiiii [4:1] *in marg.* *V2P1RP2*

[12] a o ambitio *in marg.* *V1* // b non fine *V1*: in finem *V2* // c spondens *R* // d structuram *V1* // e et *Pn* // f hoc *Pn* // g cum *om.* *V1* // h feros *V2* // i in fine *R* // j non habes secundum Senecam *RPnP2* // k xlviii. *P2* // l secundum Senecam *in marg.* *V2*, Seneca *in marg.* *P1*

[13] a proprie *R* // b ego qui servio in curia *gl.* *V1V2* // c semper *RP1* // d alius *P1* // e ad alterius eius appetitum *R* // f missam *V1* // g palatii vel hospiciorum cardinalium *gl.* *V2* // h sustinens *P1* // i pluviam *P1* // j fagus *P2* // k et *P2* // l deo *R*; domino cardinali qui servio *gl.* *V1V2* // m hester xiii [14:11] *in marg.* *V2P1R* // n xvi. *P2* // o iii. *V1* // p petisti *RPnP2*: petitis *P1*

[14] a ferventes *P1*: fluente *R*: et magno fruuntur *P2* // b id est divitiis *gl.* *V2* // c qui *V1* // d alii *V2*

¹¹ *Rosarium*, fol. 51vb, s.v. *bonorum cupiditatem*: 'Dicit Seneca, fortior est qui cupiditatem vincit quam qui hostem subicit, et idem ait: ferocissima cupiditas pestis est que solet egenos facere quos capit, quia finem querendi non invenit....'

¹² Gratian, D.47 c.7.

¹³ Gratian, C.13 q.2 c.12.

¹⁴ X, 5.33.20.

Gratulantur,^e et annuunt sic fieri debere
 Sibique^f in hoc arguunt sacra^g scripta^h favere:
 Iumento nostro debemus adhibere saccum, paleasⁱ et
 flagellum,^j ut recitat^k Jo.¹⁵ de pe. di. ii. caritas
 est ut^l michi.¹⁶

- [15] Saccus^a quem dorso gerimus est labor inequalis,
 Palea quam comedimus^b cibus^c conventualis,
 Flagellum increpatio^d velox frequens et dura,
 Nec est hec^e obligatio tempore finitura.^f
 Sicut^g iumentum factus sum^h apud teⁱ et ego semper
 tecum:^j de voto c. magne § penultima^k 17 per
 Ostiensem.^l 18

- [16] Si diu sic serviero, ero pauper et anxius,
 Et si^a perseveravero,^b asinus molendinarius,^c
 Certe nec^d ab^e hoc differo qui^f mortuus excoiatur,
 Nam si ibi decessero meum peculium confiscatur.^g
 Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus
 est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis.^h

- [17] Si labores omnes subeo, non est qui cognoscat,^a
 Si semel seorsum abeo, non est^b qui^c ignoscat,^d

e gratulanter *PI* // f sibi quod *P2* // g sancta *P2* // h scriptura *PnP2* // i paleam *P2*: paleans *Pn* // j flagellans *Pn*; ecclesiastici xxxiii [33:25] in marg. *V2PIR* // k recta *VI*: et flagellum ecclesiastici xxxiii et recitat *P2* // l ut om. *VI*

[15] a sacco *Pn*; hic exponit clausulam precedentem in marg. *V2* // b comedimus *Pn* // c cibum *V2* // d flagellum est increpatio *VI* // e hec om. *P2* // f futura *Pn*: futuro *P2* // g sed ut *R*: si ut *Pn* // h suum *Pn* // i apud te factus sum *VI* // j tecum om. *R*; ps. lxxii [72:23] in marg. *V2PI* // k extra de v. et vo. re magne c. per ultima *PI* // l ostiensem corr. *V2*: de voto ... ostiensem om. *P2*

[16] a sic *R*: om. *Pn* // b perseveravera *Pn* // c molendarius *R* // d ne *VI*: vel *R* // e ab corr. *V2*: ob *RPV1PnP2* // f quod *R*: quin *PIV2* // g consistatur *Pn*: occupatur *P2* // h psalmo xlviii [48:13] in marg. *V2PIRP2*

[17] a Labores quotquot subeo non est hoc qui cognoscat *R* // b est om. *VI* // c cognoscat/si semel seorsum abeo non est qui om. *Pn* // d si semel seorsum abeo non est qui ignoscat om. *R*

¹⁵ Johannes Teutonicus, *Glossa ordinaria*, s.v. *subiectum*.

¹⁶ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.2 c.5.

¹⁷ X, 3.34.7.

¹⁸ Hostiensis [Henricus de Segusio Cardinalis] *In tertium decretalium librum commentaria* (Venice, 1581), fol. 127vb, s.v. *asini*.

Si^c diu bene servio,^f parum aut nichil mereor,^g
 Sed^h si semel deficio, nichil fecisse videor.
 Defleat igitur peccator quiaⁱ unius reus^j
 factus est omnium reus:^k de pe. di. ii. si enim¹⁹
 et di. v. consideret.²⁰

- [18] Sicut demon hominibus illudens cum^a fefellit
 Signorum coniectoris et ministris impellit,
 Sic domini pro viribus cum^b res male succedunt
 Imputant servitoribus et^c excusari credunt:
 Probantur hec xxvi. q. iiii. sciendum circa fi. v.
 sed ne.^d 21
- [19] Si servio decennio, ad nichilum^a ascribitur;^b
 Et tamen si quinquennio qui^c ab hoste redimitur^d
 Servierit, pro premio libertatem nanciscitur;^e
 Peior ergo conditio eius^f qui sic^g obsequitur.^h
 Sed ecce consolatioⁱ domini: 'amice,^j sufficiat^k
 tibi gratia mea': ii.^l ad chorint. xii.^m 22
- [20] Dominum meum intueor^a multum michi severum,^b
 Eum longe plus^c vereor quam Hester Assuerum
 Cui^d virgam ille porrigit cum videt eam^e retrorsum;

e nota *in marg.* V2 // f servio P1 // g habeo P2 // h et P1 // i qui Pn // j rei V2 // k quia in uno (?) offendens factus est omnium reus P2: omnium factus est reus P1; Jacobi ii [2:10] *in marg.* V2P1RP2

[18] a tamen R: om. Pn // b et V1 // c et om. V1 // d me Pn

[19] a nichil P2 // b describitur P2 // c quis V1 // d redimitur R // e nanciscitur P1: nanciscatur R: manciscatur Pn; C. de cap. et postliminio redemptis, diversarum [Cod. 8, 50, 20]; xxxvi. q. i. de raptorum [Gratian, 36, 1, 3] per Jo. [De raptoribus, s.v. *Ad serviendum*] add. R, *in marg.* V2P1P2 // f eius conditio Pn: conditio est eius V1: est add. s.s. V2 // g si V2; per decennium gl. V2 // h ecc. iiii *in marg.* R // i consolatio V1 // j amice om. V1 // k sufficit RP1P2 // l i. V2V1P1 // m sed ecce ... ad chorint. xii. om. Pn; i. ad corinth. xii *in marg.* R

[20] a cum dominum intueor P1 // b severis Pn; serenum V1 // c plus longe P1 // d qui P2: cum V1 // e eum V2Pn: illam P1: tam V1

¹⁹ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.2 c.40.

²⁰ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.5 c.1.

²¹ 'Fallunt [demones] etiam studio fallendi, et invida voluntate, qua hominum errore letantur. Sed ne apud cultores suos pondus auctoritatis amittant, id agunt, ut interpretibus suis signorumque suorum coniectoris culpa tribuatur, quando ipsi decepti fuerint vel mentiti'; Gratian, C.26 q.3 and 4, c.2 § 3, taken from Augustine, *De divinatione daemonum* 6.

²² 2 Cor 12:9.

Hic^f cum videt me negligit et vertit michi dorsum:
 Posteriora mea videbis, faciem meam videre non
 poteris:^g xxiii.^h q. i.ⁱ quia²³ cum glo.^j

- [21] Loquitur^a michi^b dominus arroganter ut corvus;
 Ac si fecissem facinus aspicit^c in me torvus.^d
 Cum^e vocor,^f ipsum adeo, et^g loquens^h genuflecto,
 Ad pedesⁱ eius sedeo,^j oculo non erecto.
 Sic enim decet eos^k suo^l ingenio suam dignitatem
 augere: lxxxvi. di.^m quando cum glo.,²⁴ ff. de offi.
 presidis, observandum;ⁿ ²⁵ xlv. di.^o disciplina per Gui.²⁶
- [22] Si quicquam^a postulavero, impingitur ambitio,
 Et si semper^b siluero, subinfertur^c oblivio;
 Si servire desiero,^d notatur^e variatio
 Et dicetur de cetero cum iugi^f improprio:^g
 Varius et mutabilis est ut^h femina homoⁱ ille:^j
 extra. de ver. sig. forus^k in fi.^l ²⁷ vel sicut
 puer: de despo.^m impu. c. ii.²⁸ et c. continebatur.²⁹

f scilicet dominus meus gl. V2 // g Exodi xxxiii in finem [33:23] in marg. V2P1R // h xxiii. V1 // i q. i. om. P2 // j xxiii. q. i. quia cum glo. om. P1

[21] a attende proprietatem illius domini in marg. V2 // b qui servio gl. V2 // c respicit V1 // d corvus R: carius Pn // e aliter tum gl. P1 // f aliter voceris gl. P1 // g et om. P2 // h ego gl. V2 // i A de pedes Pn // j iaceo P2 // k scilicet cardinales gl. V2 // l suos Pn // m vi. V1 // n observandi R // o di. om. V1

[22] a quidquam PnP1 // b semper om. Pn // c subintratur R // d desidero V1 // e vocatur R // f cum iudi R: coniugi V1: coniungi P1 // g improprio V2 // h in R // i homo om. P2 // j ad Titum iii [3:3] in marg. V2R // k fortus R // l ad tit. iii post in fi. P1: fi. om. V1 // m sponsa P1

²³ Gratian, C.24 q.1 c.22.

²⁴ Gratian, D.86 c.4, and Johannes Andreae's commentary s.v. *frangatur auctoritas*: 'Augere enim ex ingenio debet dignitatem, quia nimia familiaritas contemptum generat.'

²⁵ Dig., 1.18.19.

²⁶ Gratian, D.45 c.9, and *Rosarium*, fol. 49va, s.v. *exasperans*: 'Prelatus sese taliter habere ad subditos, ut ridens timeri et iratus possit amari, ne nimia letitia vilem vel immoderata severitas reddat odiosum.'

²⁷ X, 5.40.10.

²⁸ X, 4.2.2.

²⁹ X, 4.2.6.

- [23] Si canoniam postulem, 'non decet te' dicetur,^a
 'Faciemus^b te presulem, nec^c cor tuum turbetur;^d
 Satis cito^e percipies quid^f tibi tribuetur'.
 Sed ecce perniciēs:^g cito vita tolletur,^h
 Et sic inter scanna duo labitur anusⁱ humo:
 vii. q. i. si quis episcopus;³⁰ extra. de
 transla. quanto in fine.³¹
- [24] Si^a promovetur socius^b dicam eum^c inmeritum;
 Ex hoc arguam^d fortius me fuisse preteritum,
 Qui credebam propensius^e acquisivisse meritum.
 Ecce peccatum^f gravius me ducens ad interitum;
 Et hic est^g Jebuseus^h sine quo non possum esseⁱ in
 curia sicut nec filii Iuda in Iherusalem:^j xi. q. iii.
 nolite.³²
- [25] Promittitur promotio^a cum offert^b se^c facultas.
 Dicunt ore propitio^d vias adesse^e multas,
 Sed in hoc ut^f prospicio personas fallunt stultas.^g
 Prefertur^h nepos socio et ecce difficultas:
 Nec immerito, quia nemo carnem suam odio habuit:ⁱ
 xiii. q. ii. non estimemus.³³
- [26] Si tibi dicat presidens in magna potestate
 Aut asseveret residens in sua maiestate

[23] a dicere *Pn* // b faciamus *P2*; faciem *Pn* // c ne *P2* // d turbetur *Pn*; mutetur *P1* // e scito *P1P2* // f quis *V1* // g perniciēs *Pn* // h michi vel domino cui servo *gl. V2*, in *marg. V1* // i anus *om. Pn*

[24] a attende invidiam curie romane in *marg. V2* // b meus *gl. V2* // c ei *V1* // d arguens *P2* // e propinquius *Pn* // f scilicet invidie *gl. V2*, add. post peccatum *R* // g est *om. V1* // h Jebuseus *V1*; Jebuseus *R* // i esse *om. P2* // j Josue xv in fine [15:63] in *marg. V2P1P2R*

[25] a michi promotio *V2V1* // b offerret *R* // c cum se offert *P2* // d prospicio *Pn* // e habere *P2* // f ut bis *Pn*; quod *V1* // g multas *P1* // h proffertur *P2* // i ad ephē. v [5:29] in *marg. V2P1P2R* // j xii. *Pn*

³⁰ Gratian, C.7 q.1 c.31.

³¹ X, 1.7.3.

³² Gratian, C.11 q.3 c.22.

³³ Gratian, C.13 q.2 c.19.

Quod amet te veraciter^a et ex corde sincero,
 Non credas hoc faciliter,^b sed habeto pro vero
 Quod^c non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur
 maiestas et amor, pietas et magna potestas: de cleri.
 coniug. Johannes^d per Hostiensem.^e ³⁴

- [27] Quidam^a deludunt fatuos quamdiu sunt in vita,
 Quos pontificant mortuos et obloquuntur ita:
 'O mors, cur ponis obicem?'^b Cur tam cito venisti?
 Faceremus^c pontificem^d hunc^e quem interemisti,^f
 Quoniam a mortuo vel^g ab eo qui non^h est periitⁱ
 promotio^j: de pe. di. i. § hoc idem ver. item
 a mortuo.³⁵

- [28] De quodam^a rumor pertulit quod^b vitam finivisset:^c
 Dominus eius retulit: 'cras pontifex fuisset';
 Sed hic^d statim erubuit cum eum vivum novit,
 Nam nil viventi tribuit quem^e mortuum promovit.
 Utinam mors depascat eos qui sic mortuos^f
 pontificare noverunt:^g xi. q. iii. per Gui. in c.
 precipue.^h ³⁶

[26] a veraciter V2 // b fallaciter P1 // c quia P1 // d Johannem et V1 // e Hostiensem corr. ex Ostiensem V2

[27] a cardinales gl. V2 // b obicere R // c fecissemus P1: faceramus P2 // d pontificem om. R // e hunc om. Pn // f interemisti V1 // g velut (velud Pn) RPhP2 // h non om. V1 // i perit V1: qui in rem periit Pn: pro ut P2 // j ecclesiastici xvii [17:26] ysaie xxxvi in marg. V2PIP2R

[28] a scilicet de Petro de Braco qui hunc librum composuit gl. V2 // b quod om. Pn // c finisset P1 // d scilicet dominus gl. V2 // e quam Pn // f mortuos om. P1 // g noverunt R // h xi. q. iii. precipue per Gui RPhPIP2

³⁴ X, 3.3.7; Hostiensis, *In tertium decretalium librum commentaria* (Venice, 1581), fol. 10ra, s.v. *immiscere*.

³⁵ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.1 c.34.

³⁶ Gratian, C.11 q.3 c.3; *Rosarium*, fol. 181vb, s.v. *mortibus digni*: 'id est, penis tot peccatorum quot committunt coram subditis dum exemplum peccandi accipiunt, et ita perduntur secundum Hu. Et nota quod triplex est mors scilicet nature culpe et pene, de qua in psalmo "mors depascet eos" [Ps 48:15] sicut e converso triplex est vita, scilicet nature grate et glorie....'

- [29] Sed ecce, si promoveor non magis inde satior;^a
 Multis servire teneor unde fio pauperior;
 Quo^b transferar intueor, et sic ex hoc cupidior^c
 Quam prius dici mereor, nam longe magis^d crucior.
 Et sic est^e novissimus error^f peior priore: de pe.
 di. iii. inter hec^g hircum i;³⁷ et^h posteriora peiora
 prioribus: de pe. di. iiii.ⁱ s^j refugientes.^k ³⁸
- [30] Quid plura? Si sum^a translatus et divitiis habundo,^b
 Non ideo^c satiatus, plus appetens^d me confundo.
 Sed cum^e fuero sublatus, ut moris est, de hoc mundo,
 Non ero^f plus reputatus quam parvula sit yrundo,
 Nam nudus egressus sum de utero matris mee et
 nudus^g revertar^h illuc:ⁱ de scrut. in or. fa. c.
 unico per Hostien.^j ³⁹
- [31] Opes quas congregavi cum^a labore et sollicitudine
 Et quas^b vivens conservavi non sine furum^c formidine
 Occupabit superior vel predones vastabunt.^d
 Pro te, anima miserior, panem^e unum^f non dabunt;^g
 Dimiserunt alienis divitias suas et sepulcra eorum
 domus illorum^h in eternum.ⁱ
- [32] O ambitio! subii tecum crudele bellum;^a
 Sed ecce nunc repudii mittam tibi libellum^b
 Quem^c lege mosayca et canonica^d fundabo

[29] ^a a socior *R* // ^b ut *P2* // ^c cupior *Pn* // ^d iugis *Pn* // ^e erit *P1* // ^f Es sic error novissimus *P2* // ^g hoc *R* // ^h et *om.* *V1* // ⁱ iii. *V1V2RPn* // ^j si *om.* *V1* // ^k i petri ii *in marg.* *V2R*, ii petri ii [2:20] *in marg.* *P1*, mathei xxvii [sic: 12:45] *in marg.* *P2*: hircum i ... si refugientes *om.* *P2*

[30] ^a sim *P2* // ^b habendo *Pn* // ^c adeo *P2* // ^d appetans *P2* // ^e tamen *V1* // ^f ergo *R* // ^g et nudus *bis* *V1* // ^h reverter *Pn* // ⁱ Job i [1:21] *in marg.* *V2P1R* // ^j Hostien. *corr. ex.* Ostien. *V2*: per Hostien. *om.* *P2*

[31] ^a tunc *V1* // ^b qua *V1* // ^c furis *P2*: fractum *V1* // ^d devastabunt *P2* // ^e pannum *R* // ^f unum panem *V1* // ^g pro te ... non dabunt *om.* *Pn* // ^h illorum *om.* *Pn* // ⁱ ps. xlviii [48:11-12] *in marg.* *V2P1P2*

[32] ^a crude tecum bellum *P2* // ^b bellum *Pn* // ^c quam *V1* // ^d canonica et mosayca *P1*

³⁷ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.3 c. 34 § 1.

³⁸ Gratian, *De poen.*, D.4 c.18.

³⁹ X, 1.12.1; Hostiensis; *In primum decretalium librum commentaria* (Venice, 1581), fol. 103vb, s.v. *dignum debeat estimare*.

Necnon evangelica^e et civili firmabo,
 Ut sic quadruplex funiculus^f difficile rumpatur:^g
 extra. de treuga et pace c. i.^h 40

- [33] Moyses^a individuitatem^b quam decet^c matrimonium^d
 Permisit ob fedtatem dissolvi per repudium;
 Sed et propter feritatem,^e si sit antiquum odium,
 Eandem^f severitatem^g laxavit ad divortium,
 Et hoc^h propter duriciamⁱ gentis illius ne eas^j
 interficerent:^k xxxv di. c. ab exordio cum glossa Gui.^l 41

- [34] Tu feda^a quidem existis^b fetore detestabilis,^c
 Plusquam leprosa consistis amplexibus orribilis,^d
 Et incessanter^e persistis sane^f menti^g odibilis^h
 Et sic per Moysen tristis adⁱ repudium^j es^k habilis.^l
 Detestor enim fetorem^m tuum et nares claudonⁿ et odi^o
 et proieci festivitates tuas:^p i. q. i. odit,^r 42
 xxiiii. s. q. i. odi.^s 43

- [35] Cernens^a canon^b obprobrium servilis conditionis
 Atque grave dispendium imparis prestationis^c
 Obsequii^d mutui, que tam est inequalis,
 Permittit eum^e respui qui ignorabatur talis^f
 Ne tam gravi dampno quis errans afficiatur^g et ne

e et evangelica P1 // f funis P2 // g rumpatur difficile Pn; ecci. [sic] iiii [Ecclesiastes 4:12] in marg. V2P1 // h ii. P2

[33] a primo per legem mosaycam in marg. V2R // b duritatem V1: in divinitatem Pn // c docet V1Pn: om. V2 // d matrimoniorum V1 // e ferocitatem Pn // f eiusdem R // g serenitatem V1 // h hec R // i duritatem V1 // j eadem V1 // k occiderent P2 // l deuterono. xx [sic: 24:1; cf. Matt. 19:8] add. P2

[34] a fede V1 // b o ambitio gl. V2 // c detestibus illis Pn // d orabilis V1 // e intercessanter Pn: incessanter R // f sene Pn // g mente Pn: mentis R // h sane menti odibilis om. P2 // i ad om. P1 // j repudio P1 // k ens V1: os R // l amabilis V1 // m fatorem R // n cludo Pn // o odivi P2 // p ysa. i [1:13] in marg. V2P1P2R // q i. om. Pn // r odi et P2: i. q. i. odit om. P1 // s xxiiii. V1

[35] a secundo per canones in marg. V2 // b cernemus tamen V1 // c presentationis R // d obsequi V1 // e enim V1 // f obsequii mutui ... ignorabatur talis om. Pn // g efficiatur R

⁴⁰ X, 1.34.1.

⁴¹ Gratian, D.35 c.2; *Rosarium*, fol. 39vb, s.v. *repudium*: 'Cause autem huius divortii erant tres. Una propter fedtatem ... alia erat propter odium inveteratum ... tertia erat que implicatur in his duobus scilicet timor uxoricidii.'

⁴² Gratian, C.1 q.1 c.62.

⁴³ Gratian, C.24 q.1 c.28.

contractus claudicet.^h extra. de coniugioⁱ servorum
c. proposuitⁱ per Innocen. et Hostien.^k 44

- [36] Tua quoque condicio vilis est^a et abiecta,
Sine quoquo^b mendacio^c servilis^d et despecta,
Que tam gravi servicio semper est^e subiecta.
Sic canonis^f iudicio eris iuste^g reiecta,
Quoniam errans tecum contraxi: extra.^h de
coniug. servorumⁱ per totum.^j 45
- [37] Lex^a sancta^b evangelii, ob^c coniugis^d fornicationem,
Dedit causam^e repudii quoad thori separationem;
Fortiorem discidi^f dedit nobis preceptionem^g
Deus, ob^h adulterii spiritualis occasionem:
Si uxor tua que dormitⁱ in sinu tuoⁱ depravare^k
voluerit veritatem, sit manus tua super eam.^l
xxiii. q. viii. legi;⁴⁶ xxiii. q. iii. notandum.⁴⁷
- [38] Nidus fornicationis est tua natura,
Ut filia Babilonis denudas tua crura,^a
Plurium^b deceptionis iugis est tibi cura,
Magistro perditionis tua servit cultura.
Tu enim es^c Jezabel que stupro^d proprii corporis

h claudisset V1: claudicit R // i coniugis V1 // j de coniug. sed proposuit Pn // k Hostien. corr. ex Ostien. V2

[36] a est vilis Pn // b quoque V2P2: quo R // c mendato P1 // d vilis est V1 // e es V2P1Pn // f canones V1 // g iuste eris RPn P2 // h extra. om. Pn // i servis V1 // j extra ... per totum om. P2

[37] a tertio per (R) evangelium in marg. V2R // b sacrata R: dicta P1 // c per P2 // d coniugii P1 // e tamen V1R // f distidii R: distigii V1V2Pn P1 // g perceptionem V1P1P2 // h ab V1Pn // i que dormit om. P1 // j tuo om. R // k deputare Pn // l deuterio xiii [13:6-9] in marg. V2P1R, deuterio x in marg. P2 // m et iiii Pn

[38] a cura RP2; xxiii. q. v. si paulus [Gratian, 32, 5, 11] ysaie xlvii [47:2] in marg. V2P1, inter ut filia ... crura et plurium ... cura add. R // b pluriumque Pn // c es om. V1 // d strupro R

⁴⁴ X, 4.9.2; *Innocentii quarti pont. maximi in quinque libros decretalium apparatus* (Lyons, 1578), fol. 308vb, s.v. *divortii*; Hostiensis, *In quartum decretalium librum commentaria* (Venice, 1581), fol. 22va-b, s.v. *servilis conditionis*.

⁴⁵ X, 4.9.

⁴⁶ Gratian, C.23 q.8 c.13.

⁴⁷ Gratian, C.24 q.3 c.37.

homines ad ydolatriam provocas:^e xxiii.^f q. iii.^g
 § sed obicitur.⁴⁸

- [39] Lex^a civilis coniugibus condonavit repudium^b
 Ex multis rationibus, inter quas est flagitium^c
 Quo^d unus ex consortibus machinatur in alium,
 Procurans factionibus venenosis divorsium;
 Et^e merito, quia periculosus est talis hospes sicut^f
 ignis in sinu vel serpens in gremio: xiii.^g q. i
 § ad hec,⁴⁹ extra. de iudeis, et si iudeos.^h 50

- [40] Ut latens sub dulcedine venenum solet dari,
 Sic sub boni velamine^a nosti^b prevaricari;^c
 Quos dignitatis culmine promittis^d exaltari^e
 Mortis amaritudine facis preoccupari.^f
 Crudelis enim es et nulli misereris,^g ut
 recitat Gui. iii.^h q. i.ⁱ nulli.⁵¹

- [41] Repudium multiplici lege firmum teneto,^a
 Per quod^b a^c me te^d reici iustis ex causis videto,
 Unde^e irrevocabiliter^f res tuas^g tibi teneto;

e provocans *VI*; iii regum xviii et xix et apoca. ii [2:20] *in marg. V2R, post provocas add. P1*; iii regis apoca. *in marg. P2 // f* xxiii. *P1 // g* iii. *V1P1*

[39] a quod lex *Pn*; quarto per iura civilia *in marg. V2*, quarto per civile *in marg. R // b* repudium condonavit *VI // c* in au. ut liceat et avae § quia vero coll. viii [Nov. 117, 8] et nota hosti. de divor. c. i. [Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*, Venice, 1586, col. 1402] et Ber. c. ii [X, 4.19.2, s.v. *vel alio crimine*] *in marg. V2R*; de divor. c. i...hosti... [cetera non leg.] *in marg. P2 // d* qua *VI*: quod *PnPI // e* ecclesiastici xxvi [26: 9-15] *in marg. V2R // f* sicut *VI // g* iii. *P1 // h* extra. de iudeis eccl. xxvi et prover. vi [6:18] *P1*

[40] a dulcedine *P2 // b* nosti *om. Pn // c* prevaricaris *VI*: prevari *V2 // d* promittit *Pn // e* exaltaris *VI // f* preoccuparis *VI // g* miseris *Pn*; Jere. vi [6:23] *in marg. V2PIR // h* iii. *P2 // i* iii. *VI*

[41] a habeto *P1 // b* quos *VI // c* ad *VI // d* te *om. P1 // e* et *P2 // f* unde dico totaliter *P1 // g* tua *V2*: tuas res *P2*

⁴⁸ Gratian, C.23 q.4 c.29.

⁴⁹ Gratian, C.13 q.1 c.1 § 11.

⁵⁰ X, 5.6.13.

⁵¹ Gratian, C.3 q.1 c.5; *Rosarium*, fol. 137rb, s.v. *non cessat*: 'per hoc quod dicit "non cessat", innuit quod [diabolus] sit sollicitus non negligens, per hoc quod dicit "circumire" innuit quod sit cautus et astutus; qui enim vult capere castrum non incedit per rectam viam, sed circumit ut videat ex qua parte possit capere facilius; ita facit diabolus; per hoc quod dicit "querens quem devoret" innuit quod sit crudelis ... et non miserebitur.'

Ex nunc vivam alacriter sine te et in quieto,^h
 Quia nil laboriosiusⁱ quam terrenis estuare^j desideriiis,^k
 nil quietius quam nichil^l appetere in hoc mundo,^m utⁿ
 recitat^o Gui. xlvii. di. omnes.⁵²

- [42] Jhesus qui cum resticulis^a cupidos flagellavit,^b
 Qui Petrum solvit vinculis^c et qui ter liberavit^d
 Paulum a maris^e fluctibus,^f pellat cupiditatem;^g
 Tuis me solvat nexibus, infundens caritatem,^h
 Inⁱ cuius amplitudine, non in graduum sublimitate,^j
 queritur regnum dei: extra. de tempo. or. ad aures.^k ⁵³

Explicit compendiosum^a repudium^b ambitionis contra miseros
 dominorum cardinalium servitores^c compositum per dominum
 Petrum de Braco, sacri palatii auditorem et domini pape^d capellanum.^e

APPENDIX

These three stanzas are to be found only in *P2*, fol. 70v (see above, p. 13). The citations do not follow the stanzas, but are in the left-hand margin of the page, and are so represented here. It will be noted that the second stanza lacks one verse.

Quia posuit deum adiutorem suum et non	Si nullus munus offero
speravit in multitudinem divitiarum suarum'	semper dicar ingratus;
ps. li [51:9].	Si ad portam accessero
	ero retro fugatus;
	Et si vis me ingessero

h quiete *V1* // i laboriosus *PnR*: laboriosius *V2* // j inestutare *P2* // k Gregorius in *marg. V2RP1* // l nil *P1V1*: quam nichil *om. Pn* // m secundum Gregorium *add. RV1PnP2*, in *marg. V2*: *om. P1* // n et *PnRP2* // o rescitat *V1*: recita *P2*

[42] a Jhesus qui de funiculis *P1* // b mathi xxi [21:12] in *marg. V2* // c actuum xii [12:7] in *marg. V2* // d marci vi [6:48] in *marg. V2* // e mare *V1* // f actuum xxvi in *marg. V2* // g Johannis ii [2:15] in *marg. V2* // h sublimitatem *V1* // i mathi. xxi, marci vi, jo. ii, ac. xii, ac. xxvii in *marg. R* // j caritatem *V1* // k amen *add. RPn*

[Explicit] a Explicit Petrus (?) *P2*; compendiosum *om. P1* // b repudii *V1* // c servitorum *V1* // d Innocentii pape sexti in *marg. man. rec. V2* // e qui beatissimus (?) est etc. *add. man. rec. V2*; contra ... capellanum *om. P1*: compendiosum ... capellanum *om. P2*: Explicit ... capellanum *om. PnR*

⁵² Gratian, D.47 c.3; *Rosarium*, fol. 51va, s.v. *tardius*.

⁵³ X, 1.11.5.

'Quia beatus es et bene tibi erit' ps. cxxvii
[127:2]

Quia ecce ipsi potentes et habundantes in
seculo obtinuerunt divitias et beneficia ps. x
[sic: 72:12].

nimis vituperatus;
Dicetur cum abiero
'hic est iuste condemnatus,

Sed si quicquam detulero,
statim aperietur;
Si munus iteravero
mitra promittetur;
'Nec roges nos de cetero'
blanda voce dicetur,

Jura de sermonia
cedunt in abusum,
Nec horum observancia
valet unum fusum.
Expedit hunc titulum
tenere obtusum
Et donandi cumulum
infrequentem usum,

University of Toronto.

'SEDENS SUPER FLUMINA': A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY POEM AGAINST THE FRIARS *

Penn R. Szittyá

FROM the polemical campaigns against the friars in the latter half of the fourteenth century many treatises and poems have been lost, including works by Richard Fitzralph, Richard Kilwington, Uhtred of Boldon, William of Excester, Peter Pateshull, and others.¹ The recovery of a vitriolic Latin poem would not normally be cause for celebration except among aficionados of vitriol, but the poem from Digby 98 here printed can be linked to a particular dispute with more historical precision than most. In addition, as I have tried to indicate in the notes, it is colorful, learned, and highly allusive, and incidentally helps to substantiate a thesis advanced elsewhere,² that antifraternal poetry is basically a poetry of symbolism, in which the friars are presented as direct fulfillments of Biblical prophecies, or as analogues or typological antitypes of Biblical figures, like the Pharisees, false apostles, or *antichristi* whom—so said their enemies—they so much resembled.

Date and authorship are the major problems confronting an editor of this poem. The unique manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 98, offers no significant clues. The poem is written in a small, heavily abbreviated English script of the early fifteenth century. It occurs without attribution, on fol. 194r-v, in a quire (fols. 177-216) which seems to be an early fifteenth-century anthology of materials concerning the friars, mostly negative: the rule and testament of St. Francis; two antimonic letters of Satan; a letter from Henry IV, dated 12 May 1400, forbidding preaching by secular or regular unless licensed by the bishop; two

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¹ A reasonably, though not consistently, reliable indication of lost antifraternal works can be obtained from the two works by John Bale mentioned in footnotes 4 and 5, and from the works of other Renaissance antiquarians like John Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus anglis tomus primus...* (Paris, 1619) and John Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus britannicis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1709), and the later Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca britannico-hibernica* (London, 1748; rpt. Tucson, Ariz., 1963).

² 'The Antifraternal Tradition in Middle English Literature', *Speculum* 52 (1977) 287-313.

apocalyptic excerpts from the works of St. Hildegard, widely regarded as an anti-fraternal prophetess; part of the *De periculis* of William of St. Amour; and two treatises by John Whitehead against the friars. The poem comes between, and in the same hand as, the *Pentacronon* of Hildegard and the *De periculis* of William of St. Amour (which is preceded by an irregularly sized vellum insertion: a Latin poem on the Council of London in 1382, also with antifraternal overtones).

So far as I can tell, before myself, the last aficionado to appreciate this poem was John Bale, that great turncoat reformer and the realm's second best antiquary, who saw a copy of it between 1547 and 1552.³ Bale is particularly important to my account here because he asserts categorically that the poem is by one Peter Pateshull. If so, the poem in Digby 98 becomes mildly exciting as the only extant work of a fourteenth-century English writer, all of whose works (according to the *DNB*) had been thought lost. Bale's attribution therefore bears examination.

We know very little about Peter Pateshull. He was a learned man, a doctor of theology from Oxford, and according to Bale, a prolific writer of antifraternal poems and treatises in the last years of the fourteenth century. Bale lists, in his *Scriptores illustres majoris Brytanniae*,⁴ the following works by Pateshull, none of which have been seen since Bale saw them in the sixteenth century: *Vita fratrum mendicantium* (a commentary on the prophecies of Hildegard against the fraternal orders), *Defensorium Armachani*, *Noua cantilena* ('Vox in Rama resonat'), *Lamentationes fratrum* ('O quis dabit capiti'), *Risus natalicii* ('De nihilo nihil est'), *De flagitiis Augustinensium*, *De nequitiiis Dominicanorum*, *Mandata legis euangelicae*, *De desolatione Ecclesiae*, *Lectura theologiae* (4 books), *Determinationes aliquot*, *Postillationes Scripturae*, *Sermones in papismo*, *Sermones contra papismum*, 'atque alia plura'. Many of these, says Bale, were consigned to the fire.

The work Bale here calls *Defensorium Armachani* he describes in greater detail in his notebook, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*: 'Rhithmos facetos atque elegantes fecit in defensionem Ricardi Armachani archiepiscopi, et Ricardi Kylynton decani Londinensis ad diuum Paulum, Contra fratres, li. 1, "Sedens super flumina, fleui Babylonis"'.⁵ This incipit, of course, is precisely that of the poem here printed from Digby 98.

Why did Bale think the poem was by Pateshull? Two possibilities suggest themselves: there was an attribution in the manuscript he saw; or he deduced it from external and internal evidence. Let us investigate each. First of all, can we find the manuscript he saw? From the comments in his *Index*, we may be sure of at least

³ For the date, see Neil Ker, 'Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', *Bodleian Library Record* 6 (1959) 491.

⁴ (Basel: Johannis Oporinus, 1557-59), p. 510.

⁵ *Index Britanniae scriptorum ... John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1902), p. 322.

one thing—Bale did see a manuscript containing the poem, in fact, a Queen's College (Oxford) manuscript, which curiously appears to have disappeared not long after, since the poem is not listed in any of the subsequent catalogues of James, Bernard, or Coxe. In his *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, Bale lists a large number of works connected with the mendicant controversies, both for and against the friars, including works by William of St. Amour, William of Excester, William Woodford, John Peckham, Roger Conway, Uhtred of Boldon, most of which he saw at Queen's College, Oxford. All of these Queen's College works disappeared before the great catalogues were begun.

Exactly what became of the manuscript containing 'Sedens super flumina' (and for that matter, all the other manuscripts) at Queen's is something of a mystery. Digby 98 is certainly not the manuscript that Bale saw. It has no known associations with Queen's College. Furthermore, some of the antifraternal treatises copied into the same quire as 'Sedens super flumina' in Digby 98 are nowhere listed by Bale; and conversely, of the works Bale saw at Queen's (and listed in his *Index*) only 'Sedens super flumina' and William of St. Amour's *De periculis novissimorum temporum* appear here. However, we do know that when Bale left England for Ireland to become bishop of Ossory in December of 1552, he took with him an impressive library whose titles show a remarkable correspondence to titles of works he had examined at Oxford and Cambridge.⁶ Bale's library was unfortunately ransacked and dispersed after he was run out of Ireland in 1553. His diocese apparently thought him a substantially better book collector than a bishop. In modern times, a number of manuscripts have turned up which were once in Bale's possession, including three that originally belonged to Queen's College, Oxford.⁷ Two of these, Phillipps ms. 3119 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 3183, contain numerous documents and tracts bearing upon the mendicant controversies—but not, unfortunately, our poem.⁸ Whatever they show about Bale's penchant for pinching manuscripts, these two codices are valuable at least for showing us that in his *Index* and in his *Scriptores illustres*, Bale did record the authors, titles, and incipits of Queen's College mss. fairly much as he found them. However, since we lack the Queen's College ms. of 'Sedens super flumina', this line of investigation must remain inconclusive.

⁶ Honor McCusker, 'Books and Manuscripts Formerly in the Possession of John Bale', *The Library*, 4th Ser., 16 (1936) [Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 2nd Ser., vol. 16] 145 ff.; also Ker, 'Oxford College Libraries', 491-92.

⁷ Ker, *ibid.*

⁸ A. G. Little, ed., *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, 1st English edition (Manchester, 1951), pp. xiv-xvii, contains a description of the contents of Phillipps ms. 3119, now Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Lat. misc. c.75. F. Pelster, S.J., 'Eine Kontroverse zwischen englischen Dominikaner und Minoriten über einige Punkte der Ordensregel', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 3 (1933) 58-60, provides a description of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 3183.

Turning to the possibility that Bale deduced Pateshull's authorship: we know, from the wording of his published comments on Pateshull, that most of what Bale knew about him derived from Thomas Walsingham's *Historia anglicana*.⁹ Under the year 1387, Walsingham reports that an Augustinian friar named Peter Pateshull became an apostate and began to hold with the Wyclifites, preaching and decrying the faults of his own order. On one occasion, at the church of St. Christopher in London, he so aroused the friars that twelve of them came to denounce him. Some Lollards present attacked their spokesman, trampling him, driving the others away, and threatening to burn down the houses of the friars. Peace was restored by a humble friar, Thomas Asshebourne, and one of the sheriffs of London. But in the aftermath the Lollards urged Pateshull to write down what he had been saying, which he did, accusing his former brethren of the murder of several of their fellows, declaring them traitors to the king and charging them with sodomy. The list completed, he nailed it to the gateway of St. Paul's in London, to bring the greater confusion upon the friars. Peter Pateshull was nothing if not zealous in his apostasy.

In Walsingham's account there are some faint similarities to our poem. The author of 'Sedens super flumina' also claims to have been once a friar, now an apostate; also to have been harassed by the friars for it; also to devote himself now to decrying the friars' faults. Did John Bale conclude, from this slender parallelism, that Pateshull was the author of 'Sedens'? We cannot know with certainty, but I would like to observe that Bishop Bale had a more than antiquary interest in apostasy. One of the most notable apostates in the reign of King Henry VIII was a man who left the order of Carmelite friars at the time of the Acts of Suppression in the 1530's to become not only a secular priest but a zealot for reform on the king's behalf: none other than Bilious John, soon to be Bishop, Bale. And Bale the Apostate had an interest in antifraternel vitriol that one is tempted to call unhealthy: he recorded the existence of more antifraternel lore than any other person in history and commended its authors ('rithmos facetos et elegantes'); he 'collected' antifraternel anthologies such as the two Queen's College MSS. I mentioned earlier; and he also kept a notebook, now preserved in British Library MS. Cotton Titus D.x, in which he excerpted the most edifying passages concerning fraternel drunkenness, riot, murder, fornication, and sodomy. One may see in all this only the pedantic interests of the antiquary, but I sense in it a large measure of self-justification and self-defense. If so, it would have been natural for apostate Bale to see in apostate Pateshull a kind of ersatz hero who had, 150 years before, set the pattern of Bale's own future, and therefore natural for him to want to exaggerate, even to create, Pateshull's literary history.

⁹ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (RS 28.1; London, 1863-64), 2. 157-59. See also Aubrey Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (London, 1940), pp. 273-75 for a comment and a translation of Walsingham's account.

Fortunately we possess good evidence that Bale did exactly that; and evidence that Bale was wrong about Pateshull's authorship. Among the works he ascribes to Pateshull in his *Scriptores illustres* is a poem beginning 'Quis dabit capiti, pelagus aquarum'. This poem survives in a ms. at Trinity College, Cambridge, and has recently been edited by A. G. Rigg.¹⁰ It is highly unlikely that this poem is by Pateshull as Bale says, because it is not against but for the friars and written (it says) by someone so impressed with the fraternal way of life that he will shortly join an order. And close reading of the poem reveals a startling fact: 'Quis dabit capiti' is a companion poem to 'Sedens super flumina'. As the opening line of 'Quis dabit capiti' alludes to the weeping of Jeremiah for the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer 9:1), so 'Sedens super flumina fleui Babylonis' alludes to the weeping (of Jeremiah, says the *Glossa*) for the Babylonian captivity (Ps 136:1). Further correspondences in Biblical imagery and phrasing include the city *desolata*; the beasts of the Apocalypse, lion, leopard, and bear; the crucifixion; the *bis bini ordines*. Both are O and I poems of almost the same length (26 and 30 six-line, similarly rhymed stanzas). From such correspondences, it would seem that when the author of 'Quis dabit' claims he is not a friar but about to become one, and when the author of 'Sedens' says he has been a friar but has just left the order, we have not autobiographical statement as Bale thought but parallel fictional devices of obvious polemical usefulness. Indeed, A. G. Rigg established the conventionality of the fictional claim to have been a friar a few years back.¹¹ One wonders too if the device of paired polemical poems, one *pro*, one *contra*, was not also a convention in light of the numerous examples still extant: *Jack Upland* and *Friar Daw's Reply* (and *Upland's Rejoinder*); 'The Layman's Complaint' and 'The Friar's Answer'; 'De superstitione Phariseorum' and Tryvytlam's 'De laude universitatis Oxonie'; perhaps indeed Chaucer's Friar's and Summoner's Tales.¹²

'Quis dabit capiti' also gives us a clear indication of the date of 'Sedens super flumina'. Bale's theory requires a date after 1387, when Pateshull left the order. But as A. G. Rigg points out, the former poem in three stanzas (8, 17, 18) alludes

¹⁰ *An Edition of a Fifteenth-Century Commonplace Book* (Trinity College, Cambridge, ms. O.9.38) (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1966). For a printed version of the poem with confusing punctuation and some textual errors, see W. Heuser, 'With an O and an I', *Anglia* 27 (1904) 315-19. For a description and commentary, see also A. G. Rigg, *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 76-77. I would like to thank Professor Rigg for providing a copy of his edition of 'Quis dabit capiti', and especially for his generosity in comparing my text to Digby 98 and offering numerous suggestions which have improved the edition.

¹¹ 'William Dunbar: the "Fenyeit Freir"', *Review of English Studies* N.S. 14 (1963) 269-73.

¹² For the Upland poems, see P. L. Heyworth, ed., *Jack Upland, Friar Daw's Reply, and Jack Upland's Rejoinder* (Oxford, 1968); for 'The Layman's Complaint' pair, R. H. Robbins, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York, 1959); for the 'De superstitione Phariseorum' pair, A. G. Rigg, 'Two Latin Poems against the Friars', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968) 106-18 and thesis (see n. 10 above).

unambiguously to current controversies between Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, and the friars. These can be no other than the famous controversies begun in 1356 when Fitzralph began a series of four vernacular sermons attacking the friars from St. Paul's Cross in London.¹³ Whether 'Sedens' or 'Quis dabit' came first cannot easily be determined, but as they respond to each other, surely both must be dated after 1357 and probably before 1360 when Fitzralph, and with him the dispute, died.¹⁴

The edition of the poem which follows is printed with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library. ms. spellings have been retained, but the punctuation and capitalization are editorial. ms. abbreviations are expanded. Angled brackets indicate emendations or missing abbreviation strokes.

¹³ For accounts of the sermons and controversy, see most recently Katherine Walsh, 'Archbishop Fitzralph and the Friars at the Papal Court in Avignon, 1357-60', *Traditio* 31 (1975) 223-45, especially 233; also Aubrey Gwynn, 'Archbishop Fitzralph and the Friars', *Studies* 26 (1937) 51-67, and 'The Sermon Diary of Richard Fitzralph', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 44 (1937/38), Section C, 1-57.

¹⁴ Professor Rigg points out to me that 'Quis dabit capiti' (line 140) scorns metrical incompetence in the poems of the friars' opponents, and that 'Sedens super flumina' contains numerous examples of what might have been thought just such incompetence (e.g., additional unstressed syllables in numerous lines, no internal rhyme at the caesura like that in 'Quis dabit capiti'). If the criticism of 'Quis dabit' is directed specifically at the metre of 'Sedens', 'Sedens' must be the earlier poem.

SEDENS SUPER FLUMINA

- f. 194ra Sedens super flumina fleui babilonis
 Et respexi pliaides more strutionis,
 Que vestitur habitu desolationis;
 Vi confundor undique vive rationis.
 5 With an o and an i, fratres deceperunt
 Me cum suum habitum portare fecerunt.

Sed propter superbiam habitum dimisi,
 Que in ipsis vegetat, quam ad hos remisi,
 Et me cardinalium cetui submisi,

1 Ps 136:1: 'Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, cum recordaremur Sion. This psalm was commonly understood to refer to the time of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon; see the *Glossa ordinaria* (I cite the edition in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.: *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria & Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus literali ac morali*, 6 vols. [Lyons, 1545]). The poet is drawing an analogy between his time as a friar and the Babylonian captivity, neatly inverting Nicolas of Lyra's comment on this verse: 'Moraliter. Super flumina. Iste psalmus est lamentatio existentium in Babylonica captivitate. Moraliter autem est planctus peccatoris de hoc quod fuit in daemonis servitute. Et magis proprie religiosi apostate de sua miseria dolentis.' The author claims to have been in danger of being declared an apostate himself in the next stanza.

2 'And I looked up at the Pleiades like an ostrich.' *more strutionis*: 'Now when the time comes for it to lay some eggs, the ostrich raises its eyes to heaven and looks to see whether those stars which are called the Pleiades are visible. Nor will it lay until the Pleiades appear. When, however, it perceives that constellation, round about the month of June, it digs a hole in the earth, and there it deposits the eggs and covers them with sand. Then it gets up, instantly forgets all about them, and never comes back any more. ... Now if the Ostrich knows its times and seasons, and, disregarding earthly things, cleaves to the heavenly ones—even unto the forgetting of its own offspring—how much the more should you, O Man, strive after the reward of the starry calling, on account of which God was made man that he might enlighten you from the powers of darkness and place you with the chiefs of his people in the glorious kingdom of the heavens' (T. H. White, trans., *The Book of Beasts* [London, 1969], pp. 121-22). Much the same interpretation is found in the Bestiary printed in Charles Cahier, *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature* 3 (Paris, 1853), pp. 258-59. Both Isaiah and Jeremiah stress that when Babylon is destroyed on 'the day of the Lord' and made desolate, it will be inhabited by ostriches: 'habitabunt in ea [Babylon] struthionies, et non inhabitabitur ultra usque in sempiternum, nec exstruetur usque ad generationem et generationem' (Jer 50:39; see Is 13:20-21).

3 *que*: with *Babilonis. habitu desolationis*: word play whose point becomes clear in line 6 with the introduction of the friars' *habitum*.

4 'I am utterly ashamed by virtue of life-giving reason.' For this meaning of *confundor* see R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965). The phrase *vive rationis* recurs at line 98.

7 *superbiam*: the friars' pride.

8 '... (the pride) which grows in them (and) which I sent back to them'. *Quem* for *quam*, taken with *habitum* would be preferable in sense.

9 *cetui*: from *coetus/coitus*, 'assemblage'.

- 10 Ut penam iniungerent mihi si commisi.
With an o and an i, non apostatavi
Professu< s > cum non fueram; sed regulam probavi.

Per longeva tempora hii fratres vigeant
Sed post pestilenciam maxime floreant

- 15 Et hoc quia cum dominis multa deponebant.
Tamen castos fieri semper hii spernebant.
With an o and an i, peccatum precessit
Sed consequenter sequitur pudor et accrescit.

- 20 Hii pro leui precio volunt periurari:
19 Sacratas reliquias tangunt in altari,
Dicentes quod viderant lilia nigrari
Et siccari maria, corvos albicari.
With an o and an i, dum peccatum regnat,
In secretis cameris bursa fratrum pregnat.

- f. 194rb 25 Aliud flagitium fratres iam sectantur
Quod est adulterium, ut m < u > lti testantur,
Nam contractus dirimunt qui r < a > ti comprobantur,
Et qui rite nupserint hiis diuoriantur.
With an o and an i, in contractu comes
30 Erit f < r > ater protinus et in peccato fomes.

Hii bis bini ordines bis binis notantur
Bestiis, ut notule danielis fantur.

12 *professus: professum* ms. 'Since I was not professed; however, I had approved the Rule.' *professus*: i.e., having officially taken vows. The distinction is between one who elects to live under the Rule, and one who takes the vows of the order.

13 ms. reads 'Nam per longa vigeant hii fratres (!)' with an erased 'tempora' in the margin. But also in the margin is a caret which refers to a correction written at the top of the page: 'Per longeva tempora hii fratres vigeant'.

15 *cum dominis multa deponebant*: 'they buried many things with lords', whom the friars frequently buried in their habits and from whom the orders received bequests as well as burial fees. If *dominis* is feminine, a possible word play: 'they deposited many things with ladies'.

19-20 ms. gives line 19 first; 19 and 20 marked b and a respectively for transposition.

27-30 *rati: riti* ms. 'For they destroy marriages (marital contracts) which are valid and approved, and those who are properly married are divorced by them. ... A friar will be a partner in marriage quick as a wink, and set the fires of sin ablaze (lit., will be kindling wood in sin).'

30 *frater: fater* ms.

32-36 Dan 7:2-7: 'Videbam in visione mea nocte ... et quattuor bestiae grandes ascendebant de mari diversae inter se. Prima quasi leaena. ... Et ecce bestia alia similis urso in parte stetit. ... Post haec

- Leo, ursus, pariter pardus adunantur,
Et leena iungitur, sicque congregantur.
- 35 With an o and an i, scandebant de mari
Iste fere bestie, presto novercari.
- Heu per septem stipites fratres supportantur
Qui septem mortalia clare designantur,
Per que monasteria sua situantur.
- 40 Ac venusta pereunt et redintegrantur.
With an o and an i, vellent esse reges;
Quod absit a seculo ne confundant leges.
- Est ingens absurditas quam fratres includunt;
Christum fore pauperem pro posse concludunt.
- 45 Tamen epulenciis ultro se intrudunt
Et illud quod predicant, in adversum cudunt.
With an o and an i, dives purpuratus
Lazari sub gremio iacet sed velatus.
- 'Crucifige' clamitent omnes super eum
- 50 Qui primo concluderat mendicare deum,
Et stridendo dentibus irruant in reum;
Cum Aman in stipite reportet tropheum.

aspiciebam, et ecce alia quasi pardus. ... Post haec aspiciebam in visione noctis, et ecce bestia quarta terribilis, atque mirabilis, et fortis nimis. ...' The Beast of the Sea in Apoc 13 combines many of the features of these four beasts from Dan 7.

36 *presto novercari*: 'ready to threaten us'. *novercari* lit. means 'to act like a stepmother', so the line must be taken ironically.

37 *septem stipites*: *stipites* can be translated a number of ways ('gallows' as at line 52 below, 'branches of a candlestick', or 'branches of a tree'). I prefer the last because the seven deadly sins (*mortalia*, next line) were frequently depicted as a tree of vices with seven main branches. See Pseudo-Hugo, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus* (PL 176.997-1006); and M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Lansing, 1952), pp. 79-80, 84, 125. On the other hand, the poet may have in mind an inverted parallel between the monastery and the house of Wisdom in Prov 9:1: 'Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem'.

40 Sense obscure: perhaps refers to mortal sins which 'pleasing, perish and revive'; or to 'pleasing things' which 'perish and (by contrast to the friars) are renewed'.

44 *fore* for *fuisse*; *pro posse*: 'as far as possible'.

46 *in adversum cudunt*: 'they hammer it into the opposite', i.e., misinterpret, misapply.

47-48 Dives and Lazarus: see Lc 16:19 ff.

49 See Mc 15:13 ff.

49-54 All other stanzas on fol. 194r are written in six lines in either of two columns. This one is written in three lines across both columns at the bottom of the page, below the fourth and eighth stanzas.

With an o and an i, vel sit, quia peius,
Ut carbones congerant super capud eius.

- f. 194va 55 Qualiter < perciperent > fratres vite florem
Siue clerimonie intimum saporem?
Nunc ad villas cursitant, nunc ad mercatorem,
Nunc ad aulam regiam, nunc ad venatorem;
With an o and an i, uxorem vel natum
60 De marito rapiunt censum approbatum.

Quere totam angliam; vix inuenietur
Quin mariti femina fratri confessetur;
Hoc est quod ecclesiam scindit; et scindetur
Dum curatus animam ovis non tuetur.
65 With an o and an i, rector habet curam
Sed frater pecuniam querit proficturam.

- Nullus est qui dubitet quin sunt multi fures
Qui furantur hominum decimas quamplures.
Hunc cum fratres audiunt dicunt, 'Hoc non cures
70 Fraternitati nostre te iungere si iures.'
With an o and an i, sic transeunt ablata
Quod ad verum dominum numquam sunt relata.

- Si papa hiis concederet sic possessiones,
Quod in claustro viverent per contemplaciones,
75 Illas vellent fugere velud scorpiones
Antequam dimitterent suas vagaciones.
With an o and an i, nolunt de maria
Sed martham sollicitant cum apostasia.

52-54 Difficult: 'Like Aman on the gallows, may he bear away a sign of victory (ironic). ... Or let it be—since it is a worse fate—that they heap coals upon his head.' *Aman*: see Esth 3-8 and 10-16. Aman was hanged for threatening to destroy the Jews and hanged on the very gibbet he had prepared for Mardochai.

55 *perciperent: conciperciperent* MS.

64 *non* written in margin, inserted by a caret.

77-78 Mary and Martha: see Jo 11:1-44, 12:2; Lc 10:38-42. They were conventionally associated with the active life (Martha) and with the contemplative or religious life (Mary), as in the *Glossa ordinaria* on Lc 10:38-42: 'Per istas enim duas sorores, duae significantur vitae spirituales. Per Martham, operibus actiosa deuotio, qua proximo in charitate sociamur. Per Mariam, religiosa mentis intentio in dei verbo, qua in dei amore suspiramus.'

- Cum ad partes ceperint fratres declinare
 80 Rurales decipiunt, feminam cum mare.
 Sca<n> dalizant alios in sermone. Quare?
 Quia semet optimos querunt simulare.
 With an o and an i, optimi probantur
 Quorum verba moribus bonis adaptantur.
- 85 Isti fratres disputant de libris clericorum,
 Dicentes quod sunt pessimi <ac> pleni errorum.
 Quid mirum si nesciant intellectum horum
 Cum carent principiis hii philosophorum.
 With an o and an i, discant sua prima
 90 Et sic demum disputent horum de doctrina.

- Clericos cum nequeunt fratres superare
 Hos detraccionibus querunt impugnare
 Atque in sermonibus illos depravare.
 Et sic nituntur nequiter clerum defamare.
 95 With an o and an i, cum non possunt arte
 Superare clericos, rixantur aperte.

- Iuste debent concuti pro presumptione
 Qui recusant instrui viua ratione,
 Quorum exstat gloria in confusione.
 100 Hos castiget dominus fidei mucrone.
 With an o and an i, corruent in fine,
 Cum istis pseudo fratribus imminent ruine.

- f. 194vb Arguunt sermonibus singulos de clero;
 Derident et detrahunt illos vultu fero;
 105 Vellent hos confundere velud alter Nero.
 'Estne hoc perfectio?' a te, frater, quero.

86 *ac*: *nc* ms. (erased with the *n* written over and smudged).

89 *prima*: 'first principles'.

97 *iuste debent concuti*: 'Justly ought they to be crushed'.

105 Nero: the first persecutor of the Christian Church who, it was believed, would return either as, or in the time of, the Antichrist. The Beast of Apoc 13:11-18 was interpreted as *Nero redivivus* because the 'number of the beast', 666, is the sum of the numerical values of the letters (in Hebrew) in the name Neron Caesar. See M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), p. 185.

With an o and an i, vultum scorpionis
Exprimunt sed retinent intus fel draconis.

- Co < n > sulo quod redeant fratres suo voto
110 Et dimittant iurgia, rancore remoto.
Cleri amiciciam captent corde toto,
Et illi obediant animo deuoto.
With an o and an i, fac sic, frater care,
Nam durum contra stimulum extat calcitrare.
- 115 Jesu, tu piissime, nostri miserere,
Purga nos a crimine semper et tuere.
Fac nos celi culmine iustos te videre.
Quo florent delicie fac nos redolere.
With an o and an i, tu es summa vita,
120 Via atque veritas in qua pax est sita.

More docti mistico meant mendicatum.
Domum quam intraverint iactant in quadratum.
Nil in supellectili linquunt non lustratum,
Ac si laban ydolum quereret ablatum.

107-108 *vultum scorpionis ... fel draconis*: the *Glossa ordinaria* on Apoc 9:3 says, ‘Scorpius blandus facie cauda pungit occulte; vel scorpioni comparat, quia sicut scorpius cauda, sic haeretici decipiunt per temporalia, quae debet post esse, sicut cauda posterior pars in animali. Vel ideo comparat quia quando scorpius pungit, non sentitur, postea diffundit venenum, sic decepti ab haereticis non sentiunt, tandem perimuntur’ (PL 114.727).

115-20 Although there are no signs in the ms. that these verses are out of place, they have the look of a final stanza.

121 *mendicatum*: supine.

122 *iactant in quadratum*: ‘disturb in all the four corners, throw into turmoil’?

124 *quereret: fuisset* ms., with *quereret* in margin with the notation *alias*. ‘As though Laban were looking for his stolen idol.’

124 *laban ydolum*: see Gen 31:19-54. In the *Glossa*, Nicolas of Lyra offers an interpretation which may explain why our author alludes to Laban in a poem so concerned with the secular-mendicant controversy: ‘... per Laban intelliguntur prelati, et curati quorum filii sunt minores clerici: inter quos fuerunt et sunt aliqui de prosperitate fratrum dolentes, et contra eos murmurantes, quod multi prelati negaverunt eis potestatem praedicandi et confessiones audiendi in diocesis suis propter quod fratres qui per Iacob designantur ut dictum est, compulsi fuerunt refugere ad Isaac patriarcham, id est, ad summum pontificem, omnium fidelium patrem, qui sic considerans utilitatem ecclesiae de praedicationibus et consiliis fratrum provenientem, dedit fratribus potestatem praedicandi et audiendi confessiones, nisi in casu rationabiliter negaretur, et quia postea fratres persecutiones a curatis et a clericis habuerunt, ideo ad significationem eius subditur’ (in the *Biblia sacra cum glossa* cited in the note on line 1, here on Gen 31:19).

- 125 With an o and an i, cum danielē cane,
Nam intrant in singulam ut egipti rane.
- Fratres in prohibitis si solvas absoluunt
Et leuata dextra, leua munus voluunt.
Sed licet sic rapiant hoc tamen non soluunt.
- 130 Sanguinis in corbanam precium reuoluunt.
With an o and an i, scimus quod huc usque
Cassarunt hunc canonem: omnis utriusque.
- Fratres isti pauperes solebant mendicare
Per vicos cum saculo, non ingresso lare.
- 135 Sed iam quo Dagon corrui super liminare,
Calcant, intrant, seuiunt, vix data sed raptare.
With an o and an i, irruunt Sabei
In Job; et euadere nulla spes est ei.

125 *danielē*: that current prophecies were circulating under the name of the Biblical Daniel seems apparent from the warning in the *Omne bonum* (dated c. 1350) that apostates include 'qui attendunt sompnialia scripta et falso in danielis nomine intitulata' (British Library ms. Royal 6 E.vi, fol. 116r, col. 2). *cane*: 'sing (prophecy)'. From the standpoint of sense, *cave* would be preferable, but the rhyme demands *cane*.

126 *singulam*: scil. *domum*. *rane*: Ex 8:1-11. The interlinear *Glossa* says concerning these frogs, 'Garrulitatem haereticorum que est in cenosis sensibus'. Nicolas of Lyra elaborates: 'Per ranas vero quae morantur in aquis immundis, scilicet in paludibus et fossatis, et sua crocitate inquietant, significantur et advocati in delitiis carnis immunde viventes, et sua loquacitate prolongando causas, mundum qui per Aegyptum significatur inquietant multipliciter et perturbant, et exemplo suae immunditiae multos foedant, sed per Moysen ducem et per Aaron pontificem restringuntur.'

127-30 'Friars absolve in secret if you pay, and with right hand raised, with the left hand they contemplate their gift. But although they are thus rapacious, they do not absolve. They roll away (i.e., hide) the blood price into their treasure chamber.'

130 See Mt 27:6. After Judas has hung himself, the chief priests say of his thirty pieces of silver, 'Non licet eos mittere in corbanam: quia pretium sanguinis est.'

132 *omnis utriusque*: *Omnis utriusque sexus*, the famous canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in which confession to one's parish priest was required once a year. The friars were said to have destroyed it because when people confessed to them, they no longer felt obliged to confess to their parish priests.

135 *Dagon*: the God of the Philistines whose statue fell 'super limen', when the ark of God was placed in his temple. The priests and followers of Dagon refused to enter ('non calcant') the temple ever after (1 Reg 5:1-5). The temple of Dagon is frequently interpreted as the world, the place of idolatry and of domination by the Devil (Dagon). See Bede, *In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio. Liber I* (PL 91.529-30) and the *Glossa*.

136 *vix data sed raptare* difficult: 'only to seize things (which could) hardly (be called) given.' The scribe also apparently found it difficult. He wrote *vix data sed rapta*, and then added *-re* superscript for the sake of the rhyme. For him this is an unusual form; usually he indicates final *-are* by writing *-ar* with an abbreviated *e*.

137 *Sabei*: Job 1:15, on which the *Glossa*: 'Sabei captivantes, id est, daemones.'

- Quam non gerunt iactitant iuri < s > dicionem;
 140 Clauem David vendicant et Petri mucronem.
 Super clerum ampliant supplantacionem;
 Sed tu fili hominis, fac conclusionem.
 With an o and an i, aliena vorant.
 Non pro victu manibus cum Paulo laborant.
- 145 Glebas hiis cum gloria pestis propinavit,
 Cum in annos plurimos plura cumulavit.
 Sed fit in hiis quod scribitur per prophetam David,
 'Frater impi < n > guatus est et recalcitravit'.
 With an o and an i, hominum mors tristis,
 150 Ut coruo cadauera, ludum levat istis.
- Christum mitem humilem ut dicunt, secuntur,
 Sed non est sic; si sileam lapides locuntur.
 Pro casis et caveis castra construuntur,
 Et pro salsis caricis croceis vescuntur.
 155 With an o and an i, ecce vulpes isti
 Quales habent foveas in despectu Christi.

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144 Manual labor for those who claimed the apostolic calling was a point much debated throughout the fraternal controversies, and the debate was particularly heated concerning Paul's manner of living: see, for example, William of St. Amour, 'De valido mendicante', *Opera omnia* (Constance [Paris], 1632), pp. 80-87.

147 *per: pro ms.*

148 *impinguatus: impiguatus ms.* Similar omission of abbreviation stroke in lines 81, 109. Compare Dt 32:15, 'Incrassatus est dilectus, et recalcitravit; incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus....'

149-50 'The sad death of men creates a game for them as cadavers do for a crow.'

151-56 All other stanzas on fol. 194v are written in six lines in either of two columns. This one is written in three lines across both columns at the bottom of the page, below the seventeenth and twenty-fifth stanzas.

152 Lc 19:40 : 'Dico vobis, quia si hi tacuerint, lapides clamabunt.'

154 'And instead of salted dried figs they eat saffroned things.' *caricis* from *carica*, f.

155-56 Mt 8:20 : 'Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres caeli nidos; Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet.'

LIBER DE VISU:
THE GRECO-LATIN TRANSLATION OF EUCLID'S *OPTICS*

Wilfred R. Theisen, O.S.B.

EUCLID of Alexandria has for so long been associated with the *Elements* that rarely is he remembered for his contributions to other disciplines: optics, catoptrics, music, astronomy, and mechanics.¹ With justification have historians recognized the dominant position of the *Elements* in the development of geometry, but however great this influence has been, it should not be forgotten that Euclid played a dual role—that of an applied as well as that of a pure mathematician. Not only are his works of applied mathematics worthy of more emphasis as early witnesses to the successful alliance between physics and mathematics, but these minor works may also contain valuable clues as to Euclid's intellectual development, about which there is so little information. For example, it may be possible to demonstrate that Euclid's initial interest was in the practical value of geometry, only later turning into an interest in the abstract principles of this art.

Furthermore, historical accuracy calls for a reassessment of Euclid's impact on science, because the reputation of the *Elements* has been so great that it has almost completely eclipsed his other contributions. Unquestionably the *Elements* will always be considered his major work, but it should not be allowed to overshadow his minor works to the extent that it has. Indeed, this nearly exclusive emphasis on the *Elements* is essentially a post-medieval phenomenon, for there is ample evidence proving that Euclid's *Optics*² was certainly an important factor in the development

¹ Thomas L. Heath discusses Euclid's various works and their textual history in *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, 3 vols. (New York, 1956), 1.7-18. For further discussion on the *Catoptrics* of Euclid see Albert Lejeune, *Recherches sur la catoptrique grecque* (Brussels, 1957), chaps. 2 and 3; on the possibility of Euclid's having written a treatise on mechanics see Ernest A. Moody and Marshall Claggett, *The Medieval Science of Weights* (Madison, Wisc., 1952), p. 23.

² *Optica* will be used here to designate the Greek version of Euclid's work on vision, and the Latin translations will be designated by their appropriate Latin titles. When no particular version is being referred to, but simply the work itself, *Optics* will be used. The *Optica* has been edited by Johan Heiberg and is included in the seventh volume of the monumental *Euclidis opera omnia*, 8 vols.

of ancient optics, was diligently studied by the Arabs, and was one of the works eagerly received by the Latin West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, Euclid's influence on Ptolemy's optical treatise is patent, and has been adequately demonstrated by Albert Lejeune.³ Among Islamic writers, Alhazen, Alkindi, and Alfarabi evinced an interest in Euclid's *Optics*.⁴ In the Latin West the treatise was highly regarded in the twelfth century, as the three independent translations (one from the Greek, two from the Arabic) and three versions or commentaries show. That this interest in Euclid's optical ideas did not die out immediately is proven by the more than forty extant Latin manuscripts of the text from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.⁵

Why, then, has Euclid's optical work escaped notice since the Renaissance? This neglect can be traced primarily to the limitations of the Renaissance printers; as with the *Elements*, they did not always trouble themselves to locate the best manuscripts, nor authenticate the authorship of a treatise. Thus we find, first of all, that only Theon's version of Euclid's work—rather than Euclid's original treatise—appeared in print in the sixteenth century.⁶ Furthermore, because of an erroneous title page, this work shortly came to be identified as Euclid's.⁷ However, as Theon's version is considerably inferior to Euclid's original treatise, doubt arose as to its authorship, and consequently interest in the work lagged as well.⁸ It was not

(Leipzig, 1893-1916), of which H. Menge is the co-editor. When references to the *Optica* are made here, Heiberg's version will be used and indicated in the following fashion: Heiberg, p. —. There has been an English translation of Heiberg's text produced by Harry Edward Burton and published in the *Journal of the Optical Society* 35 (1945) 357-72.

³ Cf. *Euclide et Ptolémée: deux stades de l'optique géométrique grecque* (Louvain, 1948).

⁴ See David C. Lindberg's introduction to the 1972 Johnson reprint of Friedrich Risner's *Opticae thesaurus, Alhazeni Arabis libri septem, nunc primum editi. Eiusdem liber de crepusculis et nubium ascensionibus. Item Vitellonis Thuringopoloni libri X* (Basel, 1572). See also Lindberg's article, 'Alkindi's Critique of Euclid's Theory of Vision', *Isis* 62 (1971) 469-89; and M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi (Alpharabius). Des arabischen Philosophen Leben und Schriften, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Geschichte der griechischen Wissenschaft...* (*Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Petersbourg*, 7th Ser., 13/4; St. Petersburg, 1869, rpt. Amsterdam, 1966), p. 73.

⁵ For a list of the manuscripts of the many Latin versions of Euclid's *Optics*, see David C. Lindberg, *A Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Optical Manuscripts* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 46-54.

⁶ Bartolomeo Zamberti's translation of Theon's recension of Euclid's *Optics* appeared in his volume *Euclidis Megaresis philosophi platonici mathematicarum disciplinarum janitoris...* (Venice, 1505). However, Zamberti's introduction left no doubt that the treatise on optics was Theon's, as he himself states on p. 517: '... incipiunt optica, ex traditione Theonis....' Euclid, the author of the *Elements*, was often mistakenly identified as Euclid of Megara.

⁷ Thus in 1557 John Péna edited a Greek text of Theon's version and provided a Latin translation under the title *Euclidis Optica et Catoptrica, nunquam antehac grece aedita* (Paris, 1557). All later editions of the work also failed to mention Theon as the author.

⁸ For example, Joseph Priestly, in *The History and Present State of Discoveries Relating to Vision, Light and Colours* (London, 1772), p. 10, comments thus on the *Optics*: 'But this work is so imperfect, and so inaccurately drawn up, that, I believe, it is not generally thought to be the production of that great Geometrician.' François Peyrard shared this opinion and excluded the *Optics* from his edition of

until late in the nineteenth century, with the discovery by Johan Heiberg of both Greek and Latin manuscripts of Euclid's *Optics*, that the confusion was eliminated. But in spite of Heiberg's work, which resulted in a Greek edition, no study of the Latin manuscript tradition was undertaken.⁹ Recently Marshall Clagett, John Murdoch and David Lindberg¹⁰ have urged a thorough textual study of the Latin corpus of Euclid's many works—the first step in the reassessment of Euclid's impact on science.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE *OPTICA*

Although the optical treatise ascribed to Euclid does not possess the order, clarity and mathematical rigor of the *Elements*, there seems no adequate reason, as Heiberg and H. Weissenborn have pointed out, to doubt its Euclidean source.¹¹ Indeed Euclid himself spoke of his work on optics in the introduction to his astronomical work, the *Phenomena*.¹² Later writers, such as Damianus (fourth century),¹³ Theon (fourth century),¹⁴ Proclus (fifth century)¹⁵ and Marinus (fifth century)¹⁶ all name Euclid as the author of the *Optica*. Euclid's authorship is

Euclid's works in the early nineteenth century (*Les œuvres d'Euclide, en grec, en latin et en français...* [Paris, 1814]).

⁹ Heiberg published a Latin text along with his edited Greek text, but relied almost entirely on a single manuscript, Dresden, Sächsisches Landesbibliothek Db.86, fols. 111r-122r, as he states on p. xv in his introduction to the *Optica*.

¹⁰ See Marshall Clagett, 'The Medieval Latin Translations from the Arabic of the *Elements* of Euclid, with Special Emphasis on the Versions of Adelard of Bath', *Isis* 44 (1953) 30; John E. Murdoch, 'The Medieval Euclid: Salient Aspects of the Translations of the *Elements* by Adelard of Bath and Campanus of Novara' in *Actes du XII^e Congrès international d'histoire des sciences, 1968*, 12 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1970), 1.93. It was at the suggestion of Dr. David C. Lindberg and under his direction that I undertook the editing of the Latin translations of the *Optics* which were included in my dissertation, *The Mediaeval Tradition of Euclid's Optics* (Wisconsin, 1972) [*Dissertation Abstracts* 32A (1972) 5697A]. The dissertation contains three Latin texts: the Greco-Latin version, with the title *Liber de visu*, pp. 66-109; and two Arabo-Latin texts, *Liber de aspectibus*, pp. 336-63, and *Liber de radiis visualibus*, pp. 403-22.

¹¹ J. Heiberg, *Litterargeschichtliche Studien über Euklid* (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 90-92 and H. Weissenborn, 'Zur Optik des Eukleides', *Philologus* 45 (1886) 54.

¹² *Euclidis quae supersunt omnia*, ed. David Gregory (Oxford, 1703), p. 559. See also ms. Vindobonensis Philos. gr. 31, fol. 271v, lines 12-13. The Vienna codex has been microfilmed by the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, and its project number is 21,115.

¹³ See *Heliodori Larissaei Capita opticorum*, ed. Antonius Matani (Pistoia, 1758), p. 23. In early editions Damianus' work was often mistakenly attributed to his father Heliodorus.

¹⁴ *Commentaire sur les livres 1 et 2 de l'Almagest* (vol. 2, p. 332 of *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almagest*, 38 vols., ed. A. Rome [Rome, 1931-43]).

¹⁵ *Procli Diadochi in primum Euclidis Elementorum librum commentarii*, ed. S. Grynæus (Basel, 1533), 2.20.

¹⁶ Marinus mentions Euclid's *Optics* in the preface to his commentary on the *Data*, which is found in Gregory's edition of Euclid, p. 458.

supported by internal evidence as well, a comparison of the Greek texts of the *Optica* and *Elements* revealing a close similarity of vocabulary. However, because of Euclid's great influence, his successors adopted much of his terminology so that it is difficult, on the basis of technical language alone, to distinguish Euclid from his immediate successors. Thus Archimedes' language is similar to that of Euclid, although he uses ἐπιψάμειν instead of ἐφάπτειν to express the tangency of a line to a circle and rarely uses προσπίπτειν ('to come up to'), commonly found in the *Elements* and *Optica*. Archimedes also prefers ποτικεῖμαι ('to lie near').¹⁷ A thorough philological study of Euclid and his successors would undoubtedly be of considerable interest.

Whether the *Optica* preceded or followed the *Elements* is another question which, again, only a careful and thorough philological study can answer. A preliminary comparison of the two works indicates that the *Optica* is the older. For in the beginning of the fourth book of the *Elements* Euclid carefully defines the terms ἐγγράφειν and περιγράφειν, prescribing that the former is to be used when a circle is inscribed in a polygon or when a polygon is inscribed in a circle, and the latter term is to be used when a circle superscribes a polygon or a polygon superscribes a circle. In the *Optica*, however, there are several passages where this terminology is not adhered to. For example, in the Greek text as edited by Heiberg there occur the following: (1) γεγράφθω ἐν αὐτῷ ὀρθῇ γωνία (p. 104, line 24); (2) περιγεγράφθω περὶ κέντρον τὸ Α κύκλος ὁ ΕΘΔΗ (p. 42, line 24); (3) περιγεγράφθω περὶ τὴν ΑΒ κύκλος ὁ ΓΒΔ (p. 38, line 26). In the *Elements*, however, Euclid always employs ἐγγεγράφθω for inscribing an angle in a circle (case 1) and either γεγράφθω or simply ἔστω (cases 2 and 3) for drawing a circle around a line or a point. Now it is difficult to believe that Euclid, having carefully defined these terms in the *Elements*, would have used them carelessly in the *Optica*. Moreover, the lack of order in this work, as a whole and within each proposition, makes it appear antecedent to the *Elements*. Although the *Optica* is based on geometrical propositions found in the *Elements*, Euclid may have been relying on one of his predecessors.¹⁸

¹⁷ These peculiarities have been noted after a cursory examination of J. Heiberg's *Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1880-81; rpt. Stuttgart, 1972), and *Euclidis elementa*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1883-88). In particular, compare Archimedes' *On spirals*, where the Doric occurs regularly, with book 6 of the *Elements*, where the Attic is used exclusively.

¹⁸ The *Elements* are never explicitly cited in the *Optica*, but in one passage (Heiberg, p. 98, lines 14-16) reference is made to propositions 31 and 33 of the third book of *Planes* (ἐπιπέδων). These two propositions correspond to *Elements* 3.31, 33. Whether Euclid is citing the *Elements* or an older work here, and whether the passage is a later interpolation are questions I am unable to answer. In most Latin manuscripts this term has been altered to read *elementorum* instead of *epipedorum*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale ms. Conv. soppr. J.I.32 has the correct Latin translation for the passage as part of a gloss in the upper right-hand margin of fol. 111v.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE *OPTICA*

Euclid's *Optica*, as the oldest known treatise devoted exclusively to optical matters,¹⁹ is expectedly narrower in scope than later works and does not touch on many topics that have since come to be included within the boundaries of optics. Indeed, it is more a work of natural perspective than of optics, since there is no discussion of such familiar phenomena as reflection or refraction of light. In fact, light rays are mentioned only twice, and then in an incidental fashion.²⁰ Yet *Optica* was not a misnomer, as Geminus (first century B.C.) explained:

The science of optics makes use of lines as visual rays and makes use also of the angles formed by these lines. The divisions of optics are: (a) the study which is properly called optics and accounts for illusions in the perception of objects at a distance, for example, the apparent convergence of parallel lines or the appearance of square objects at a distance as circular; (b) catoptrics, a subject which deals, in its entirety, with every kind of reflection of light and embraces the theory of images; (c) scenography (scene-painting), as it is called, which shows how objects at various distances and of various heights may be so represented in drawings that they will not appear out of proportion and distorted in shape.²¹

The seven assumptions and sixty-one propositions of the *Optica* deal only with what Geminus terms 'optics proper', and what we would specify as visual perception. In fact, the content is even more restricted, as Euclid limits himself almost entirely to monocular perception. If, as Albert Lejeune has suggested, the *Optica* is based on previous works of perspective,²² it is still highly probable that the initial assumptions are genuinely Euclidean, this type of introduction being so characteristic of the great Geometer.

In giving his initial assumptions Euclid follows Aristotle's injunction²³ that every science ought to make clear first of all what things are assumed to exist, along with their properties, and the primary axioms on which the demonstrations are based.

¹⁹ Euclid, of course, did not originate the study of optics but had numerous predecessors such as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Aristotle and Plato. See, for example, Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.29, ed. H. S. Long (Oxford, 1964); Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 1.10 (492a1-21), *De anima* 424a17, *De sensu* 438b14, *Physica* 2.2 (194a5-11); Plato's *Timaeus* 46A-C. See also J. Hirschberg, 'Die Optik der alten Griechen', *Zeitschrift für Psychologie der Sinnesorgane* 16 (1898) 321-51.

²⁰ Propositions 19, 21.

²¹ This passage is from Proclus' *Commentary on Euclid's Elements I*, as found in Morris Cohen and I. E. Drabkin, *A Source Book in Greek Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948; rpt. 1966), p. 4. The passage is, however, attributed to Geminus, as Lejeune mentions in his *Euclide et Ptolémée* (above, n. 3), p. 9. Both examples of visual illusion which Geminus mentions are from Euclid's *Optics*, propositions 6 and 10.

²² Lejeune, *Recherches* (above, n. 1), p. 94.

²³ *Analytica posteriora* 1.10 (76b10-16).

Thus the first three assumptions describe the visual cone or pyramid, the visual rays, and their properties. These three assumptions form the basis of Euclid's visual ray theory, namely, that visual rays (a) proceed from the eye to the object (hence called an emission theory), (b) travel in straight lines, and (c) are contained within a conical figure whose vertex is in the eye and whose base is at the object perceived.²⁴ The chief merit of this theory over the contemporary competing intromission theories of the Atomists and Epicureans is that Euclid's theory lent itself more readily to a simple geometrical treatment. This simplicity does not derive from assuming that the rays originate in the eye rather than in the object, but rather from the fact that Euclid's theory utilizes a geometrically simple figure, the visual cone. The competing theories cannot easily be discussed in terms of a visual cone, since a point image of an extended object does not make sense, and is in fact inconceivable; an intromission theory must therefore deal with the complex problem of image formation. Hence, at this early stage in the development of optics, mathematical simplicity helped to establish the visual ray theory and continued to provide it with survival value for centuries to come. Indeed, although the visual ray theory as such was rejected by Alhazen in the Middle Ages, Euclid's visual cone still proved to be a useful construct for him.²⁵ The remaining four assumptions specify the relationship between these visual rays and perception, e.g., 'things seen under higher rays appear higher, and things seen under lower rays appear lower'.

In the sixty-one propositions Euclid is primarily concerned with how the eye perceives objects in space. Obviously this problem is not purely geometrical, but psychological as well, and we must credit Euclid with providing us with the first attempt to deal rigorously with the question. Indeed, what is impressive about the *Optica* is Euclid's success in finding a geometrical explanation for so many perceptual experiences, such as that described by the first enunciation: 'Nothing that is seen is seen at once in its entirety.' In addition many common illusions, such as the apparent coming together of parallel lines as they recede from the eye and the apparent lowering of the remote parts of a ceiling, are explained easily and concisely by Euclid's geometrical approach. A more sophisticated problem of perspective, namely, that the apparent sizes of objects are not in direct proportion to their distances from the eye, is also solved with relative simplicity. In proposition 47 Euclid determines the point where the eye must be placed on a given line if the apparent size of the object is to be a maximum. The proposition perhaps represents the first physical problem to be treated in this way, i.e., maximizing a given quantity

²⁴ That Euclid was committed to the visual rays as physical realities and not simply geometrical constructs is confirmed by propositions 1, 3 and 58.

²⁵ See Lindberg's introduction to Risner (above, n. 4), p. xvii. Kepler finally gave the intromission theory a firm mathematical base in his *Dioptrice seu Demonstratio eorum quae visui et visibilibus propter conspicienda non ita pridem inventa accidunt* (Augsburg, 1611; rpt. Cambridge, 1962).

through an application of mathematics—a problem that is later solved easily with the help of calculus.²⁶

Euclid devotes five propositions—53, 54, 55, 57, and 58—to a discussion of a variety of illusions that occur when there is relative motion between an observer and a number of objects. In proposition 54, for example, he shows that 'if there is some stationary object present among moving objects, it will seem that the stationary object moves backwards.' Euclid's treatment of such phenomena represents the oldest analysis of relative motion. In reading these propositions and many others in the *Optica*, it is apparent that Euclid goes well beyond ordinary experiences of perception. Despite the significant achievements found in the *Optica* there are notable weaknesses as well, among them being Euclid's superficial treatment of binocular vision and his consequent failure to deal convincingly with the problem of depth perception in propositions 23, 59, and 60. Nevertheless, its inadequacies notwithstanding, the work stands as a valuable exercise in the application of geometrical principles to perceptual phenomena, and is a worthy witness to Euclid's creative genius.

INFLUENCE OF THE *OPTICA*

Although the *Optica* was quite restricted in scope, its impact on optics and perspective was considerable, for two fundamental elements of Euclid's work proved to be of lasting importance: (1) the visual ray theory with its use of the visual cone, which persisted until 1600,²⁷ and (2) the alliance between geometry and optics, which continues to prove fruitful to the present day. Of these two contributions the latter is, of course, the most significant. That geometry and optics have been inseparable since the fourth century B.C. is due to Euclid, and undoubtedly it was his thorough knowledge of the former that enabled him to see the possibility of reducing so many problems of vision to simple mathematical problems. Whether these successes in applied geometry moved him to compile his *magnum opus* is a matter for speculation, but surely it is not inconceivable that the marriage between optics and geometry proved to be mutually beneficial.

In determining Euclid's role in the history of perspective, considerable caution must be exercised. First of all, it is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between natural perspective, i.e., 'a mathematical theory of sight dealing with the relation of objective reality to the eye',²⁸ and artificial perspective, i.e., 'a

²⁶ The maximum angle is determined easily through an astute use of *Elements* 3.31.

²⁷ Kepler's *Dioptrice* removed the visual ray theory from serious consideration. Galileo was perhaps one of the last leading natural philosophers to accept it; for his view see Stillman Drake, *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo* (New York, 1957), p. 30.

²⁸ John White, 'Development in Renaissance Perspective—I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1949) 59.

mathematical technique of projecting three-dimensional space onto a flat surface'.²⁹ Although Euclid was explicitly concerned with the former, his work was not without some influence on the latter. To demonstrate the degree of Euclid's influence on artificial perspective has proven to be an impossible task for historians of that art. Nevertheless, the following statements may be regarded as reasonably accurate descriptions of this complex relationship: (a) the basic techniques of artificial perspective, and in all probability the theoretical bases also, were developed well before the time of Euclid; (b) there is no documentary evidence showing the influence of Euclid on perspective theory in antiquity;³⁰ and (c) at the time of the Renaissance, painters such as Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci did acquaint themselves with Euclid's *Optics*.³¹

THE MEDIEVAL LATIN TRADITION OF THE *OPTICA*

That the *Optica* was being studied in the twelfth century in Sicily is clear from the citations of Euclid's treatise made by two important translators of the southern Norman kingdom. Henry Aristippus, the Sicilian ambassador of William I to Constantinople c. 1160, mentions the *Optica* in the prologue to his translation of Plato's *Phaedo*. This prologue, addressed to a colleague about to leave Sicily for England, lists the many advantages of remaining in the former, among them being the availability of Euclid's *Optica*.³² The second reference is found in the prologue to a Latin translation of the *Almagest*.³³ Here the anonymous translator states that he studied the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* of Euclid and Proclus' *Elementatio physica* before beginning his translation of the Greek *Almagest* into Latin.

Whether these references to the *Optica* in the third quarter of the twelfth century imply the existence of a Latin translation in Sicily at that time is, however, open to doubt. Valentin Rose conjectured that Aristippus was referring to a Latin version,

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ See Gisela M. A. Richter, *Perspective in Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1974).

³¹ John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space* (Boston, 1967), pp. 121, 207, 210, 213 et al.

³² The text of this prologue, along with an extensive commentary, can be found in Valentin Rose, 'Die Lücke in Diogenes Laërtius und der alte Uebersetzer', *Hermes* 1 (1866) 367-97. On p. 388: 'Habes Eronis philosophi mechanica pre manibus, qui tam subtiliter de inani disputat quanta ejus virtus quantaque per ipsum delationis celeritas. Habes Euclidis optica, qui tam vere et mirabiliter de opinione videndi disserit, ut opinabilia ratiocinatione probet demonstrativa. Habes de scientiarum principiis Aristotelis apodicticen, in qua supra naturam et sensum de axiomatis a natura et sensu sumptis disceptat, philosophica Anaxagore, Aristotelis, Themistii, Plutarchi ceterorumque magni nominis philosophorum in manibus tuis sunt. ...'

³³ See Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1927; rpt. New York, 1965), p. 191: '... primo quidem in Euclidis Dedominis, Opticis, et Catoptricis, Physicaque Procli Elementatione prelusit.'

since other scientific and mathematical works were being translated in Sicily and lower Italy in the twelfth century.³⁴ However, it is more probable that Aristippus was listing the Greek works available in Sicily, among which was the *Optica*. The following reasons support this conclusion: (1) two of the authors mentioned, Themistius and Plutarch, were certainly not translated by this time;³⁵ (2) Aristippus refers to Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* with the Greek title, *Apodicticen*, rather than the Latin title, *Logicae posteriores*; (3) it is highly doubtful that Hero's *Pneumatica* had been translated by this date;³⁶ and (4) the Greco-Latin translation of the *Optica* generally bore the title *Liber de visu*, never *Optica*. With regard to the second reference to the *Optica* mentioned above, John E. Murdoch has shown that the passage does not at all imply the existence of a Latin translation.³⁷ Hence the most probable conclusion that can be drawn from these two sources is that they provide evidence of the existence in Sicily of Greek, but not Latin, versions of the *Optica*. Consequently Rose's conjecture concerning the origin of the Latin translation has little or no validity.

There is, however, adequate manuscript evidence for the existence of Latin translations of the *Optica* well before the end of the twelfth century. This evidence is furnished by London, British Library Add. ms. 17368, which according to Dr. T. A. M. Bishop was written in England between 1150 and 1170.³⁸ Fols. 60r-69r contain a Latin *editio*, rather than a direct translation, of the *Optica*, and it is clear from a study of the contents that the editor made use of three known translations of the *Optica*: the Greco-Latin translation, *Liber de visu*, and two Arabo-Latin translations with the titles *Liber de radiis visualibus* and *Liber de aspectibus*. Consequently, while the existence of a Latin translation in Sicily in the twelfth century remains questionable, there is no doubt that in England three distinct Latin translations of the *Optica* were available sometime in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Furthermore, in addition to the version in the British Library codex, two other independent versions of the *Optica* were produced in the twelfth century and are now found in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Corpus Christi College 283, fols. 163r-165v, and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana ms. T 91 sup., fols. 39r-59v. Of

³⁴ Rose, 'Die Lücke', 380-81. Heiberg, p. xxxii and Haskins, *ibid.*, p. 179 n. 102 do not stress the conjectural status of Rose's conclusion.

³⁵ See J. T. Muckle, 'Greek Works Translated Directly into Latin before 1350', *Mediaeval Studies* 5 (1943) 114; and Giuseppe di Stefano, *La découverte de Plutarque en Occident* (Turin, 1968), p. 34.

³⁶ See Haskins, *Studies*, pp. 181-83; Haskins suggests that Aristippus was actually referring to the *Pneumatica*, not the *Mechanica*, of Hero.

³⁷ John E. Murdoch, 'Euclides Greco-Latinus', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71 (1966) 268.

³⁸ When Dr. Bishop was still on the faculty of history at the University of Cambridge in 1974, he examined a reprint of this manuscript at my request and gave his judgment on the provenance and date of this text.

these various translations and versions of the *Optica* the Greco-Latin translation *Liber de visu* became the most widely circulated and frequently cited rendition of Euclid's work.

As mentioned above, the location for the first appearance of *Liber de visu* is at present unknown. Equally uncertain is the identity of the translator; however, Shantaro Ito has suggested that in all probability the translator of *Liber de visu* was also responsible for the following translations: Euclid's *Data* and *Catoptrica*, and Proclus' *Elementatio physica*.³⁹ If indeed the Greco-Latin translation first appeared in England rather than in the Mediterranean area, it is among the northern scholars that the search for the translator's identity must be made.

To demonstrate that *Liber de visu* is a translation from the Greek is extremely easy, since the translation faithfully follows the *de verbo ad verbum* technique urged by Burgundio of Pisa. A comparison of the following passage from the Greek with its Latin rendering will bear this out:

*Optica*⁴⁰

Τῶν ἴσων μεγεθῶν ἐν
διαστήματι κειμένων τὰ
ἑγγιον κείμενα
ἀκριβέστερον ὁρᾶται.

Liber de visu

Equalium magnitudinum in
distancia iacentium
proprius iacentia
perspicacius videntur.

Furthermore, throughout the translation grecisms abound, such as *epipedum*, *periferia*, *cathetus*, *parallelogramum*, and *parespamini*. It should be pointed out, however, that there are some significant differences between the Greek text as edited by Heiberg and *Liber de visu*, such as: the addition of two initial assumptions; two interpolated propositions, namely, propositions 24 and 25; and a renumbering of the propositions.⁴¹

Having been turned into Latin, Euclid's work on visual perspective became widely known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is a persuasive witness to the enthusiasm with which translations of scientific works were received in the Latin West. Representative of this interest in Euclid's interpretation of natural perspective are the many independent versions of the *Optica* produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as well as the use of *Liber de visu* by Roger Bacon,⁴² John

³⁹ Shuntaro Ito, *The Medieval Latin Translation of the Data of Euclid* (Diss. Wisconsin, 1964), pp. 38, 41 [*Dissertation Abstracts* 24 (1964) 5351]. For further discussion of this suggestion see Murdoch, 'Euclides', 297 nn. 84, 88.

⁴⁰ Heiberg, p. 4, lines 10-11.

⁴¹ I have not located the source for the last two assumptions and proposition 24 of *Liber de visu*; proposition 25 is from the Arabo-Latin translation, *Liber de radiis visualibus*. The numbering of the propositions in the text of *Liber de visu* edited below follows Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Auct. F.5.28.

⁴² See the *Opus majus* of Roger Bacon, trans. Robert B. Burke, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1928; rpt. New York, 1962), 5. dist. 7.1 (p. 468), 5. dist. 2.2 (p. 510), 5. dist. 3.2 (p. 525), 5. dist. 3.2

Pecham,⁴³ and Witelo.⁴⁴ Although the explicit references to *Liber de visu* in the first two authors are not numerous, the evidence is sufficient to establish that it was regarded by them as a work of some importance. In Witelo's monumental *Perspectiva* the influence of *Liber de visu* is more considerable, as he incorporated nearly every one of Euclid's propositions into his work. Hence, although *Liber de visu* was superseded by other more comprehensive optical treatises, Euclid's ideas on vision were not lost to medieval scholars. Moreover, it appears highly probable that the study of Euclid's geometry served as the impetus for the initial concern with optics in the early Middle Ages.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Below is a list of the manuscripts which contain all or parts of *Liber de visu*, with the sigla used in the stemma and apparatus.⁴⁵ In preparing the edited text only the following codices were fully collated: *F*, *G*, *J*, *L* and *W*. As the stemma (p. 60) indicates, *L* served as the exemplar, direct or indirect, for most of the witnesses. *F* and *J* contain many corrections of *L* based either on an older manuscript no longer extant or on a study of the Greek text. *W* and *G* make up the other—and older—branch of the tradition; it should be noted, however, that they contain many errors and lacunae. With these five manuscripts it is possible to produce a Latin text that quite faithfully reflects the Greek text, except for the additions already noted. Since the first eight and one-half propositions of *Liber de visu* are missing in *L*, this portion of *O*, a reasonably good copy of *L*, was collated. In a few instances *S* and *N* were consulted, as for the title, and their variants are included in the apparatus.

1. *C* = Cambridge, University Library Mm.3.11, fols. 181v-190r. Fifteenth century.

Description: *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1861), 4.185.

The text lacks proposition 24, indicating its dependence on *Db*; it has a long

(p. 530). Although A. C. Crombie claims in his *Robert Grosseteste and the Origins of Experimental Science* (Oxford, 1962), p. 118, that Grosseteste relied on Euclid's *Optics*, I have found no direct evidence of this; the Euclidean ideas Grosseteste depends on may have reached him through Ptolemy's *Optica*.

⁴³ See David C. Lindberg, *John Pecham and the Science of Optics* (Madison, Wisc., 1970), part I, prop. 38 (p. 123), prop. 39 (p. 123), prop. 80 (p. 149); part III, prop. 13 (p. 225).

⁴⁴ Witelo's optical treatise is part of Risner's *Opticae thesaurus*; see n. 4.

⁴⁵ This list is taken from Lindberg, *Catalogue*, pp. 50-51. Since London, British Library Add. ms. 17378, fols. 60r-69r is really a distinct version of *Liber de visu*, I have eliminated it from Lindberg's list. The only other change is the inclusion of fols. 217r-222r under Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek ms. Amplon. Q.385.

gloss to the first proposition. The figures accompanying the text are poorly drawn, without the use of a straightedge.

2. *Db* = Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek *Db*. 86, fols. 111r-122r. Fourteenth century.

Description: Maximilian Curtze, 'Ueber eine Handschrift der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden', *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik, historisch-literarische Abtheilung* 28 (1883) 1-13.

There are numerous glosses to this text, many of which are identical to those found in *L*. On fol. 111r there is a long gloss which is from another version of *Liber de visu*.⁴⁶

3. *EaQ.376* = Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek Amplon. Q.376, fols. 131v-139r. Fourteenth century.

Description: Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), p. 630. The catalogue mistakenly identifies fols. 126r-139r as *Liber Ptholomei de visibus*. However, fols. 126r-131v contain the pseudo-Euclidean *Liber de speculis*, with the incipit *visum rectum esse*,⁴⁷ this treatise is followed by *Liber de visu*. Proposition 15 is missing in the text.

4. *EaQ.385* = Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek Amplon. Q.385, fols. 210r, 217r-222v. Late fourteenth century.

Description: Schum, op. cit., p. 644.

Propositions 2 to 40 are missing in this manuscript.

5. *EaQ.387* = Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek Amplon. Q.387, fols. 47r-52r. Second half of the fourteenth century.

Description: Schum, op. cit., p. 647.

Despite some differences due to scribal errors (proposition 15 is misplaced on fol. 48r and proposition 43 is lacking on fol. 50v), this text clearly derives from *W*, as can be seen from a study of propositions 22, 23 and 25 on fol. 48v.

6. *Es* = Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo N.II.26, fols. 16r-24v. Sixteenth century.

Description: Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* 3 (Madrid, 1913), p. 146.

Although the text is ascribed to Jordanus de Nemore, it is clearly Euclid's *Liber de visu*. Proposition 15 is missing from the text (fol. 17v).

⁴⁶ The gloss is from a version of *Liber de visu* that has been attributed to Witelo. See Lindberg, *ibid.*, p. 54 and also my 'Witelo's Recension of Euclid's *De visu*', *Traditio* 33 (1977) 394-402.

⁴⁷ This treatise on catoptrics, entitled *De speculis*, is included in Heiberg, *Euclidis opera omnia* 7.286-343. There is another pseudo-Euclidean *De speculis*, which has been edited from the Latin manuscripts by Axel Björnbo and Seb. Vogl ('Alkindi, Tideus, und Pseudo-Euclid. Drei optische Werke', *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften* 26.3 [1912] 1-176). See also Lindberg, *ibid.*, pp. 47-50, 55-56.

7. *F* = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.IV.29, fols. 48r-61r. Fifteenth century.
 Description: Axel Anthon Björnbo, *Die mathematischen S. Marcohandschriften in Florenz*, 2nd edition, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Pisa, 1970), p. 83.
 The text is an accurate copy of *J* with the glosses of *J* incorporated into the text proper.
8. *J* = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.I.32, fols. 103r-113r. Thirteenth century.
 Description: Björnbo, op. cit., p. 75.
 There are numerous marginalia in the text, many of which (e.g., prop. 2, fol. 103v and prop. 20, fol. 105v) represent additions to or corrections of the Latin text based on a study of the Greek text. A proposition from the pseudo-Euclidean *De speculis* is mistakenly included as part of *Liber de visu* on fols. 113r-113v and there is an addition of several lines to the first proposition on fol. 103r. Both of these additions are also found in *F* and *S*. As with all the manuscripts that depend on *J*, the proof for the seventh enunciation is given at the end of proposition 6, with a lengthy interpolation added after the seventh enunciation.
9. *S* = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. J.I.37, fols. 85r-103v. Fifteenth century.
 Description: Björnbo, op. cit., p. 60.
 In the text the scribe has failed to include the demonstrations for the first thirty propositions.
10. *G* = Glasgow, University Library Gen. 1115 (formerly Be.8-y.18), fols. 177v-188r. On fol. 172v the scribe has written: 'Et sic est finis geometrie Euclidis proscripte manu in quarto Decembris, 1480.'
 Description: Marshall Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages* (Madison, Wisc., 1964), 1.38.
 Although *G* is more recent than nearly all the other manuscripts, it is more faithful to the Greek than any of the others. Hence the adage is confirmed: *recentiores, non deteriores*. There are some major discrepancies between *G* and the Greek text as found in Heiberg: lines 31 to 46, fol. 178r should be eliminated; propositions 17 and 18 are reversed on fols. 179v and 180r; lines 20-25 on fol. 180v are an interpolation which do not correspond to any passage in the Greek text; lines 21-29, fol. 184r are also an interpolation, as stated in the text; lines 19-21, fol. 186v are another interpolation. The following passages in the Greek text of Heiberg do not appear in the Latin text of *G*: Heiberg, p. 30, lines 27-28; p. 34, lines 16-18; p. 80, lines 11-14. Propositions 24 and 25 are not included in this text, as they are not part of the Greek text on which the original Latin translation of *Liber de visu* was based.

11. *Le* = Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland B.A. Fr. 57, fols. 59r-68r. Fifteenth century.

Many of the glosses found in these folios are identical to those of *Ve*; this fact and similarities in the texts denote *Le*'s dependency on *Ve*.

12. *BLsI* = London, British Library Sloane 285, fols. 66r-74v. Fourteenth century.

Description: Edward J. L. Scott, *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1904), p. 182.

Although basically faithful to *L*, the text has numerous minor departures from the Bodleian manuscript.

13. *Nu* = Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Cent. V.64, fols. 164r-168v. Fourteenth century.

The manuscript lacks proposition 24.

14. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 369, fol. 4r. Fifteenth century.

This fragment contains only the assumptions, the first three propositions, and the fourth enunciation.

15. *L* = Bodleian Library Auct. F.5.28, fols. 17(57)r-24(64)r. First half of the thirteenth century.

Description: Falconer Madan-H. H. Craster-N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1937), 2.706.

The first eight propositions and the beginning of the ninth proposition are lacking. For the sake of clarification it may be stated here that *L* is certainly a contaminated descendant of the archetype, as the discrepancy between *L* and the Greek text is too great to allow *L* to be regarded as an apograph of the archetype, i.e., the text as produced by the translator with appropriate glosses. This discrepancy is readily seen by a comparison of the text of proposition 22 as found in *L* (cf. the appendix to the text, p. 104) with the edited text, and propositions 24 and 25 of *L* are also additions to the Greek text. Nevertheless, as the stemma demonstrates, *L* did serve as the chief witness for *Liber de visu*, since nearly every other witness was directly or indirectly derived from this manuscript in whole or in part. In other words, the text of *Liber de visu*, as it was known in the Middle Ages, was essentially that of *L*. In addition, the glosses of other witnesses were largely taken from *L*, namely, the glosses of *Db*, *O*, and *Ve*. Although the text in *L* is incomplete, it is not difficult to reconstruct the missing portion, since there are ample extant witnesses to it. A study of the four mss. that are probably directly descended from *L* leads one to recognize that *Ve* is the most reliable witness, as this manuscript is faithful not only in reproducing the glosses of *L* but also in propositions 23 and 24 *Ve* reproduces *L* more closely than any of the other four. For this reason it is safe to assume that *Ve* can be regarded as a reliable witness also to the missing portion of *L*.

This fact is important, as *Ve* is the only extant manuscript in which the pseudo-demonstration of the seventh enunciation is a gloss, and not part of the text itself.

The numerous glosses of *L*, written in the same hand and same ink as the text, provide a certain amount of useful information. They demonstrate, first of all, that the thirteenth-century English scholar responsible for the manuscript, a man conversant with Euclid's *Elements*, also had at hand at least two other versions of Euclid's work on vision: the Arabo-Latin translation, *Liber de radiis visualibus*, and another distinct version found in ms. 98.22 from Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral. Of special significance are the glosses beginning *alia translatio* (a.t.) found with the enunciations for propositions 10-17, 19, 26, 34, and 36. These alternate forms of the enunciations are from *Liber de radiis visualibus*. Their appearance in so many of the *Liber de visu* manuscripts is probably due to the influence of *L* rather than to the wide circulation of the Arabo-Latin version. That this is a sound conclusion is clear from the fact that in the other *Liber de visu* manuscripts the only alternate forms of the enunciations are those already found in *L*. The other manuscripts that have one or more of the *aliae translationes* are *Q*, *Db*, *EaQ.385*, *Ve*, *W*, *Le*, *BLsl* and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7215.

As evidence of the wide circulation of manuscripts of Euclid's work at this date, the three glosses in the Toledo manuscript are of some importance. They accompany propositions 17 (fol. 17v), 23 (fol. 18r), and 26 (fol. 18v) of *L* and are excerpts from propositions 17 (fol. 90r), 23 (fol. 90r), and 25 (fol. 90r). Since the glosses of *L* are all different from the scholia of the Greek text, our scholar was not a translator, but rather an interpreter of the text. For example, the gloss to proposition 48 (fol. 22v) comments: 'Si etiam lineae equales communiter occupent locos suos non secundum rectas lineas sed faciendo angulum, sic id patebit. Diviso angulo per equalia, ubicumque ponatur oculus in illa linea videbuntur equalia.' Other glosses define terms such as *epipedum* and *chylindrus*; some refer the reader to a specific passage of the *Elements* to justify a certain part of the demonstration. The phrase *cauda pavonis* found in the gloss to proposition 25 (fol. 18v) is a picturesque description of the figure that usually accompanies *Elements* 3.8; its appearance here is evidence of its early popularity.⁴⁸

16. *O* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College 251, fols. 1r-7v. Thirteenth century.

Description: Pietro Riccardi, *Saggio di una bibliografia Euclidea* (Bologna, 1887-93), p. 660.

Some of the glosses found in the text are taken from *L*.

⁴⁸ See Heath, *Elements* 1. 99, 418.

17. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7215, fols. 109v-115r. Fourteenth century. Assumptions and enunciations only, with some omissions.
18. *N* = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7378A, fols. 22v-27v. Fourteenth century.

Description: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 4 (Paris, 1744), pp. 349-50.

In addition to the fact that the manuscript has the same title (*Perspectiva Euclidis*) as *J*, a number of other similarities between the two manuscripts indicate that it is a copy of *J*.

19. *Va* = Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2975, fols. 184r-201r. Sixteenth century.
20. *Ve* = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Zan. lat. 332 (1647) (Valentinelli XI.6), fols. 242r-251v. Thirteenth century.

Description: Joseph Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (Venice, 1871), 4.219.

The text is so close to that of *L* that it may be an apograph of *L*. Consequently it is reasonable to take *Ve* as a reliable witness to the missing portion of *L* as well. The paragraphing for proposition 40 in the two manuscripts is identical; the addition at the end of proposition 20 (fol. 244v), 'Vel aliter ... et sic patet propositum', is found only in *L* and *Ve*. There are indeed numerous minor differences between the texts, as in the enunciations of propositions 45, 50, 53, 55 and 60, but these may in many cases be ascribed to scribal inattention and in some instances to minor editing on the part of the scribe. I would not absolutely rule out the possibility that the scribe consulted some other manuscript, since there are glosses in *Ve* that are not found in *L*.

21. *W* = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. quarto 510, fols. 63v-72v.

Formerly ms. 665 in the collection of Guglielmo Libri, the manuscript was later purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps. Parts of the manuscript are believed to date from the twelfth century, but the folios with *Liber de visu* are from the early thirteenth century, probably written in England.⁴⁹

The text is written in single columns, with numerous glosses, many of which are identical to glosses of *L*. That it is dependent on an older tradition than *L* is apparent from a note preceding the second to the last assumption (fol. 64r): 'Quidam libri habent istos duos et quidam non.' Moreover, the text of proposition 22 is closer to the Greek than is the text of the manuscripts that depend on *L*; also, proposition 24 of *Liber de visu* is omitted in this text.

⁴⁹ This is the conclusion of Dr. T. A. M. Bishop, who examined a xerox copy of the manuscript at my request.

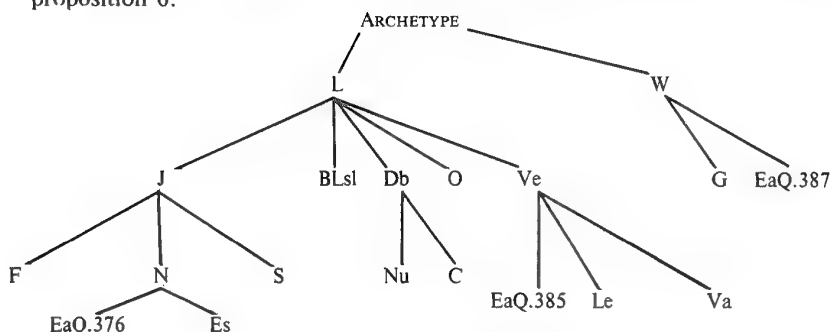
THE STEMMA

Extant manuscripts of *Liber de visu* date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ However, as mentioned above (p. 52), it is certain from a study of the twelfth-century versions of *Liber de visu* that this translation was produced well before 1200. Hence the archetype, at present unknown, preceded the extant manuscripts by a considerable period. Fortunately much of this archetype can be reconstructed on the evidence of *F*, *G*, *J*, *L* and *W*.

The stemma given below represents what I conjecture to be the line of descent of the manuscripts. *F* may indeed be an apograph of *J*, and possibly *Ve* of *L*, but in all other instances there are probably several generations intervening between a manuscript and its closest derivative given in the stemma.

Some of the distinguishing characteristics of the various groups of manuscripts in the stemma are the following:

- (1) *W*, *G* and *EaQ.387* have a version of proposition 22 which is closer to the Greek than that found in the rest of the manuscripts. All three lack proposition 24.
- (2) *J* and *F* have an addition to the first proposition, and at the end of the treatise include (as does *S*) a proposition from the pseudo-Euclidean *De speculis*.⁵¹ Mss. *J*, *S*, *N*, *EaQ.376*, and *Es* have a short addition to proposition 24.
- (3) *Ve*, *Le*, *Va* and *EaQ.385* have added a number of lines at the end of proposition 1 and have a peculiar ending to proposition 2.
- (4) *Db*, *Nu* and *C* omit proposition 24 but have the same form for proposition 22 as *L*. It is possible that the scribe of *Db* consulted the Greek text or a manuscript dependent on *W*, and thus decided to omit proposition 24.
- (5) *Ve*, *Le*, *Va*, *EaQ.385* and *BLsl* are the only manuscripts that do not have a long interpolation after the seventh enunciation and have the proof of this enunciation in its proper place. The rest have placed the proof at the end of proposition 6.



⁵⁰ Of the twenty-one manuscripts of *Liber de visu*, five are from the thirteenth century, eight from the fourteenth, six from the fifteenth and two from the sixteenth century.

⁵¹ See n. 47.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In choosing among the various readings of equal weight preference was given to the variant that translated the Greek text most accurately. All material enclosed in pointed brackets has been added by the editor. The orthography reproduces that of *L*, the most important and influential manuscript, as shown by the stemma. However, the inconsistencies in *L*'s spelling have not been retained; these include, for example, *embipedum*, *epypedum*, *ebipedum*, *theoreuma*, *theoremata*, *semichilindr* and *hemichilindr*.

Variations in lettering of the diagrams have not been noted in the apparatus, nor such orthographical peculiarities as *occulus* for *oculus* or substitutions such as *igitur* for *ergo*, *quoniam* for *quia* etc. The dropping or adding of *et* has likewise been ignored.

After much deliberation, propositions 24 and 25 were included in the text, although they are not found in the Greek original. Since these propositions are present in nearly all of the Latin manuscripts, they represent a solid tradition in the textual history of *Liber de visu*.

LIBER DE VISU^a

Ponatur^b ab oculo eductas^c rectas lineas ferri^d spacio^e magnitudinum immensarum.^f

Et sub visibus^g contentam^h figuram conum esse verticem quidemⁱ in oculo habentem^j basim vero ad terminos conspекtorum.

Et ea^k quidem videri ad que visus incident,^l non autem videri ad que^m non inciduntⁿ visus.

Et sub maiori quidem^o angulo visa maiora apparere, sub minori vero minora, equalia autem sub equalibus angulis visa.

Et sub elevationibus radiis^p visa elevationa apparere, sub humilioribus vero humiliora.

Et similiter^q sub dexterioribus quidem radiis visa dexteriora apparere, sub sinistrioribus vero sinistriora.

Sub pluribus autem angulis visa perspicacius videri.

Omnes visus equeveloces^r esse.^s

Non sub quocumque angulo rem videri.^t

I. NULLUM VISORUM SIMUL VIDETUR TOTUM.

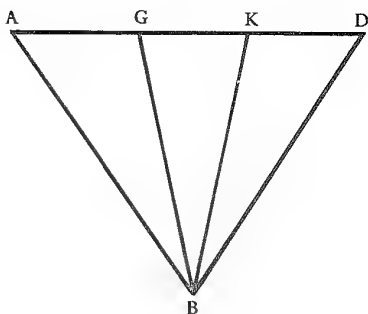


FIG. 1

Esto autem^u visum quidem AD , oculus vero esto^v B a quo incident visus BA , BG , BK , BD . Ergo, quoniam in distancia^w feruntur incidentes visus, non quidem incident^x continue ad AD . Quare fient^y et in AD spacia^z ad que visus non incident.^a Non ergo videbitur simul totum AD . Videtur autem videri simul visibus velociter transportatis.^b

a Euclidis *add.* S : perspectiva Euclidis NJ : *om.* WOF // b supponatur S // c ductas JO // d fieri GFJ // e spacium S // f magnarum F // g quidem *add.* GW // h *sup.* contentam *scr.* alia manu radiis visualibus O // i quidem: intrante S // j habente S // k *sup.* ea *scr.* ponat O // l inciderit $OGFJ$ // m quem S // n inciderit $OGFJ$ // o *om.* FJ // p angulis O // q *om.* G // r *sup.* equeveloces *scr.* alia manu equaliter se habentes O // s *om.* W // t omnes visus ... videri *om.* G // u enim G : nunc FJ : *om.* W // v *om.* $OFJG$ // w distantiam FJ // x incidunt OJ // y fieret G // z spacio *codd.* // a incidunt OFJ : incideret G // b transpositis OFJ

2. EQUALIUM MAGNITUDINUM IN DISTANCIA IACENTIUM PROPIUS^c IACENTIA
PERSPICACIUS VIDENTUR.^d

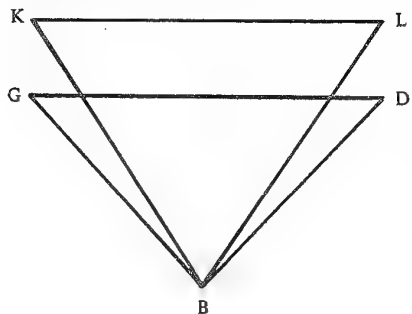


FIG. 2

Esto oculus quidem *B*, visa vero *GD* et *KL*. Oportet autem ea intelligere^c equalia et parallela, propius vero sit *GD* et incident^f visus *BG*, *BD*, *BK*, *BL*. Non enim dicemus^g quod ab oculo ad *KL* accidentes^h visus per *G*, *D* puncta veniant; trigoni enimⁱ *BDLKGB* recta^j *KL* maior utique erit^k recta^l *GD*. Ponitur vero et^m equalis. Ergo *GD* sub pluribus visibusⁿ videtur quam *KL*. Perspicacius igitur apparebit^o *GD* quam *KL*; sub pluribus enim angulis visa perspicacius videntur.

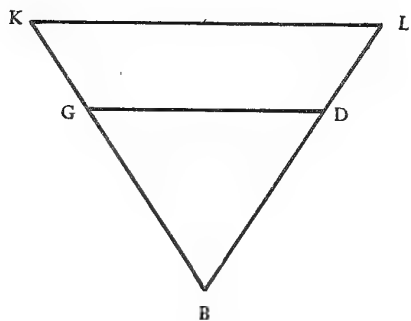


FIG. 3

^c posita add. *WGJO* // ^d glosa visa unica emissione et aspectu unico intelligenda add. *JF* // ^e ea add. *G* // ^f incident *FJ* // ^g dicimus *OFJ* // ^h incidentes *FJ* // ⁱ enim om. *G* // ^j sup. recta scr. ab latine *O* // ^k erat *G* // ^l sup. recta scr. non in grece *O* // ^m quidem *J* // ⁿ insidiis *F* // ^o videbitur *J*: om. *O*

3. UNUMQUODQUE VISORUM HABET LONGITUDINEM SPACII, QUO FACTO NON IAM VIDETUR.

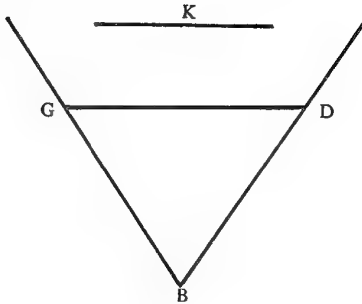


FIG. 4

Esto quidem oculus B , res autem visa GD sub minimo angulo visui determinato.^p Dico quod GD in aliquo spacio factum non iam videbitur. Fiat enim GD in intermedio^q spacio visuum in quo K . Igitur ad K nullus ab B visuum accidet.^r Ad quod vero visus non incident,^s illud non videbitur. Unumquodque igitur visorum habet longitudinem spacia quo facto iam non videtur.^t

4. EQUALIUM SPACIORUM ET SUPER EANDEM^u RECTAM EXISTENTIUM E MAIORI SPACIO VISA MINORA APPARENT.

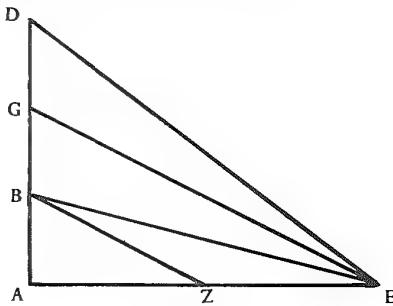


FIG. 5

Sint equalia spacia super eandem rectam: AB , BG , GD , trahaturque perpendicularis AE in qua^v iaceat oculus E . Dico quod maior apparebit AB quidem quam BG et BG quam GD .^w Accidant enim radii EB , EG , ED et trahatur per punctum B recte GE parallela BZ . Equalis ergo AZ recte recte EZ . Quoniam enim trigoni AEG circa unum latus GE tracta^x est recta^y BZ , est ergo quod^z sicut BG ad BA ita EZ ad ZA . Equalis ergo est AZ ut dictum est^a ZE . Maius ergo latus BZ quam ZA . Maius ergo quam ZE .^b Maior

igitur angulus ZEB angulo ZBE . Angulus quoque ZBE angulo BEG equalis;^c ergo BEG angulo^d ZEB angulus maior est. Maius ergo videbitur AB quam BG . Rursum similiter si per punctum G recte DE parallela ducatur,^e maius videbitur BG quam GD .

p sub ... determinato om. $G // q$ medio $FJ // r$ accedet $JOF // s$ accident $GW // t$ quo facto iam non videtur (videbitur QD) et cetera $W // u$ unam $F // v$ qua corr. alia manu ex quibus J : quibus $OGW // w$ et BG quam GD om. $W // x$ contracta $J // y$ om. $F // z$ est ergo quod] et $W // a$ recte add. $WG // b$ maius ... ZE] equalis vero ZA recte ZE $WOG // c$ angulo add. $WG // d$ om. $G // e$ protrahatur GW

5. EQUALES QUANTITATES INEQUALITER DISTANTES INEQUALES APPARENT ET MAIOR SEMPER PROPINQUIUS IACENS OCULO.

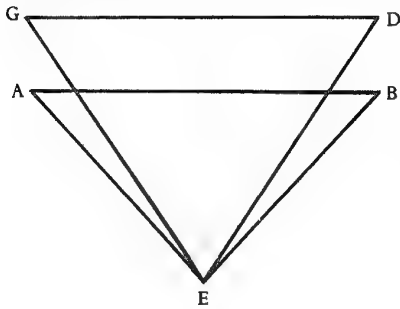


FIG. 6

Sint due equales magnitudines^f AB , GD . Oculus vero sit E a quo inequaliter distent. Sitque propinquius AB . Dico quod maius^g apparebit AB . Accidant enim radii EA , EB , EG et ED . Quoniam ergo sub maioribus angulis^h visa maiora apparent, maior autem angulus AEB quam GED , maius ergo apparebit AB quam GD .ⁱ

6. EQUIDISTANCIA SPACIORUM E DISTANCIA VISA INEQUALIS LATITUDINIS APPARENT.

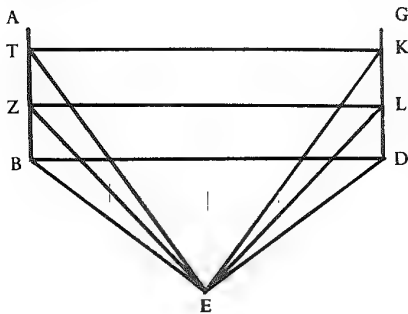


FIG. 7

Sint due parallele quantitates AB , GD . Oculus autem sit E . Dico quod^j AB et GD inequalis latitudinis apparent et maius^k semper propinquius spacium quam remotius. Accidant radii EB et EZ , ET et EK , EL et ED et coniungantur BD , ZL , TK . Quoniam ergo maior est BED angulus angulo ZEL , maior ergo BD linea quam ZL apparet. Rursum quoniam maior ZEL angulus quam TEK angulus, maior ergo ZL ^l quam TK ^m apparet. Maius ergo BD spacium quam ZL et ZL quam TK . Non iam ergo videbuntur parallela existentia spacia equaliter, sedⁿ inequalis latitudinis.

^f quantitates equales FJ // ^g maior FJ // ^h circulis F // ⁱ quid erat probandum *add.* G // ^j quia FJ // ^k apparebit *add.* FQJ // ^l recta *add.* WG // ^m recta *add.* WG // ⁿ videbuntur *add.* FJO

periferia ZA maior est. Multo ergo ID periferia ZA periferia maior est. Sed super ZA periferiam iacet AEZ angulus et super ID periferiam IED angulus. Angulus ergo IED angulo AEZ maior est.^c Sed sub illo quidem qui est AEZ angulus AB videtur. Sub angulo vero IED ea que est^d GD . Maior ergo GD quam AB apparet.

9. EQUALES ET EQUIDISTANTES MAGNITUDES INEQUALITER DISTANTES AB OCULO NON PROPORTIONALITER SPACIIS VIDENTUR.

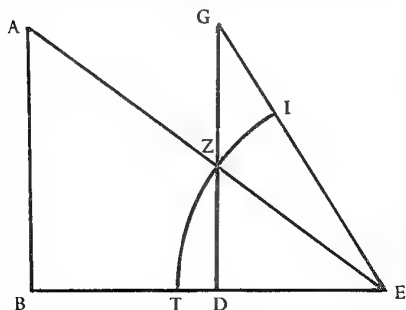


FIG. 1 o

Sint due magnitudines AB et GD inequaliter distantes ab oculo E . Dico quod non est sicut apparet habens GD ad AB ita BE ad ED . Accidant enim duo radii AE , EG et centro quidem E , spacio vero EZ , describatur periferia IZT . Quoniam ergo EZG trigonus EZI sectore maior est, EZD vero trigonus EZT sectore minor est, trigonus ergo EZG ad EZI sectorem maiorem proportionem habet quam EZD trigonus^e ad EZT sectorem et permutatim EZG trigonus ad EZD trigonum maiorem proportionem habet quam EZI sector ad EZT sectorem et compo-

nent^f EGD trigonus ad EZD trigonum maiorem proportionem habet quam EIT sector ad EZT sectorem. Sed sicut EGD trigonus ad EZD trigonum, ita recta GD ad rectam ZD . At vero GD recte AB est equalis et sicut AB ad ZD ita BE ad DE ^g et BE ergo ad ED maiorem proportionem habet quam EIT sector ad EZT sectorem.^h Sicut autem sector ad sectorem ita IET angulus ad ZET angulum. Rectaⁱ ergo BE ad ED rectam maiorem <habet> proportionem^j quam IET angulus ad ZET angulum, et ex angulo quidem IET , GD ^k videtur, ex angulo vero ZET recta AB .^l Non ergo distanciis proportionaliter videntur magnitudines equales.

c sed super ... maior est om. FJ // d om. FJ // e om. FJ // f coniunctim L // g sunt enim latera trigonorum similium add. L // h componenti EGD ... EZT sectorem in marg. W // i recte LFJ // j maior proportio FLJ // k maior add. GW et del. W // l minor add. L

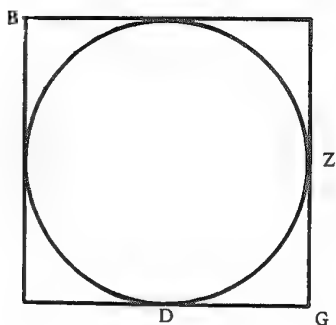
10. RECTANGLE^m MAGNITUDINES E DISTANCIA VISE PERIFERIE APPARENT.

FIG. 11

Esto enim rectangulum BG existens elevatum e distancia visum. Igitur quoniam unumquodque visorum habet longitudinem distance, qua factaⁿ non iam videtur,^o angulus G quidem non videtur. Puncta vero D , Z tantum apparent. Similiter et in unoquoque reliquorum angulorum hoc^p continget. Quare totum periferium apparebit.^a

11. SUB OCULO IACENTIUM PLANORUM REMOTIORA QUIDEM ELEVATIORA APPARENT.

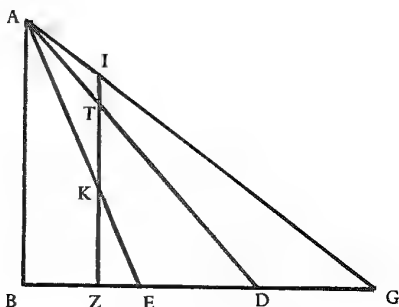


FIG. 12

Esto oculus A elevatior iacens quam BEG et accedant radii AB , AE , AD , AG , quorum AB recta cathetus esto super subiacens planum. Dico quod GD quam DE elevatius apparet sed et DE quam BE . Sumatur enim in BE casu^r punctus Z et trahatur perpendicularis ZI . Quoniam^s visus primum^t accidunt ad ZI quam ad ZG , accadat ei que est ZI recta AG ad punctum I at^u AD ad punctum T sed AE ad punctum K quoniam ergo I punctus quam T elevatior est, T vero quam K . In qua vero est I in ea^v est G , et in qua T in ea D . In qua vero K in ea^w E . Per < visus

AG , AD >^x vero ea que est GD apparet, per < AD , AE >^y autem ea que est DE . Ergo GD quam DE elevatius apparet. Similiter autem et DE quam BE elevatius apparebit. Sub elevatioribus vero radiis visa elevatiora apparent.^z Et manifestum^a quod in elevato iacentia concava apparebunt.

^m recte angule J // n quam factam W // o videbitur L // p idem add. G // q vel aliter quod enim super punctum non cadit visio non videntur anguli quare punctorum similitudine pro inanitione recipiunt add. L // r om. $LGFJ$: radio add. G // s ergo add. L // t primus FJ // u sed L : et OFJ : vero add. G // v eadem G : vero add. LFJ // w est add. L // x GD codd. // y ED codd. // z apparebunt WG // a est add. G

12. SUPER OCULUM IACENTIUM EPIPEDORUM REMOTIORA QUIDEM HUMILIORA APPARENT.

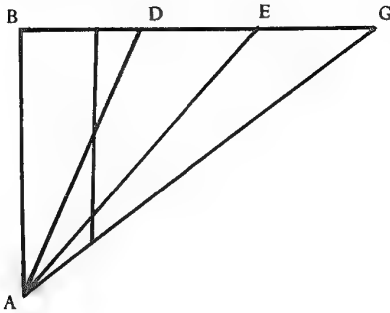


FIG. 13

Esto oculus A humilior iacens BG epipedo et accidant radii BA , AD , AE , AG quorum recta AB cathetus esto super suppositum epipedum. Dico quod GE quam ED humilior apparet, ED vero quam DB . Per premissum vero theorema AG quidem radius humilior est quam AE et AE quam AD et AD quam AB . Sed per GA et AE , GE videtur.^b Sed per EA et AD , ED ; per DA vero et AB , DB apparet. Ergo GE quam ED humilior^c apparet, etiam ED quam DB .

13. IN ANTE^d HABENTIUM^e LONGITUDINEM QUE QUIDEM IN DEXTRIS IN SINISTRA, QUE VERO IN SINISTRIS IN DEXTRA EDUCI VIDENTUR.

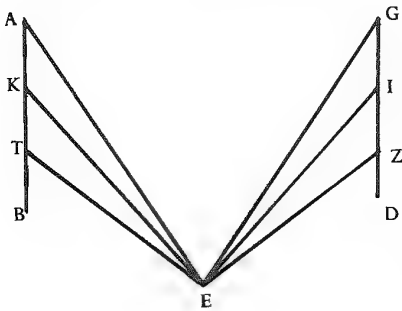


FIG. 14

Sint due conspecte magnitudines AB et DG . Sitque oculus E , a quo accidant radii ET et EK , EA , EZ , EI et EG . Dico quod EZ et EI et EG videntur in sinistra protracte et vero ET , EK et EA in dextra. Quoniam enim EZ quam EI dexterior^f est, EI vero quam EG . Inde ergo EG ab^g EI videtur in sinistra^h tracta, EI vero ab EZ . Similiter et EK , EA , ET videnturⁱ in dextra tracte.

^b videbitur L // ^c humilior L // ^d in ante] quantitatum FJ // ^e habentibus LF // ^f remotior G // ^g quam FJ // ^h sinisteriora FJ // ⁱ videbuntur FJ

14. EQUALIUM MAGNITUDINUM ET SUB EODEM OCULO^j IACENTIUM LONGIUS IACENTIA ELEVATIORA APPARENT.

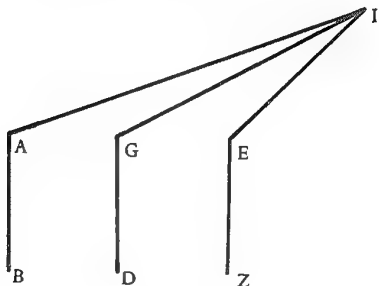


FIG. 15

Sint equales magnitudines AB , GD , EZ . Oculus vero sit I elevatior iacens magnitudinibus et accidant radii IA et IG et IE . Dico quod AB quam GD elevatius apparet, GD vero quam EZ . Quoniam enim IA quam IG est elevatior, IG vero quam IE , et in quibus sunt AI et IG et IE , in eis sunt et A , G , E puncta. In quo vero A , G , E in eo et AB , GD , EZ magnitudines.^k Ergo AB quam GD elevatior apparet et GD quam EZ .^l

15. EQUALIUM MAGNITUDINUM ATQUE SUPERIUS OCULO IACENTIUM REMOTIORA QUIDEM HUMILIORA APPARENT.

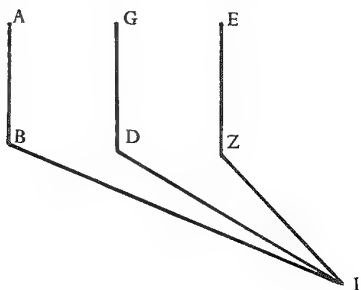


FIG. 16

Sint equales magnitudines AB , GD , EZ elevatiora iacentia oculo I . Dico quod AB quam GD humilior apparet, GD vero quam EZ . Accidant enim radii IB , ID , IZ . Quoniam ergo IB radius quam^m ID humilior est, ID vero quam IZ . Sedⁿ in quo sunt IB , ID , IZ et in eo sunt B , D , Z puncta. In quo vero^o B , D , Z in eo sunt et AB , GD , EZ magnitudines.^q AB ergo quam GD humilior apparet^r et GD quam EZ .

^j om. G // ^k magnitudo LGW // ^l magnitudines igitur quam D elevatior apparet sequitur decima quinta propositio equalium magnitudinem atque superius oculo add. F , magnitudines ... apparet add. J : quod est propositum distat autem hec ab XI dispositione in (?) ibi enim disponantur per eandem lineam rectam hic minime add. L // ^m om. FJ // ⁿ quoniam ... sed om. F // ^o sunt puncta add. JF // ^p puncta ... Z om. WG // ^q apparent add. L // ^r apparent J

16. QUECUMQUE ALTERNORUM SE SUPERANT SUB EODEM OCULO IACENTIA, ACCEDENTE QUIDEM OCULO MAIORI MAIUS SUPERAPPARENS APPARET, ABSCEDENTE VERO MINUS.

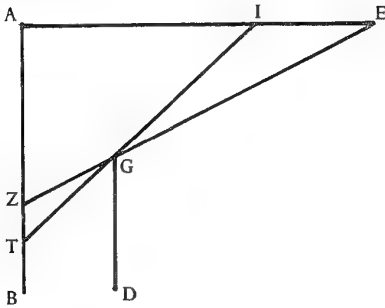


FIG. 17

Sint due inequales magnitudines AB , GD maiorque^s sit AB . Oculus autem sit E a quo accidat^t radius per G , EZ . Quoniam ergo sub oculo et EZ radio ZB et GD apparent,^u AB ergo^v ei quod^w est GD superapparet^x AZ magnitudine. Transmoveatur oculus propius et sit I , a quo accidat radius IT per G . Quoniam ergo sub oculo et IT radio apparet^y TB , ergo AB eo quod est^z GD maius apparebit eo quod est AT . Visum est autem sub E , AZ maius. <Maius> autem AT quam AZ . Itaque^a accedente quidem oculo maiori maius apparet superapparens, abscedente vero minus.^b

17. QUECUMQUE ALTERNORUM SE SUPERANT SUPER OCULUM INEQUALES MAGNITUDES, ACCEDENTE QUIDEM OCULO MINORI MINUS APPARET SUPERAPPARENS, ABSCEDENTE VERO MAIUS.

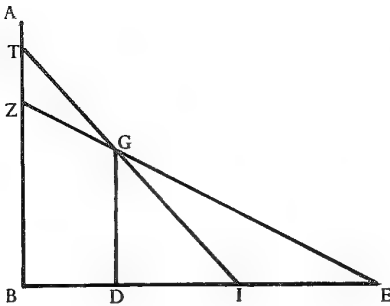


FIG. 18

Sint quidem inequales^c quantitates AB , GD quarum maior AB et sit^d oculus E a quo accidat radius EZ per G . Quoniam ergo sub EZ radio continentur ZB et GD magnitudines,^e BZ ergo et^f GD etiam equales adinvicem videntur.^g AB ergo quantitas quantitate GD maior^h apparet eo quod est AZ . Attrahaturⁱ ergo oculus propius et sit I , a quo accidat radius^j IT per G . Quoniam ergo sub IT radio deprehenduntur^k BT et GD , sub EZ vero ZB et GD , est autem ZA quantitas quantitate AT

s quarum maior L // t accidit FJ // u magnitudines continentur BZ ergo et GD alius apparent
add. L // v quantitas add. L // w quo FJ // x cum add. FJ // y apparent FJ // z om. LG // a itemque G
// b minus] minoris apparet superapparens maius FJ // c due add. G // d om. GfJ // e magnitudo WG
// f ergo et om. FJ // g etiam equales adinvicem videntur] alius apparent LWG // h om. FJ //
i trahatur G // j om. G // k deprehenditur FJ

maior. Accedente ergo minori minus superapparens apparet, abscedente vero maius.¹

18. QUECUMQUE ALTERNORUM SE SUPERANT, IN DIRECTO MINORI QUANTITATI OCULO ACCEDENTE ET ABSTANTE^m EQUALI SEMPER VIDEBITUR SUPERAPPARENS MINOREM EXCEDERE.

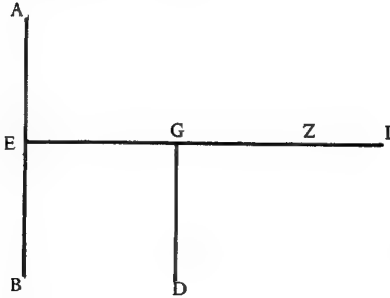


FIG. 19

Sint due inequales magnitudines AB et GD quarum AB maior. Oculus veroⁿ Z in directo iacens termino^o quantitatis GD ei qui est G . Dico quod puncto Z^p oculo accedente et abstante in directo existente equali^q videbitur superapparens AB ei quod^r est GD . Accidat enim radius ZE per G . Itaque AB ei quod est GD superapparebit eo^s quod est AE . Transmoveatur autem oculus et sit longius et sit^t in directo ei^u quod est I . Ab oculo ergo radius accidens veniet per G punctum et adiungetur usque ad E punctum, et^v eodem superapparebit AB quidem^w GD .

19. DATAM ALTITUDINEM^x COGNOSCERE QUANTA SIT SOLE APPARENTE.

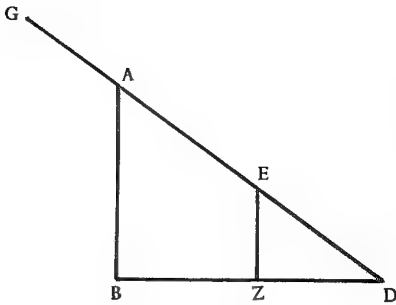


FIG. 20

Esto data altitudo AB proponaturque eam cognoscere quanta sit. Sit oculus D . Solis autem radius GA concidens termino A magnitudinis et protrahatur usque ad^y D oculum. Sit autem umbra BD altitudinis AB iaceatque^z altera quantitas EZ concidens radio non omnino illuminata ab eo secundum Z terminum.^a Aptatus est ergo AED trigono alter trigonus EZD . Est^b ergo sicut DZ ad ZE ita DB ad BA . Sed DZ ad EZ proportio est nota et DB ergo ad BA proportio est nota.^c Notum^d autem est DB . Ergo notum^e est AB .^f

¹ maiori GW // m om. FJ sup. abstante scr. id est recedente, scilicet oculo L // n sit add. G : et add. FJ // o om. J // p G codd. // q equaliter FJ // r que FJ // s om. FJ // t longius et sit om. FJ // u om. FJ // v itaque L // w quod est WGL // x magnitudinem G // y om. G // z sup. iaceatque scri. equidistans L // a terminus add. F // b quia trianguli sunt similes add. LFJ // c data G // d nota LFJ // e nota LFJ // f quod est propositum add. L

DA ad AB . Sed EZ ad BZ proportio est nota et^x quantitatis ergo DA ad AB proportio est nota et est AB notum. AD ergo notum est.

22. DATAM LONGITUDINEM QUANTA EST REPERIRE.

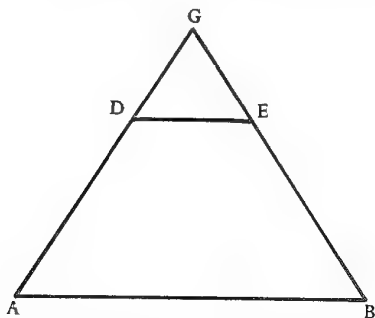


FIG. 2 3

Esto data longitudo AB , oculus G . Sitque conveniens AB longitudo quanta est invenire. Et accidunt radii GA et BG . Et sumatur prope oculum G super radium forte punctus D , et trahatur per D punctum recte AB parallela DE recta. Quoniam ergo trigoni ABG secundum unum laterum BA tracta est DE , est ergo sicut GD ad DE , ita GA ad AB . Sed quantitas GD ad DE proportio est nota et quantitas ergo AG ad AB proportio nota est. Est autem AG nota. Quare et AB .^y

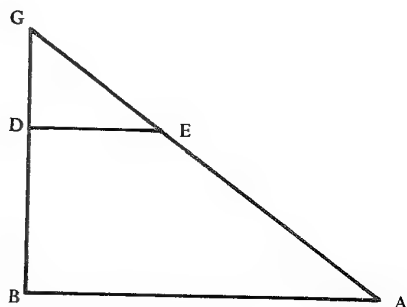


FIG. 2 4

^x quia termini noti add. $LFJ \parallel y$ melius hec sit erecta prope ad punctum A add. WG

23. SI IN EODEM PLANO IN QUO EST OCULUS CIRCULI PERIFERIA PONATUR, EA CIRCULI PERIFERIA RECTA LINEA APPARET.

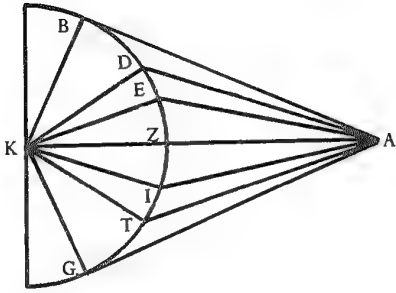


FIG. 25

Esto periferia circuli *BG* in eodem plano iacens oculo *A*, a quo accidunt radii *AB*, *AD*, *AE*, *AZ*, *AI*, *AT*, *AG*. Dico quoniam *BG* periferia recta apparet. Iaceat periferie centrum sitque *K* et coniungantur *KB*, *KD*, *KE*, *KZ*, *KI*, *KT*, *KG*. Quoniam ergo *KB* sub angulo *KAB* videtur et *KD* sub angulo *KAD*, maior ergo apparebit *KB* quam *KD* et *KD* quam *KE* et *KE* quam *KZ*. Et ex altera parte *KG* quidem quam *KT* et *KT* quam *KI* et *KI* quam *KZ* maior apparebit^z et propter hoc *Z* punctus plus videtur appropinquare ad

centrum quam *E* punctus et *E* quam *D* et *D* quam *B*. Quare in apparencia visus aliquid tollitur de eius convexitate.^a

Aliter. Possibile est autem et in ipsis visibus eadem dicere. Quoniam enim minima quidem que inter *A* oculum et diametrum, semper autem propinquior ei minor ea que longius. Ista vero contingent^b et catheto super eam existente *AZ*. Propter hoc fantasiam recte emittit periferia maxima que a plure apparet spacio. Unde convexitatem non percepimus. Propter quod non multum extente corde ex obliquo quidem vise demissionem habere videntur, inferius autem recti esse, et umbre quoque circulorum in eodem epipedo iacentium illuminanti recte fiunt.^c

Si in eodem plano oculi circuli periferia ponatur,^d recta linea circuli periferia apparet.

^z apparet *LFJ*: om. *G*: ex remotiore spere patet propositum cum determinati sint anguli in parvitate sub quibus contigit videri quia finiti. Non est infinita potentia que possit actu compleri. Rursus maioris et minoris distantie per elongatiorem a rebus visis nullus inclinabitur excessus propter causam predictam add. *WG* // a et propter ... convexitate om. *WG* // b contingent *L*: -gunt *FJ* // c et umbre ... fiunt] et umbre quoque manente recta *KA* cathetus *BG* super eadem contingent et in concava periferia *FJ* // d ponitur *G*

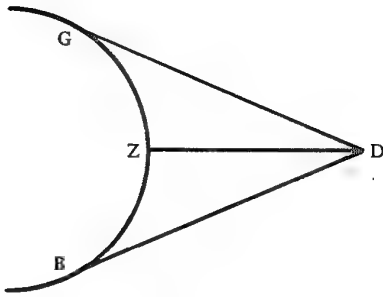


FIG. 2 6

Esto circuli periferia BG , oculus vero D in eodem plano BG periferie a quo accidunt visus DB , DZ , DG . Igitur quoniam visorum nihil^e totum simul videtur, recta ergo est BZ . Similiter autem et ZG . Tota ergo BG periferia recta est.^f

24. SI IN EO PLANO IN QUO EST OCULUS PONATUR PERIFERIA, NON TOTA APPARET SEMICIRCUMFERENCIA.^g

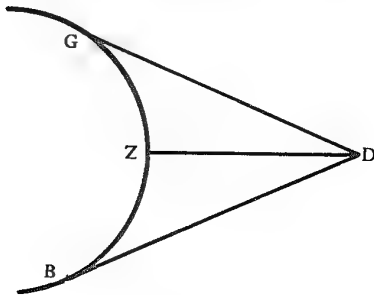


FIG. 2 7

Si enim BZG esset semicirculus, cum DB et DG sint lineae contingentes circum, utraque facit^h angulum rectum cum BG diametro per XVII tertii Euclidis. Ergoⁱ triangulus^j BDG duos rectos habebit angulos, quod est impossibile.

25. LONGIOR RADIUS AD SPERAM PROVENIENS^k QUASI LINEA CONTINGENS ERIT.

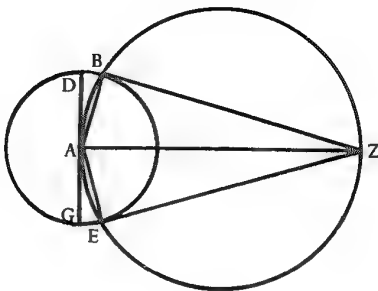


FIG. 2 8

Sit sphaera DG que videbitur^l ab oculo Z super centrum oculique distanciam; figuratur circulus protracta linea a centro spere usque ad oculum. Sitque diameter circuli que linea sit AZ , et procedant radii ad sectiones circulorum ZE , ZB . Dico hos esse quibus longiores speram non contingunt. Protrahantur enim a centro spere lineae due ad terminos radiatorum contingentium et facient^m duos angulos rectosⁿ cum radiis applicatis. Uterque enim angulorum cadit in semicirculum. Quare

^e nullum FJ : nullum vel: nihil G // ^f rectam habebit FJ // ^g semicirculi FJ // ^h faciet L // ⁱ taliter
add. L // ^j angulus L // ^k perveniens L // ^l videtur FJ // ^m faciant L // ⁿ om. FJ

linee applicate ad circumferenciam quia faciunt angulos rectos cum lineis ductis a centro erunt contingentes. Quare protracte non secabunt circulum. Si enim caderent intra, esset contra caudam pavonis.^o Si autem extra erit quod due et cetera. Si igitur perveniat radius longior, erit quod due linee recte includant superficiem, quod est impossibile. Quare relinquitur quod linee^p longiores sunt contingentes.

26. SPERE QUALITERCUMQUE VISE SUB UNO OCULO MINUS HEMISPHERIO SEMPER APPARET, EAQUE VISA SPERE PARS SUB CIRCULO PERIFERIA⁹ APPARET.

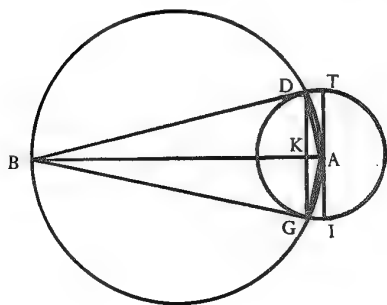


FIG. 2 9

Esto spera cuius centrum A , oculus vero B , et coniungantur^r A, B et educatur^s per AB rectam epipedum. Faciet ergo sectionem circuli. Faciet $GDTI$ ^t et circa diametrum AB circulus describatur GBD et coniungantur BG et DB , AG , AD . Quoniam ergo semicirculus est AGB , rectus ergo est AGB angulus. Similiter autem et BDA . Recte ergo GB et BD contingentes sunt.^u Coniungantur G, D et trahatur per A punctum recte^v GD parallela IT . Recti ergo qui ad K anguli. Si autem BGK trigonus, manente AB , circa rectum angulum K circumagatur, in idem

rursum unde inceptit feretur,^w et *BG* quidem unumquodque punctum spere
 continget, *KG* vero faciet sectionem circuli. Circuli igitur periferia videbitur in
 spera. Dico quoniam et minus hemisperio. Quoniam enim semicirculus est *IT*, *GD*
 minus semicirculo est et videtur sub *BG* et *BD* radiis eadem spere pars. Minus ergo
 hemisperio *GD* et sub radiis *BG* et *BD* videtur.^x

o si enim ... pavonis in marg. L: om. W // p due L // q contenta WGL // r coniugatur G: iungantur FJ // s deducatur FJ // t et sit LFJ // u per tertium Euclidis scilicet quando a termino ducta existens linea facit angulum rectum illa contingens erit add. LFJ // v om. F // w ferri FJ // x videntur J: videntur sequitur 26 propositio oculo accidente ad speram minus erit quod videtur versus F

quidem sub AB figura erit circulus qui utique per centrum spere est. Hemispermum ergo videbitur sub D, E oculis.^p

29. SI OCULORUM DISTANCIA SPERE DIAMETRO MAIOR FUERIT, PLUS HEMISPERIO VIDEBITUR.

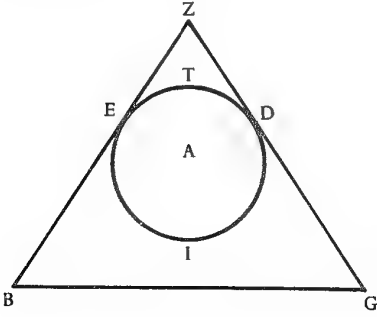


FIG. 32

Esto spere cuius centrum A et describatur circa centrum A circulus $ETDI$. Oculi vero B, G et sit spacium visuum BG intermedium maius ea que in spere diametro et coniungantur^a B, G . Dico quoniam maius^r hemispermio apparet.^s Accidant enim radii BE et GD et educantur super E, D partes. Concurrent vero adinvicem propter minorem esse diametrum recta BG . Concident autem ad punctum Z . Quoniam ergo ab aliquo puncto extra circulum dato videlicet Z videtur^t ad periferiam accidere^u ZE et ZD ,

semicirculo ergo minus est DET . Maius ergo semicirculo EID . Sed sub B, G oculis EID videtur. Itaque maius dimidio circuli videbitur sub B, G . Idem ergo et spere videbitur.^v

30. SI OCULORUM DISTANCIA EA QUE IN SPERA^w DIAMETRO MINOR FUERIT, ^x MINUS HEMISPERIO VIDEBITUR.

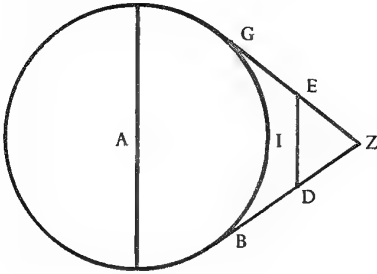


FIG. 33

Esto spere cuius centrum A punctus^y et describatur circa A circulus BG iaceatque spacium oculorum DE minus existens ea que in spere diametro a quo trahantur contingentes DB et EG et eodem etiam radii. Dico quoniam minus hemispermio videbitur.^z Educantur enim BD et GE , concident autem in GIB partes, quoniam quidem DE minor est ea que in spere diametro. Concident^a ad punctum Z . Quoniam ergo ab aliquo puncto, Z videlicet, accidunt ZG et ZB , ergo BIG

^p sequitur propositio 28 add. $F // q$ iungantur $FJ // r$ magis $FJ // s$ videbitur seu apparet $G // t$ recte $FJ // u$ accidunt $WG // v$ sequitur 29 propositio add. $F // w$ videbitur add. $J // x$ om. $LFJ // y$ om. $LFJ // z$ videtur $LFJ // a$ concident G

minor est semicirculo. Sed in quo *BIG* sectio, in hoc et spere. Continent ergo minus hemisperio.

31. CHILINDRO QUALITERCUMQUE SUB UNO OCULO VISO MINUS HEMICHILINDRO VIDEBITUR.

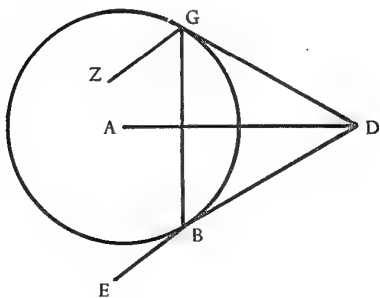


FIG. 3 4

Esto chilindrus^b cuius sit centrum basis punctus *A* et describatur circa *A* circulus *BG* iaceatque oculus *D* in eodem iacens plano basi chilindri *BG* et coniungatur ab *D* ad^c *A* recta *DA* et trahantur ab *D* radii *DB*, *DG* et contingant circulum. Et trahantur a punctis *B*, *G* ad rectos^d latera chilindri *BE* et *GZ* et educatur quidem per *DB* et *DE* epipedum et quidem per *DG* et *GZ*. Neutrum ergo eorum secat chilindrum. Contingunt et *DB* et *DG* et *BE* et *GZ*. Videtur ergo sub *BD* et *DG* radiis *BG* quod est^e minus semicirculo. Ad^f hunc autem modum et minus hemichilindro videbitur.^g

32. SI SUB^h DUOBUS OCULIS CHILINDRUS VIDEATUR, MANIFESTUM QUONIAM ET IN EO CONTINGENTⁱ QUE IN SPERA.

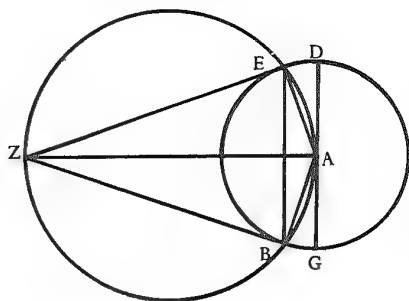


FIG. 3 5

Esto circulus cuius sit centrum *A*. Punctus vero extra sit *Z* et coniungantur *A*, *Z* et trahatur a puncto *A* recte *AZ* ad rectos in utraque parteⁱ *GD*. Ea ergo *GD* diameter est circuli et describatur circa *AZ* circulus *ABZE* et coniungantur *AB*, *BZ*, *ZE*, *EA*. Itaque *ZB* et *ZE* contingunt quoniam quidem qui ad *B*, *E* puncta sunt recti.^k Quoniam ergo ab aliquo puncto videlicet *Z* ad circuli periferiam accidunt radii *BZ*, *ZE*, ergo *BE* pars circuli videbitur. Est autem *GBED* semicirculus.

Itaque *BE* minor est semicirculo. Hoc autem theoreuma factum est ad conos et ad chilindros. Si enim a punctis *B*, *E*

^b conus *GW* // ^c super *LW* // ^d angulos add. *LFJ* // ^e quod est] quidem *LFJ* // ^f om. *FJ* // ^g apparet *L*: -rebit *FJ* // ^h om. *LFJ* // ⁱ contingunt *LFJ* // ^j om. *WGL* // ^k recte *G*

38. SI A CENTRO CIRCULI AD RECTOS CIRCULI EPIPEDO ERIGATUR RECTA ATQUE IN EA OCULUS PONATUR, DIAMETRI IN CIRCULI EPIPEDO DUCTE OMNES EQUALES APPAREBUNT.

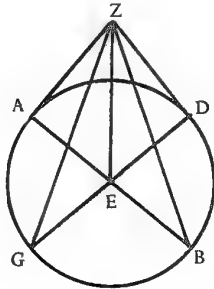


FIG. 4 1

Esto circulus cuius^a centrum *A* punctus et ab eo trahatur perpendicularis circuli epipedo in qua iaceat^b oculus *B*. Dico quod diametri equales apparebunt. Sint due^c diametri *DG* et *EZ* et coniungantur *BG*, *BE*, *BD*, *BZ*. Quoniam ergo equalis *ZA* ei que est *AG*, communis vero *AB*, et anguli recti, basis igitur *BZ* basi *BG* est equalis et qui circa bases anguli. Equalis^d ergo qui sub *ZB*, *BA* angulus angulo qui sub *AB*, *BG*. Similiter et *EBA* angulus angulo^e *ABD* et qui ergo sub *GB*, *BD* equalis est angulo qui sub *EB*, *BZ*. Sed sub equalibus angulis visa equalia apparent. Equalis ergo recta *GD* recte *EZ*.^f

39. ET SI QUE A CENTRO DUCTA NON PERPENDICULARIS FUERIT EPIPEDO, EQUALIS VERO EI QUE A CENTRO, DIAMETRI OMNES EQUALES APPAREBUNT.^g

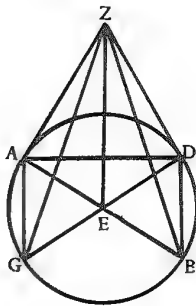


FIG. 4 2

Esto circulus *ABGD* et trahantur in eo due diametri *AB*, *GD* et sit recta^h ab *E* puncto ducta in qua oculus positus est *Z* et non perpendicularis sed equalis unicuique earum que eⁱ centro videlicet *EZ* et inducantur^j radii *ZA*, *ZG*, *ZB*, *ZD*. Quoniam ergo equalis est *BE* recte *EZ* sed et *EA* recte *EZ* equalis, hee tres ergo *AE*, *EZ* et *EB* equales sunt. In eo ergo per *AB* et *EZ* epipedo descriptus semicirculus circa *AB* diametrum veniet per *Z* punctum. Rectus ergo qui sub *AZ* et *ZB* angulus. Similiter et qui sub *GZ*, *ZD*

rectus est. Omnes vero recti equales.^k Sub equalibus autem angulis visa equalia apparent. Equalis ergo apparebit^l *AB* ei que est *GD*.^m

a om. *LGW* // b iacebat *LFJ* // c duo *LFJ* // d equaliter *W*: -les *G* // e qui sub ... angulo om. *W* // f sequitur 38 propositio add. *F* // g apparent *LFJ* // h linea *G* // i a *LFJ* // j ducantur *LGW* // k equaliter *FJ* // l apparet *LFJ* // m equalis ... *GD* om. *W*

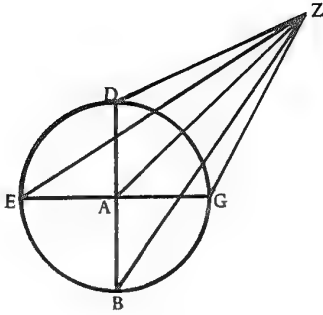


FIG. 4 3

Sed enimⁿ AZ nec equalis sit ei que e^o centro nec perpendicularis^p circuli epipedo. Equales autem angulos faciat^q DAZ et ZAG et EAZ et ZAB . Dico quoniam diametri equales apparebunt facientes equales angulos. Quoniam enim equalis est angulus quidem GAZ angulo ZAB angulusque DAZ angulo ZAE , basis ergo ZD basi ZG est equalis. Quare et DZA equalis angulo AZG . Similiter autem demonstrabimus quoniam et EZA angulo AZD est equalis. Totus ergo DZB toti EZG est equalis. Quare DB et EG diametri equales apparebunt.^r

40. SI RECTA AB OCULO CENTRO^s CIRCULI INCIDENS NEQUE PERPENDICULARIS FUERIT EPIPEDO CIRCULI NEQUE EI QUÈ E CENTRO EQUALIS NEQUEE EQUALES ANGULOS CONTINENS, DIAMETRI INEQUALES APPAREBUNT AD QUAS FACIT INEQUALES ANGULOS.

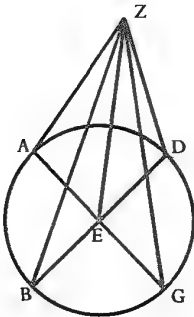


FIG. 4 4

Esto circulus $ABGD$ et ducantur due diametri AG , BD se invicem ad rectos secantes ad punctum E et ab E puncto ducta in qua oculus positus est. EZ neque perpendicularis sit epipedo neque equalis ei que a centro neque equales angulos continens cum DB , AG . Dico quod inequales apparebunt AG , BD diametri. Coniungantur enim ZG , ZA , ZB , ZD . Aut igitur maior^t est EZ ea que e centro vel minor. Propter hec vero vel maior^u est^v qui sub DZ , ZB eo qui sub GZ , ZA vel qui sub GZ , ZA eo qui sub DZ , ZB sicut deinceps demonstrabimus. Inequales igitur diametri videbuntur.^w

n quod L: que $FJ \parallel o$ a $LFJ \parallel p$ que in *add.* $FJ \parallel q$ faciet $FJ \parallel r$ sequitur 39 propositio *add.* $F \parallel s$ ad centrum $FJ \parallel t$ minor $FJ \parallel u$ minor $L \parallel v$ angulus *add.* LJ : igitur *add.* $F \parallel w$ videbuntur] apparebunt eo qui sub GZ , ZA vel qui sub GZ , ZA vero quam sub DZ , ZB G

EG, GN, BE, BN, AN . Quoniam ergo equalis^c est MN ei que est ME , communis vero MG , et equales angulos continent, equalis ergo EG recta recte GN . Communis^d autem et perpendicularis GB . Equalis ergo EB ei que est BN sed et EA ei que est AN . Communis ergo AB . Et angulus ergo EAB angulo NAB est equalis.

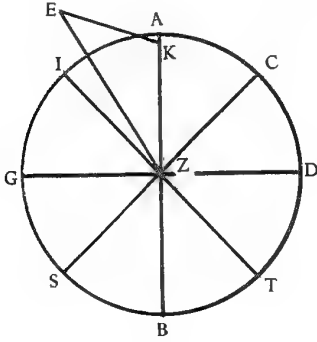


FIG. 4 6

ergo que per GD epipeda sunt educta ei quod per EZ , AB sunt ad rectos. Quare et subiacens^h circuli epipedumⁱ in quo est GD . Trahatur ergo ab E puncto super subiacens epipedum cathetus; super communem sectionem epipedorum scilicet AB cadet. Cadat ergo et sit EK .

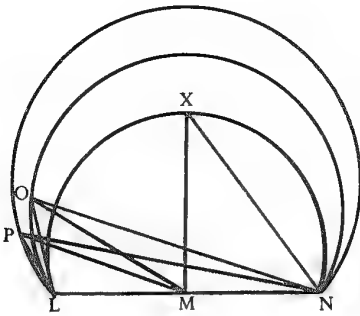


FIG. 4 7

Esto circulus $ABGD$ cuius centrum Z ^e in quo recte ducantur^f per A, B, G, D se adinvicem perpendiculariter secantes. Oculus vero sit E , a quo recta super centrum coniuncta ad rectos linee GD , ad AB vero casu angulum contineat et sit EZ ea que e centro maior. Dico quoniam inequales diametri AB, GD apparebunt et maxima quidem GD , minima vero AB . Semperque propior minime remotiore minor. Due tantum diametri equales apparebunt equaliter distantes ex utraque parte minime.^g Quoniam ergo GD utriusque AB, EZ est perpendicularis, et omnia

Protrahaturque diametro circuli equalis, <scilicet GD ,> LM et dividatur in duo equa ad punctum N et trahatur a puncto N recte LM perpendicularis recta NX sitque ea NX recte EZ equalis. Itaque circa LM descripta sectio^j veniens per X maior est semicirculo quoniam recta NX maior est utraque NL, MN . Esto LXM et coniungantur LX, XM . Qui ergo ad X angulus contentus sub LX, XM rectis equalis est ei qui ad E punctum contento sub E et G, D . Constituatur ad LN rectam et ad ipsum N punctum ei qui sub IZ, ZE equalis^k sub LN, NO et iaceat^l equalis ei

que est EZ recta NO et coniungantur LO, OM et describatur circa trigonum LOM

c ergo EG recta recte GN add. FLJ // d om. LG // e cuius centrum Z om. FJ // f trahantur LWG // g om. G // h subiacentis LW // i epipedo G // j sectore FJ // k ei ... equalis] angulus equalis angulo qui continetur sub IZ, ZE et contineatur ille angulus LFJ // l latet FJ

sectio^m *LOM*. Erit autem et ad *O* punctum angulusⁿ equalis angulo qui ad *E* sub *IET*. Amplius constituatur ad *LN* rectam et ad ipsum punctum *N* angulo^o *AZE* equalis angulus^p *LNP*. laceatque ei que est *EZ* equalis *NP* et coniungantur *LP*, *PM* et describatur circa *LMP* trigonum sectio circuli *LPM*. Est^q ergo et qui ad *P* punctum angulus equalis ei qui sub *AEB* angulo. Quoniam ergo maior est qui ad *X* quam qui ad *O*, et quia qui ad *X* punctum equalis angulo *GED*, qui vero ad *O* angulo *IET*, maior ergo apparebit *GD* quam *IT*. Rursum quoniam qui ad *O* punctum angulus angulo *IET* est equalis, qui vero ad *P* angulo *AEB*, maior vero qui ad *O* quam qui ad *P*. Maior ergo angulus *IET* quam *AEB*. Maior ergo apparebit *IT* quam *AB*. Omnium ergo ductarum per *Z* rectorum et facientium ad *EZ* angulos^r maxima quidem videbitur *GD*, minima vero *AB*. Propter quod et ad *E* constitutorum angulorum maximus quidem *GED*, minimus vero *AEB*. Angulo vero *IET* alius unus solus equalis statuatur^s ablata equali^t ei que est *IA* ab *AC* et coniuncta^u *CZ* et educta^v super *S*, angulus *CES*. Hoc autem manifestum ab eis qui ad *X*, *O*, *P* angulis;^w etenim eorum minimus quidem *P* quoniam et angulus *PNL* equalis est angulo *EZA* minimo angulo. Maximus vero *X* propter perpendicularem esse *NX*^x maximam factam^y ductarum^z per *N* rectorum^a in *LXM* sectione et equalem eius positam et *LXM* sectio supercadit, et *X* valde intra^b cadito,^c et *P* valde^d extra velut nullo minori angulo existente angulo *PNL*. Eo vero qui sub *EZC* equali existente ei qui sub *EZI* ut demonstratum est. Igitur qui sub *EZS* equalis est qui sub *EZT*, hoc est qui sub *ONM*. Quare uterque^e angulorum *CES* et *IET* ei qui ad *O*. Est *IT* ei qui *CS* equalis apparebit.^f

Ita demonstratum est in quarto libro Euclidis elementorum geometrie: circa datum trigonum circulum describere.^g Quare possibile est volenti circa $\langle PLN \rangle$ trigonum et adhuc circa $\langle NOL \rangle$ sectionem. Descriptis autem tribus sectionibus^h manifestum est quoniam trium maior est $\langle PLN \rangle$ sectio, at vero *XLN* minor quidem, $\langle OLN \rangle$ minor vero *PLN*. Propterea vero maior qui in $\langle NOL \rangle$ sectione angulus in minori portioneⁱ angulus,^j maior qui vero ad *X* maior quam qui ad *O*. Ab eo quod est demonstratum usque huc non est de libro sed extra sumptum.

m om. FJ // n om. FJ // o angulus LJ: -lis F // p angulo LFJ // q esto GW: erit FJ // r angulum LWG: -lus F // s statuatur L // t equalis FJ // u sitque L: coniugata GW // v ducta G // w angulus L: -los FJ // x per circulum add. F: per tertium add. J // y om. FJ // z ductorum FJ // a rectorum FJ // b extra LWG // c cadit F // d om. L // e utrumque FJ // f est ... apparebit om. FJ // g quarto libro propositione quinta add. G // h sed communibus FJ // i sectione LFJ: om. G // j angulo FJ

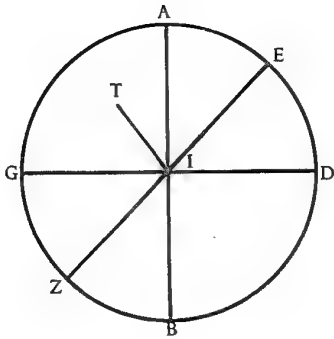


FIG. 4 8

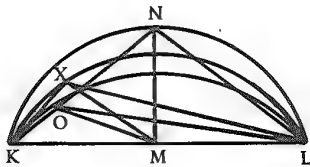


FIG. 4 9

Esto minor ab oculo super centrum coniugata ea que e^k centro. At vero circa diametrum e contrario; que enim primum maior nunc minor apparebit, minor vero maior. Esto circulus *AGBD* et protrahantur due diametri *AB*, *GD* secantes se adinvicem perpendiculariter. Altera vero casu protrahatur^l *EZ*. Oculus vero sit *T*, a quo super centrum coniuncta^m sit *IT*, minor existens utraque earum que e centro. Iaceatque circuli diametro equalis *KL* et dividatur in duo equa secundum sectionem et protrahatur a puncto *M* perpendicularis *MN* et sit equalis *MN* recta recte *TI* et describatur circa *KL* et *N* punctum sectio circuli *KNL*. Est autem minor semicirculo quoniam *MN* minor est ea que e centro. Eritⁿ autem ad *N* angulus contentus sub *KN*, *NL* equalis ei qui ad *T* contento^o sub *GT*, *TD*. Amplius iaceat ei qui est sub^p *EIT* equalis sub *KMX* et iaceat ei qui est *IT* equalis *MX* et describatur circa *KL* et *X* punctum *KLX* sectio. Est ergo ad *X* punctum angulus contentus sub *KXL* equalis ei ad *T* contento sub *ZTE*. Amplius iaceat ei qui

sub *AIT* equalis qui sub *KMO* iaceatque *MO* ei qui est *IT* equalis et describatur circa *KL* et *O* punctum sectio. Erit autem qui ad *O* angulus contentus sub *KOL* equalis ei qui ad *T* contento angulo^a sub *ATB*. Cum vero^r maior qui ad *O* quam^s qui ad *X*, equalis autem qui ad *O*^t ei qui ad *T* contento^u sub *ATB*; qui vero ad *X* ei qui ad *T* contento sub *ETZ*. Maior ergo apparebit *AB* quam *EZ*. Rursum quoniam maior qui ad *T* contentus sub *ET*, *TZ* eo qui ad *T* contento vero sub *GTD*, maior ergo videbitur *EZ* quam *GD*.^v

k a *LFJ* // l utcumque ducatur *FJ*: diametri protrahatur *L* // m coniugata *GW* // n sit *FJ* // o contentus vero *GW* // p ei ... sub *om. F* // q *om. LF* // r quoniam ergo *GW* // s cum ... quam *om. L* // t equalis ... O *om. L* // u contentus *FJ* // v 40 propositio *add. F*

41. CURRUM ROTE ALIQUOCIENS CIRCULARES APPARENT, ALIQUOCIENS PARES-PAMINI.

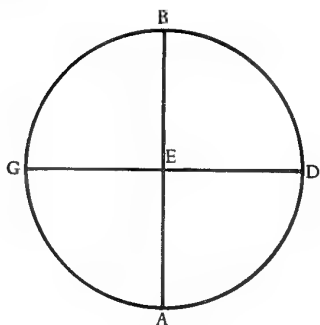


FIG. 5 o

Esto rota $ABGD$ et protrahantur^w diametri BA , GD secantes se adinvicem perpendiculariter ad E punctum. Iaceat-que oculus non^x quidem in epipedo circuli. Si ergo recta ab oculo super centrum coniuncta non^y perpendicularis fuerit^z epipedo nec ei que e centro equalis, diametri omnes inequales apparebunt. Una quidem maxima, altera^a vero minima. Omnis autem alia inter maximam et minimam ducta. Alia una tantum videbitur equalis super alteras partes ductas. Quare rota parespamenos apparet.^b

42. EST LOCUS IN QUO OCULO MANENTE, EO VERO QUOD VIDETUR TRANSPOSITO, EQUALE SEMPER QUOD VIDETUR^c APPARET.

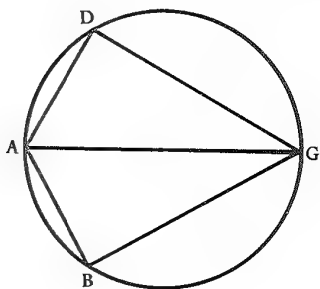


FIG. 5 1

Esto oculus A , conspecta vero quantitas BG , a quo accidunt radii AB , AG et describatur circa ABG circulus ABG . Dico quoniam est locus ubi manente oculo quidem^d conspecta vero magnitudine transposita equale semper quod videtur apparet. Transponatur enim et sit GD . Ei que est AB equalis esto AD . Quoniam ergo equalis est BA ei que est AD et BG ei que est GD , equalis ergo et BAG angulus^e ei qui est DAG : etenim super equales periferias sunt. Quare equales sunt.^f

Equale ergo apparebit quod videtur. Idem

autem continget si oculus super centrum circuli maneat, quod autem videtur super circumferenciam vadat.^g

w om. FJ // x om. LWG // y om. FJ // z om. FJ // a alia FJ // b vocatur G; om. L // c quod videtur om. G // d om. LFJ // e om. G // f quare equales sunt} equales FJ; om. L // g inradat J

43. EST LOCUS UBI OCULO TRANSPOSITO, EO VERO QUOD VIDETUR MANENTE, SEMPER EQUALE QUOD VIDETUR APPARET.

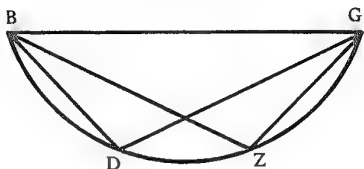


FIG. 52

Esto enim quod videtur BG , oculus autem Z , a quo accidunt radii ZB , ZG et describatur circa ZBG trigonum sectio circuli BGZ et transeat oculus Z super D et transcendant^h radii DB , DG . Igitur equalis D angulus angulo Z . In eadem enim sectione sunt. Que autem sub equalibus angulis visa equalia apparent. Equale igitur BG per totum apparebit oculo transposito super DBG periferiam.ⁱ

44. SI QUANTITAS ALIQUA PERPENDICULARIS FUERIT SUBIACENTI EPIPEDO,^j PONATUR AUTEM OCULUS SUPER ALIQUOD PUNCTUM EPIPEDI, TRANSPONATURQUE QUOD VIDETUR SUPER CIRCULI PERIFERIAM CENTRUM HABENTIS OCULUM, SEMPER EQUALIS RES CONSPECTA VIDEBITUR^k SECUNDUM PARALLELAM POSITIONEM EI QUE E^l PRINCIPIO TRANSIENS.

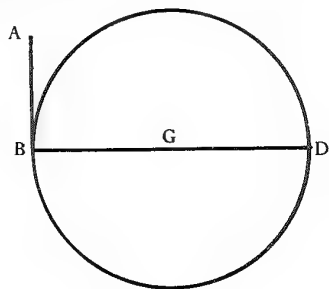


FIG. 53

Esto que videtur aliqua magnitudo AB perpendicularis existens epipedo. Oculus vero sit G et coniungantur G , B et centro quidem G spacio vero GB circulus describatur BD . Dico quoniam, si super circuli periferiam transponatur AB magnitudo, ab oculo G equalis videbitur AB . Etenim^m AB recta est et facit ad BG angulum rectumⁿ omnesque a centro G accidentes ad circuli periferiam recte equales angulos faciunt. Equalis ergo conspecta videbitur magnitudo. Si vero a centro G perpendiculariter consurgat recta et super eam

oculus ponatur et transponatur conspecta magnitudo secundum circuli periferiam parallela existens recte super quam est oculus, equalis semper res conspecta videbitur.^o

h concidunt FJ // i sequitur 43 propositio add. F // j plano add. LJ // k videtur LFJ // l a FJ // m tantum FJ // n om. FJ // o videtur LFJ : sequitur 44 propositio add. F

46. SI QUOD VIDETUR PERPENDICULARE FUERIT SUBIACENTI EPIPEDO,^h TRANSPONATUR VERO OCULUS SUPER CIRCULI PERIFERIAM CENTRUM HABENTEMⁱ PUNCTUM SECUNDUM QUOD CONIUNGITUR MAGNITUDO EPIPEDO, EQUALE SEMPER QUOD VIDEBITUR^j APPAREBIT.

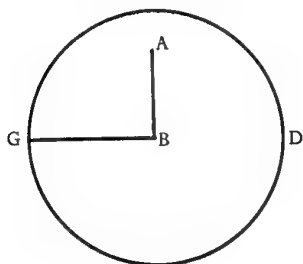


FIG. 5 5

Esto conspecta^k magnitudo AB perpendicularis subiacenti epipedo.^l Oculus vero sit G et centro quidem B spacio vero BG circulus describatur GD . Dico quoniam, si transponatur G super circuli periferiam, equalis semper AB apparebit. Hoc autem manifestum est: omnes^m enim a puncto G ad AB accedentes radii ad equales angulos acciduntⁿ quoniam igitur qui ad B angulus rectus est. Equalis ergo res conspecta videbitur.

47. RE CONSPECTA MANENTE, OCULO VERO TRANSPOSITO SECUNDUM RECTAM LINEAM OBLIQUAM AD CONSPECTAM QUANTITATEM EXISTENTEM, ALIQUOCIENS QUIDEM EQUALIS.^o ALIQUOCIENS VERO INEQUALIS^p RES CONSPECTA APPARET.

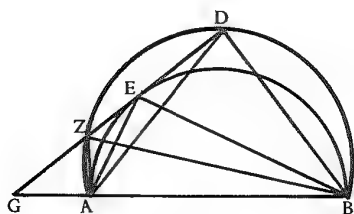


FIG. 5 6

Esto quod videtur quidem AB , oculus autem sit E . Recta vero obliqua GD et adiciatur ei que est BA in directo^q AG et coniungatur recte DG ad G et transponatur ab ipso^r oculus. Dico quoniam aliquociens quidem equalis, aliquociens vero inequalis apparet AB . Sumatur enim rectarum BG , GA media proportionalis GE , et sit oculus E , et transmoveatur et sit in eadem recta ad D . Dico quoniam sub E , D visum inequale apparet. Coniungantur AE , EB , AD , ED et describatur circa

AEB trigonum sectio AEB . laceatque ei qui sub GD , BD angulo equalis angulus qui sub GA , AZ et coniungantur B , Z . In circulo ergo sunt B , A , Z , D puncta. Quoniam ergo maior angulus AEB angulo AZB , angulus vero AZB ei qui sub AD , DB equalis est, quoniam in eadem sectione sunt. Et angulus ergo AEB angulo^s ADB maior est. Sed sub angulo quidem ADB videtur AB oculo super D existente.^t Sub angulo vero

^h plano LFJ // ⁱ habentis FJ // ^j videtur FJ // ^k quantitas seu *add.* G // ^l plano LFJ : transponatur vero oculus super circuli periferiam neu (?) *add.* G // ^m omnis FJ // ⁿ accidunt G // ^o aliquociens ... equalis *om.* G // ^p inequaliter FJ // ^q recta *add.* GW // ^r ab ipso *om.* LFJ // ^s angulo ei qui sub LG : eo qui sub FJ // ^t ente LWG

AEB idem AB videtur oculo super E existente. Inequale ergo visum apparet super ED rectam oculo transposito. Manifestum vero quoniam et semper super EG transposito oculo inequale quod videtur, apparet et maximum quidem^u que ad E positionem. Maius vero semper^v ad ei propinquiorem in utralibet ergo ED , EG rectarum. Equale autem ea que ad Z et ea que ad D et ea que similiter ei sumpta propter in eadem sectione esse angulos.

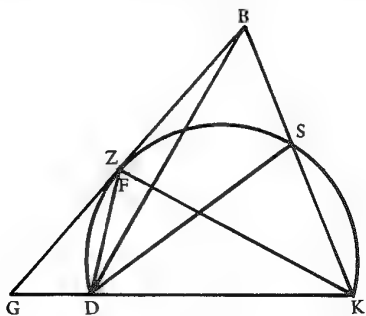


FIG. 57

angulus angulo B maior est. Oculo ergo super Z existente, maius apparet KD quam super B .

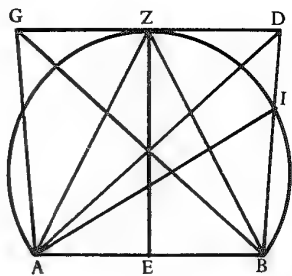


FIG. 58

AZB angulo AIB , sed AIB angulus angulo ADB maior et angulus AZB ergo angulo ADB maior est. Et sub angulo AZB magnitudo AB videtur, oculo super Z existente. Similiter autem et sub angulo ADB super D existente. Inequale ergo quod videtur

Esto enim quod videtur KD , recta vero BG concidens ei que est KD educte. Et sumatur recte GD et recte GK media proportionalis GZ et coniungantur ZK et ZD et circa vero KD portio describatur circuli^w que continebitur sub KZD . Contingetur^x autem ab BG recta quoniam sicut KG ad BZ ita GZ ad GD . Iaceat vero oculus super B punctum et adiciatur^y DB recte BK . Coniungantur autem S , D . Igitur equalis angulus F angulo S . In eadem enim sectione^z sunt. Et est S angulus angulo B maior, et F ergo

Idem autem continget^a et si parallela sit^b recta linea ei que videtur magnitudini. Esto que videtur magnitudo AB et dividatur in duo equalia ad E punctum et protrahatur ab E magnitudini^c AB perpendicularis EZ in qua oculus Z iaceat. Et coniungantur ZA , ZB et describatur circa AZB trigonum portio AZB et trahatur per Z magnitudini AB parallela ZD et transiaceat^d oculus super D et accendant radii AD , DB . Dico quoniam a punctis D , Z inequalia apparebunt. Coniungantur A , I . Quoniam ergo equalis angulus qui sub

^u ad eam add. $GW \parallel v$ om. $LGW \parallel w$ circulus $FJ \parallel x$ coniungatur $GFI \parallel y$ eiciatur GW : trahantur F : trahatur $J \parallel z$ portione $LWG \parallel a$ contingit $LFJ \parallel b$ fuerit $GW \parallel c$ magnitudinis $FJ \parallel d$ transeat LFJ

apparet sub punctis *D, Z*. Et si ponatur equalis ei^e que est *DZ* ea^f que est *GZ*, minor itaque et *AB* sub *G* apparet^g quam *AB* sub^h *Z*. A punctis vero *G, D* equalis.ⁱ

48. SUNT LOCI IN QUIBUS OCULO TRANSPOSITO EQUALES MAGNITUDINES ET COMMUNITER OCCUPANTES LOCOS QUOSDAM ALIQUOCIENS QUIDEM EQUALES, ALIQUOCIENS VERO INEQUALES APPARENT.

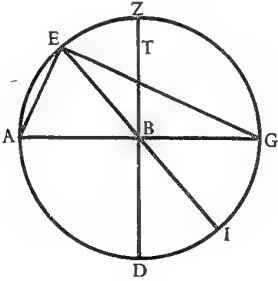


FIG. 59

quam *IG* periferia,^l maior ergo apparebit *AB* quam *BG*. Et si transeat oculus super *EI*, inequalia similiter apparebunt. Et super circuli partes seorsum perpendicularis si ponatur,^m inequalia apparent. Et si extra circulum ponatur non in directo existens ei que est *DZ*, inequalia apparent.ⁿ

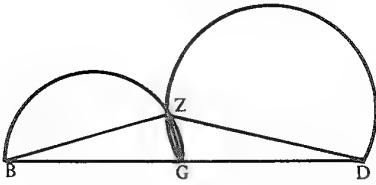


FIG. 60

continentem angulum equalem subiacenti acuto angulo, ut habetur 33 epipedorum,^u et erit constitutum in eo maius semicirculo, ut in 31 tertii epipedorum,^v et coniungantur *BZ, ZG, ZD*. Igitur qui in semicirculo angulus maior est quam alius in

Esto oculus quidem *T*, magnitudines *AB, BG*, et protrahatur a puncto *B* perpendicularis *BZ* et trahatur^j super *D*. Manifestum autem quoniam secundum^k quamcumque eius quod est *DZ* partem si ponatur oculus, *AB, BG* equalia apparebunt. Transponatur autem oculus et sit *E*. Dico quoniam *AB, BG* inequalia apparent. Accidant radii *EA, EB, EG* et describatur circa *AEG* trigonum *AEGD* circulus et adiciatur ei que est *EB* recta *BI*. Quoniam ergo equalis *AD* periferia *GD* periferie, maior vero *ADI* periferia

Aliter. Esto enim equalis *BG* ei que est *DG* et circa quidem *BG* semicirculus describatur *BZG*. At vero circa *GD* maior semicirculo *GZD* et manifestum quidem quoniam incidet^o predictum semicirculum.^p Possibile vero^q super *GD* scribere^r portionem maiorem quidem semicirculo. Si enim supponamus acutum aliquem^s angulum, possibile est nobis super *GD* scribere^t portionem circuli

e om. *FJ* // f ei *FJ* // g sub *G* apparet om. *G* // h om. *G* // i videtur add. *G* // j iniciatur *L*: eiciatur *GW* // k om. *L* // l om. *LFJ* // m apparent *FJ* // n et ... apparent om. *W* // o maior *LG* // p predictum semicirculum om. *W* // q est nobis add. *G* // r describere *FJ* // s om. *FJ* // t describere *FJ* // u 33 elementorum *L*: tercio elementorum euclidis *G*: tertio elementorum *W* // v et ... epipedorum om. *LWG*

maiori portione. Sub maiori autem angulo visa maiora apparent. Maius etiam BG quam GD apparet.^w Erat autem equalis. Est ergo locus communis in quo oculus si ponatur, inequalia apparent equalia. Equalia^x autem apparebunt^y quoniam quidem si super ea que a principio puncta fuerit eorum que sunt BG , GD maior semicirculus.^z

49. EST ALIQUIS LOCUS COMMUNIS A QUO INEQUALES MAGNITUDINES EQUALES APPARENT.

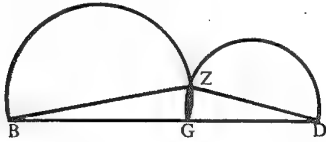


FIG. 6 1

GZD portionibus adinvicem anguli. Sub equalibus autem angulis visa equalia apparent. Oculo igitur posito super Z punctum, equalis apparebit BG ei que est GD . Est autem maior. Est ergo locus communis a quo inequales magnitudines equales apparent.

50. SUNT LOCI IN QUIBUS OCULO TRANSPOSITO EQUALES MAGNITUDINES ET PERPENDICULARES SUBIACENTI EPIPEDO^f EXISTENTES ALIQUOCIENS QUIDEM EQUALES, ALIQUOCIENS INAEQUALES APPARENT.

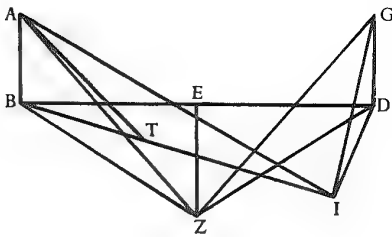


FIG. 6 2

Esto enim maior^a BG quam GD , et circa BG ^b maior semicirculo portio describatur et circa^c GD similis ei^d que circa BG , hoc est recipiens angulum equalem ei qui in BZG . Secabunt^e se adinvicem portiones. Dividantur ad Z et coniungantur ZB , ZG , ZD . Igitur quoniam equales sunt qui in similibus portionibus anguli adinvicem, equales sunt et qui in BZG ,

Sint equales quidem magnitudines AB , GD ad rectos existentes subiacenti epipedo. Dico quoniam est locus ubi oculo^g posito AG , GD equales apparent. Coniungatur enim ab B super D ^h recta BD et dividatur in duo equalia ad punctum E et protrahatur a puncto E perpendicularis EZ recte DB . Dico quoniam, si super EZ ponatur oculus, AB , GD equales apparebunt. Iaceat enim super EZ oculus et sit Z et accendant radii AZ , ZB , ZE , ZD , ZG . Equalis vero recta ZB recte ZD , sed AB ei que est GD posita est equalis. Due ergo

^w maius ... apparet *om.* $L // x$ *om.* $WG // y$ equalia ... apparebunt *om.* $L // z$ sequitur 48 propositio *add.* $F // a$ minor $FJ // b$ similis ei quam circa BG *add.* $FJ // c$ *om.* $FJ // d$ *om.* $FJ // e$ secantes $WLG // f$ plano $LFJ // g$ *om.* $G // h$ super D *om.* L

equales AB , BZ duabus GD , DZ equales sunt et continentⁱ rectos^j angulos. Equalis ergo AZ e: que est GZ (et ad bases iacentium angulorum quibus equalia latera subtensa sunt coni figura). Equalis est ergo qui sub BZA ei qui sub DZG . Magnitudines ergo equales videbuntur^k AB et GD .

Dico autem quoniam et inequales videbuntur. Transeat^l autem oculus et sit I et coniungantur I , E et accendant radii IB , IA , IG , ID . Maior ergo IB quam ID . Auferatur autem ab IB ei que est ID equalis BT , et coniungantur^m A , T . Equalis ergo angulus BTA angulo GID sed angulus BTA quam angulus BIA maior est quiⁿ extrinsecus scilicet intrinseco et angulus ergo GID angulo BIA est maior. Maior ergo apparebit^o GD quam AB .^p

51. SUNT LOCI QUIDAM IN QUIBUS OCULO POSITO INEQUALES MAGNITUDINES IN IDEM COMPOSITE EQUALES UTRIQUE INEQUALIUM APPAREBUNT.

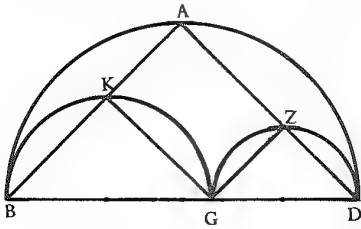


FIG. 6 3

Esto enim BG maior quam GD et circa BG et GD semicirculi describantur et circa totam BD . Igitur equalis qui in BAD semicirculo angulus ei qui in BKG ; rectus enim est uterque. Equalis ergo videbitur BG ei que est BD . Similiter vero BD ei que est GD , oculis^q super^r semicirculos ABD , GZD iacentibus. Sunt quidam ergo loci in quibus inequales magnitudines due in idem composite equales utrique inequalium apparent.

52. INVENIRE LOCOS A QUIBUS EQUALIS MAGNITUDO MEDIETAS APPAREAT VEL QUARTA^s PARS VEL UNIVERSALITER IN PROPORTIONE IN QUA ET ANGULUS DIVIDATUR.^t

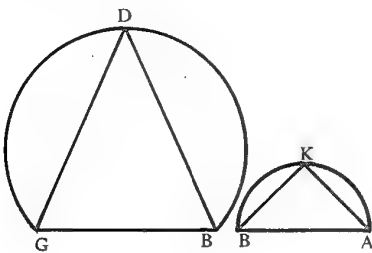


FIG. 6 4

Esto equalis AB ei que est GB et circa AB describatur semicirculus et describatur in eodem rectus angulus K . Ei vero que est AB equalis esto BG , et circa BG describatur portio circuli que recipiat eius qui ad K anguli medietatem. Ergo K angulus duplus est anguli D . Dupla ergo apparet AB eius^u que est BG , oculis super AKB et BDG periferias iacentibus.

i continent LWG // j equales LFJ // k apparent LFJ // l transiaceat GW // m iungantur FJ // n quia LFJ // o apparet FJ // p sequitur propositio 50 add. F // q oculorum FJ // r in FJ // s quanta FJ // t dividitur FJ // u om. FJ

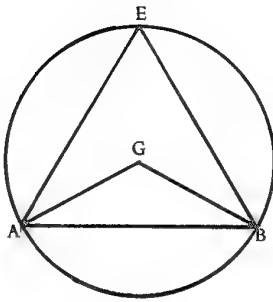


FIG. 65

AB a puncto *G* duplum^v videtur eius quod ab *E*. Similiter quarta pars videbitur si angulus angulo sit quadruplus vel^z in data proportione.

53. EQUALI CELERITATE LATORUM ET SUPER UNAM AD RECTOS^a IPSIS EXISTENTEM RECTAM IN EASDEM PARTES TERMINOS HABENTIUM ACCEDENTIUM^b QUIDEM AD DUCTAM PER OCULUM EQUIDISTANTEM^c DICTE RECTE QUOD REMOTIUS AB OCULO ID QUOD PROPIUS PRECEDERE^d VIDETUR. MUTANTIBUS VERO PRECEDENS QUIDEM SUBSEQUI, QUOD VERO SEQUITUR^e PRECEDERE.

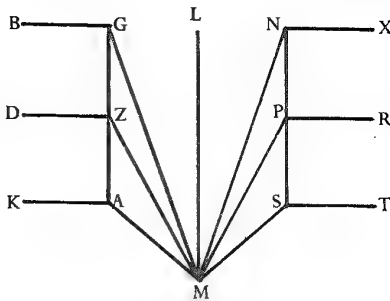


FIG. 66

Esto que videtur^v magnitudo *AB*. Dico quoniam *AB* habet locos in quibus oculo posito eadem aliquociens dimidium,^w aliquociens totum, aliquociens quarta apparet et universaliter in data proportione. Describatur circa *AB* circulus *AEB* cuius circuli *AB* non sit diameter et sumatur centrum circuli et sit *G* in quo iaceat oculus et coniungantur recte *AG*, *GB*. Sub eo igitur qui est *AGB*,^x *AB* videtur. Iaceat oculus super circuli periferiam et sit *E* et accendant radii *EA*, *EB*. Quoniam ergo *AGB* angulus angulo *AEB* est duplus, ergo

Ferantur enim equali celeritate *BG*, *DZ*, *KA* super unam ad rectos ipsi existens rectam *GA* in easdem partes fines habentium *G*, *Z*, *A*. Et ab oculo *M* quidem parallela trahatur *ML* ei que est *GA* et coniungantur *MG*, *MZ*, *MA*. Igitur precedens videtur *BG*, subsequens vero *KA* propter et ab oculo incidentium radorum *MG* super *G* derivari^f videri magis aliis radiis.^g Itaque *BG* precedere videbitur accedentibus^h sicut demonstratum est. Mutantibus vero *BG*, *DZ*, *KA* et sicut *NX*, *PR*, *ST* factis accendant radii *MN*, *MP*, *MS*. Ergo *NX* deduci videtur super *N* propter et *MN* radium deduci super *N* magis aliis radiis. Igitur *ST* super *T* deducitur propter et *MS* derivariⁱ ut super^j *T*

^v videbitur *G* // ^w aliquociens dimidium *om.* *WGL* // ^x qui est *AGB* *om.* *LFJ* // ^y *om.* *LG* // ^z sit *LFJ* // ^a angulos de *add.* *F* // ^b accedenti *GW* // ^c equidistantium *G* // ^d procedere *FJ* // ^e subsequitur *GW*: sequi *FJ* // ^f derivari *F*: dumari *J* // ^g alius radius *FJ* // ^h accedentibus *FJ* // ⁱ duci *FJ* // ^j sic ad *FJ*

magis aliis radiis. Igitur *BG* quidem precedens super *NX* factum videbitur sequi. At vero *AK* subsequens super *ST* factum videbitur precedere.

54. SI ALIQUIBUS LATIS PLURIBUS INEQUALI CELERITATE SIMUL TRANSPORTETUR IN EASDEM PARTES ET OCULUS, QUE QUIDEM OCULO EQUALI CELERITATE FERUNTUR, VIDEBUNTUR STARE. TARDIORA VERO IN CONTRARIUM FERRI.^k CELERIORA VERO IN PRECEDENTIA.^l

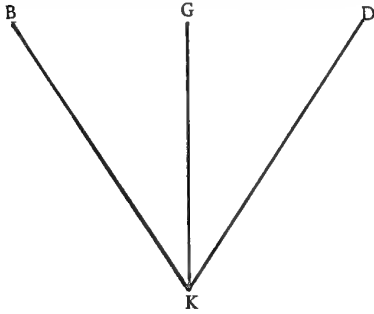


FIG. 6 7

Ferantur enim inequali celeritate *B*, *D*, *G* et tardissime quidem feratur *B*, at vero *G* equali celeritate oculo *K*, *D* vero celerius quam *G*. Ab oculo vero *K* accidant radii *KB*, *KG*, *KD*. Itaque oculo transportato,^m *G* stare videbitur,ⁿ *B* vero relictum in contrarium ferri.^o At *D* vero quod celerius positum est eorum ferri videbitur in anteriora. Plus enim ab eis distat.

55. SI ALIQUIBUS LATIS APPAREAT ALIQUID QUOD NON FERATUR,^p VIDEBITUR ILLUD NON LATUM RETRORSUM FERRI.

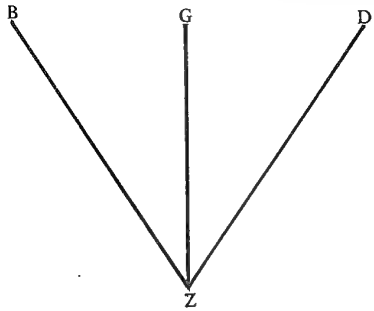


FIG. 6 8

Ferantur enim *B*, *D*. Non feratur autem *G*. Et ab oculo accidant radii *ZB*, *ZG*, *ZD*. Igitur *B* quidem latum propius erit quam *G*, at vero *D* progrediens longius. In contrarium vero ferri videbitur *G*.

k fieri *J* // l procedentia *GWF* // m transposito *LFJ* // n videtur *WLFJ* // o fieri *FJ* // p non feratur] maneat *FJ*

56. OCULO EI QUOD VIDETUR PROPIUS ACCEDENTE VIDEBITUR^q RES VISA AUGMENTARI.

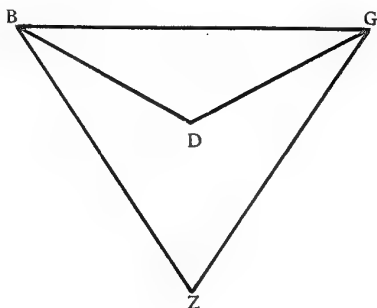


FIG. 69

Videatur^r autem BG ; oculo super Z iacente, sub ZB et ZG radiis et transeat^s oculus propius ei quod est BG , et sit super D , et videatur idem sub DB , DG radiis. Igitur maior D angulus quam Z angulus.^t Sub maiori autem angulo visa maiora apparent. Videbitur ergo augmentari BG oculo super D existente quam super Z .^u

57. EORUM^v QUE EQUALI CELERITATE FERUNTUR, REMOTIORA VIDENTUR TARDIUS FERRI.

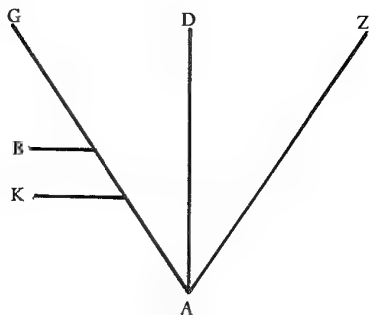


FIG. 70

Ferantur enim equali celeritate B , K et ab A oculo radii trahantur AG , AZ , AD . Igitur B maiores habet ab oculo radios^w quidem^x ductos quam K . Maius^y ergo spacium pertransibit B quam K et posterius permutatis AZ visum videbitur tardius ferri.

q videtur FJ // r videtur LG // s transiaceat GW : ad- FJ // t om. LFJ // u sequitur propositio 56
add. F // v horum G // w om. FJ // x in duos FJ // y minus L // z B quam K om. GW // a om. LWG // b motorum FJ // c prohibitum GW : perhibet JF // d posteriori FJ // e om. FJ

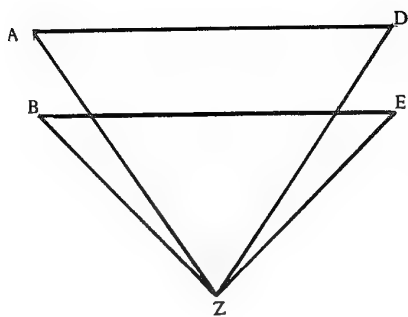


FIG. 7 1

Aliter. Ferantur enim duo puncta *A, B* in equidistantibus rectis. Oculus vero sit *Z*, a quo accendant radii *ZA, ZB, ZE, ZD*. Dico quoniam *A* quidem remotius videtur tardius ferri quam *B*. Quoniam enim *AZ, ZD* quam *ZB, ZE* minorem angulum continent, maius ergo *BE* quam *AD* apparet. Si ergo *ZE* radium educamus in directo quoniam equa^a celeritate latorum^b *B* quidem super *ZE* radium ... prohibet^c posterioriari,^d equali ergo celeritate latorum remotiora^e videntur tardius ferri.

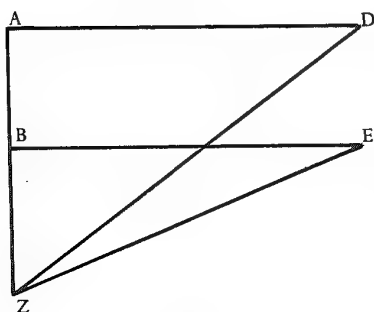


FIG. 7 2

Aliter. Ferantur duo puncta *A, B* in equidistantibus rectis *AD, BE* equaliter. Equales^f in equali tempore pertransibunt. Sint ergo equales *AD, BE* et accendant radii ab oculo *Z*: *ZA, ZB, ZD, ZE*. Quoniam ergo minor angulus *AZD* angulo *BZE*, minus ergo spacium *AD* quam *BE* apparet. Quare videbitur *A* tardius ferri.^g

58. OCULO MANENTE, VISIBUS QUOQUE TRANSPORTATIS, REMOTIORA VISORUM RELINQUI VIDEBUNTUR.

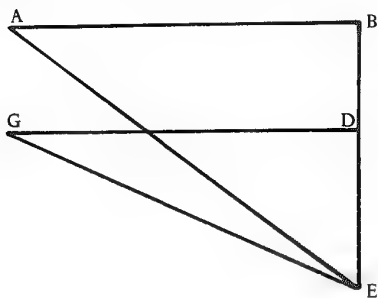


FIG. 7 3

Sint visa *A, G* existentia in rectis *AB, GD*. Oculus vero sit *E* a quo accendant radii *EG, ED, EA, EB*. Dico quoniam ad *A* relinqui videbitur. Educatur *ED* usque ubi^h concurrat ei que est *AB* et sit *EB*. Quoniam ergo maior angulus *GEB* quam *AEB*, maius igitur *GD* spacium quam *AB* apparet. Quare oculo in *E* manente, visus velud in *A, G* partes transportati celeriusⁱ permutabunt *A* quam *G*. Relinqui ergo videbitur *AB*.^j

^f om. *GW* // ^g sequitur 57 propositio add. *F* // ^h usque ubi] usquequo *FJ* // ⁱ citius *FJ* // ^j sequitur quinquagesima octava propositio add. *F*

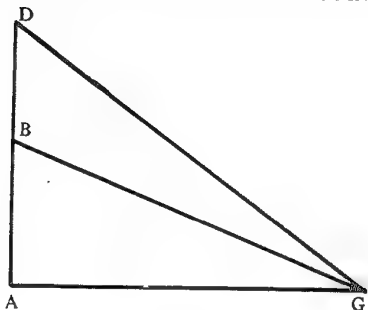
59. AUGMENTATE MAGNITUDES VIDEBUNTUR OCULO APPROPINQUARE.^k

FIG. 7 4

Sit que videtur^l magnitudo AB . Oculus vero sit G , a quo accidunt radii GA , GB , et augmentetur BA , et sit BD , et accadat radius GD . Quoniam ergo maior angulus AGD quam BGA , maius ergo apparet AD quam BA . Maiora^m vero seipsis visa augeri videntur eo quod propinquius oculo minoraⁿ apparent. Que ergo magnitudines aucte videbuntur adduci oculo.^o

60. QUECUMQUE IN EODEM SPACIO IACENT EXTREMIS NON IN DIRECTO MEDIO EXISTENTIBUS, TOTAM FIGURAM ALIQUOCIENS QUIDEM CONCAVAM, ALIQUOCIENS VERO CONVEXAM FACIUNT.

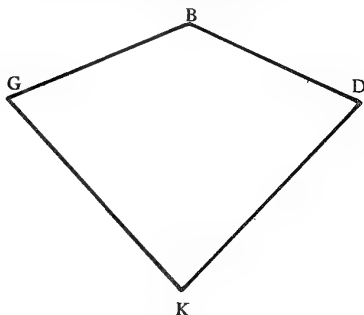


FIG. 7 5

Videantur enim G , B , D oculo in K iacente, et accidunt^p radii KG , KB , KD . Igitur tota figura concava esse videbitur. Transmoveatur vero rursum in medio visum et sit propinquius oculo.^q Igitur GBD convexum videbitur esse.^r

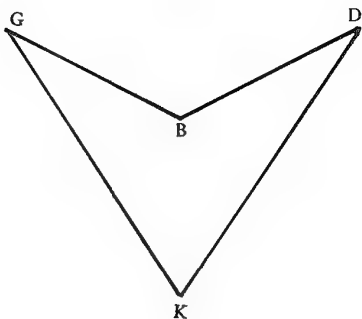


FIG. 7 6

^k propinquate G // ^l videbitur LFJ // ^m minora FJ // ⁿ maiora GLW // ^o sequitur propositio 59
^{add.} F // ^p accidunt G // ^q oculus FL // ^r sequitur 60 propositio ^{add.} F

61. SI TETRAGONI A CONTACTU DIAMETRORUM AD RECTOS TRAHATUR RECTA, IN IPSA VERO OCVLUS PONATUR, LATERA TETRAGONI EQUALIA^s APPARENT^t ET DIAMETRI EQUALES^u APPAREBUNT.

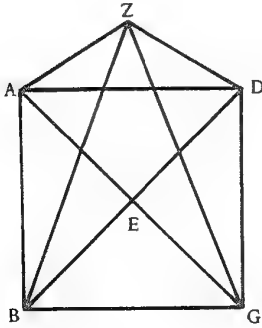


FIG. 77

Esto tetragonus *ABGD* et protrahantur in eo^v diagoni *DB*, *GA* et protrahatur^w perpendicularis ab *E* epipedo elevata recta *EZ*, in qua oculus *Z* iaceat. Et accidant radii *ZA*, *ZB*, *ZD*, *ZG*. Quoniam ergo equalis est *DE* ei que est *EG*, communis vero *EZ*, et anguli recti, basis *ZG* basi *DZ* est equalis et qui ad bases angulorum illi sunt equales, quibus equalia latera subtenduntur. Equalis est ergo angulus *EZG* angulo *EZD*. Equalis ergo apparebit *EG* ei que est *ED*. Similiter et angulus *AZE* angulo *BZE* equalis est.^x Equalis ergo apparebit *AG* ei que est *BD*. Rursum

quoniam *GZ* quidem ei que est *ZB* equalis et *AZ* ei que est *ZD*, sed etiam *AB* ei que est *GD*, tres ergo tribus equales sunt et angulus angulo. Equale ergo apparebit latus lateri ut et reliqua latera equalia apparebunt.

Si vero super contactum diametrorum coniugata elevata recta neque perpendicularis epipedo spaciorum in contactu diametrorum neque ad rectos esse neque equalis utrique a contactu ad angulos tetragoni^y ductarum neque angulos faciens equales cum ipsis, diametri inequales apparebunt. Similiter enim demonstrabimus contingentia quemadmodum in circularibus.

APPENDIX

This appendix includes additions found in some of the manuscripts of the *Liber de visu* that were considered too long to insert in the apparatus.

At the end of the first proposition *F* and *J* add:

Aliter. Intelligunt quidam hanc propositionem ut si *AD* fuerit super quod incidunt visus et *B* oculus, si ab oculo trahatur perpendicularis super visum, illa omnium erit brevissima pertractarum ab eodem oculo ad rem visam, et quanto fuerit ei linea propinquior, tanto brevior remotiore et ita non sunt simul visus incidentes; et istam propositionem solum intelligunt de re recta.

s equali *LFJ* // t apparebunt *GWFI* // u om. *FJ* // v in eo] perpendicularis et ducantur eius *FJ* // w ducatur *FJ* // x similiter ... est om. *W* // y trigoni *FJ*

The following lines appear as a proof for the seventh enunciation in *F* and *J*:

Equalitas autem habetur KG linea existente equali TB sub tensis cordis; erunt equales propter triangulorum duo latera equalia et angulos contentos equales. Ad equalitatem autem illarum linearum perpendicularium habendam super centrum ducatur linea equidistans DA lineae et dividatur DA in duo equalia et a puncto sectionis erigatur perpendicularis et transibit igitur per centrum perque librum. Educatur autem tam GK quam TB super lineam transeuntem per centrum. Deinde autem a K puncto ducatur recta in centrum. Similiter et ab T. DC igitur linea est equalis CA lineae. Sed GD est equalis BA ex ypothesi. Ergo GC CB. Sed GC est equalis NR; similiter CB RF quia opposita latera in parallelogramis equidistantium laterum. Ergo NR RF. Per conversam dulcarnon quadrata KN et NR laterum valent quadrata KR lateris quia N angulus rectus. Sed quadratum KR valet quadratum TR et quadratum TR quadrata FR et FT. Ergo a primo quadrata KN et NR valent quadrata RF et FT. Sed quadratum NR valet quadratum FR quia sunt equales sicut probatum est. Ergo quadratum FT valet quadratum NK. Ergo sunt lineae equales. Sed NG est equalis FB quia latera opposita in parallelogramo. Ergo GK erit equalis BT. Quod est suppositum.

After proposition 21, *L* adds:

Vel aliter. Sine speculo posito oculo in termino T coaptetur quantitas nota stans perpendiculariter super TB per cuius terminum superiorem transeat visus veniens ad A terminum superiorem magnitudinis; faciet igitur duos triangulos similes, et sic patet propositum.

For proposition 22, *L*, *F* and *J* have:

Esto data longitudo AB, oculus G et accidunt radii GA et GB. Et sumatur prope oculum G super radium forte punctus D et trahatur per D punctum recte AB parallela DE recta. Constituuntur trigoni similes. Vel aliter. Super AB magnitudinem a D oculo ducatur cathetus DB. Super DB autem adaptetur perpendicularis donec per eius terminum E transiens visus veniet ad terminum B longitudinis cognoscende. Erunt igitur duo trigoni similes et latera proportionalia, et procedatur sicut prius.

At the end of proposition 24 *F* and *J* add:

Esto circuli circuli periferia BG, oculus vero D in eodem plano cum BG periferia a quo accidunt visus DB, DZ, DG. Igitur quoniam visorum nullum totum simul videtur, recta ergo est BZ; similiter autem et ZG. Tota ergo BG periferia rectam habebit.

At the end of proposition 48 *F* and *J* add:

Intellegi debet ut oculus appropinquans viso et rectam perpendiculariter iacentem super ipsam quantitatem visam; sed hec propositio sic intellecta recipit instantiam si oculus circum scribens et BZG trigonum transeat per D punctum.

After *equalia apparebunt* in proposition 61, *F* and *J* add:

Neque equalis utrique ductarum a contactu ad angulos tetragoni neque equales angulos cum ipsis faciens, diametri inaequales apparebunt; similiter autem ostendemus contingentia quemadmodum in circulis neque perpendicularis epipedo.

After proposition 61 *F* and *J* add the following lines, given as an enunciation and demonstration:

Quarumcumque speculo adveniens visus inequales faciens angulos, is nec per se ipsum nec super minorem angulum revertetur. Esto planum spere AKT visusque BK adveniens ad maiorem faciat angulum Z angulo TI. Dico quoniam BK revertens nec per se ipsum revertetur nec super angulum TI; si quidem enim venerit super B, erit Z angulus angulo TI equalis quod hoc locum non habet. Sed X positus est esse maior. Si enim vero per D equalis eorum Z angulus angulo T, est vero maior quia est maior quam TI, itaque BK super maiorem angulum revertetur ZS; possibile enim est a maiori minorem equalem auferri. Est autem eadem demonstratio in convexis et concavis speculis; et sic est finis.

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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *LETTER OF ALEXANDER TO ARISTOTLE*: INTRODUCTION, TEXT, SOURCES, AND COMMENTARY

Thomas Hahn

WORCESTER, Cathedral Library ms. F. 172 contains the unique copy of the Middle English translation of the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* (fols. 138r-146v).¹ The Letter has never appeared in print, and it has received virtually no attention from scholars; neither the new *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* nor *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* mentions its existence.² Although the *Letter* is not in itself a work of outstanding literary excellence, it nonetheless deserves attention for several reasons. First, the *Letter* demonstrates the tastes and abilities of the fifteenth century as these concern Latin texts and the matter of the ancient world. It also provides valuable and explicit information about the resources, methods, and intentions of late medieval translation. In addition the text contains noteworthy philological and linguistic evidence for the history of the English language. In short, the *Letter* merits notice as a document that sheds much light on one of the characteristic literary activities of the fifteenth century—translation. The literal-mindedness and outright incompetence that often mark the translation do not detract from the text's value for cultural history, for they allow us to see most clearly how the translator set about his work.

Ms. F. 172 contains a miscellaneous series of texts, including an interlinear psalter, ecclesiastical statutes, other documents concerned with church administra-

¹ I should like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities (USA) for generous assistance in the preparation of this publication. The *Letter* is printed from ms. F. 172 with the kind permission of the Right Reverend Bishop Nicholas Allenby, librarian of Worcester Cathedral Library. I should also like to thank Mrs. B. E. Johnston, the assistant librarian, for her help in this project.

² R. M. Lumiansky, 'Legends of Alexander the Great' in fascicule 1 of *The Manual (Romances)*, ed. J. Burke Severs (New Haven, 1967), and the *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1975). The *Letter* is not included in the *Plan and Bibliography for the Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1954), and so the linguistic evidence it contains is presented here for the first time. The only available work on the *Letter* to date is Terrence Keough's unpublished dissertation (Ottawa, 1972), which includes a transcription with introduction and notes. I have found Dr. Keough's work useful, and I should like to thank Professor Laurence Eldredge of the University of Ottawa, who presented me with a copy of the dissertation.

tion, a version of the *Legend of the Cross*, and other Alexander material in Latin and English.³ The mixture of linguistic forms in the manuscript makes localization difficult, and though one text contains the date 1447, the collection seems certainly to have been put together later in the century.⁴ Although we may therefore characterize the *Letter* only vaguely as late Middle English, more specific dating and localization are possible on the basis of the scribe's hand, which has been identified in nine other manuscripts, including several copies of Chaucer.⁵ The body of the scribe's work indicates that he was active in a London commercial scriptorium during the reign of Edward IV (1460-83). His copying is distinguished by orthographical peculiarities that are less dialectal than personal; in particular, he frequently employs the spelling 'ie' in unexpected phonetic contexts. A number of his letter forms are also distinctive; we may note especially the lengthened ascenders of *f* and *s*, which often closely resemble each other.⁶

The *Epistola Alexandri*, which the Middle English *Letter* translates, enjoyed a wide popularity in the later Middle Ages, and it survives in nearly seventy copies. There exist as well two separate French redactions, and versions in Old English, Middle Irish, Icelandic, Italian, German, and Arabic.⁷ Like many other medieval writings on Alexander, the *Epistola* originated as part of Pseudo-Callisthenes' Greek romance (A.D. third century?), which was translated into Latin in the fourth century. Western writers interested in the exotic expanded the matter of India, and an elaborated version of the *Epistola* emerged by the ninth century. The *Epistola* is paraphrased or quoted in a number of Latin works, and its influence is clear in

³ The manuscript and its contents are discussed by William Henry Hulme, 'Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Mending of Life*', *Western Reserve University Bulletins* 21 (1918) 12-29; by Betty Hill, 'The Fifteenth-Century Prose *Legend of the Cross before Christ*', *Medium aevum* 34 (1965) 203-11, and 'Epitaphia Alexandri in English Medieval Manuscripts', *Leeds Studies in English* 8 (1975) 96-104; and by Keough, pp. xxiii-xxxiv.

⁴ See A. I. Doyle, 'An Unrecognized Piece of *Piers the Ploughman's Creed* and Other Work by Its Scribe', *Speculum* 34 (1959) 428-36.

⁵ See Doyle, and the earlier work of E. P. Hammond, 'A Scribe of Chaucer', *Modern Philology* 27 (1929) 27-33 and 'Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Add. 34360). A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate', *Anglia* 28 (1905) 1-28; and J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), pp. 439-40.

⁶ See Doyle, who includes facsimiles in his discussion of the hand, and Hill, 'Legend of the Cross', 205-206.

⁷ W. W. Boer's critical edition, *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem [de itinere suo et de situ Indiae] ad codicem fidem ... commentario critico* has been published as volume fifty in the series *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1973). Michael Feldbusch has attempted to reconstruct the original form of the *Epistola* by providing parallel texts in Greek and Latin from several versions of the narrative; see *Der Brief Alexanders an Aristoteles über die Wunder Indiens: Synoptische Edition* (*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 78; Meisenheim am Glan, 1976). For an outline of the *Epistola*'s place among other medieval Alexander material, see George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956), and, more briefly and intelligibly, D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus* (London, 1963).

many others. The Old English version was probably made in the tenth century, and appears to be one of a series of texts, like the *Wonders of the East*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, and perhaps the *Life of St. Christopher*, which satisfied a growing taste for marvels and romance among the Anglo-Saxons.⁸ There seems to have been at least one other Middle English translation of the *Epistola*; the lengthy romance *Kyng Alisaunder* (early fourteenth century) incorporates a passage of about sixty-two lines from this translation. The passage, in octosyllabic couplets, appears together with other fragments from the romance in the surviving leaves of an early sixteenth-century print.⁹ It is unclear whether this sixteenth-century translation was adapted from yet another English version, or translated directly from Latin. In any case, this fragment differs radically in intention, style, and clarity from the fifteenth-century *Letter*.

The *Letter* takes its place within the large body of literature written in late medieval England to celebrate the exploits of Alexander. However, it does not fit into a distinct subcategory of this literature—writings that singled the Indians out as the foremost example of virtuous heathen.¹⁰ Works like *Mandeville's Travels* and *Alexander and Dindimus* (both fourteenth century) consciously shaped the matter of India according to a conception of which our author shows no awareness. Nevertheless, as an expression of interest in the ancient world, and as a translation from Latin to English, the *Letter* embodies two characteristic fifteenth-century tendencies.¹¹ But the *Letter* exemplifies a transitional stage in the interest and enthusiasm late medieval Englishmen showed for the matter of Greece and Rome: its Latinity and its authenticity hardly reflect classical learning at the level encouraged by Duke Humphrey and practiced by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, or

⁸ For an edition of the OE *Letter*, see Stanley Rypins, *Three Old English Prose Texts* (EETS OS 161; London, 1924). Its significance for Anglo-Saxon literary history was first pointed out by K. Sisam, 'The Compilation of the *Beowulf* Manuscript', *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, corrected edition (Oxford, 1962), pp. 65-68, 85-96.

⁹ See *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. G. V. Smithers (EETS OS 227, 237; London, 1952, 1957). The fragments were first published by Karl D. Bülbring, 'Vier neue Alexanderbruchstücke', *Englische Studien* 13 (1889) 145-56 (text on 146-51). In his Introduction (vol. 2, pp. 6-8), Smithers identifies the printer of the six-folio fragment as Richard Faukes, and dates the piece about 1525. The fragment survives as part of the Bagford Ballads in the British Library.

¹⁰ For a history of this interest and its effect on English thought in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, see the present writer's series of papers: 'The Indian Tradition in Western Medieval Intellectual History', *Viator* 9 (1978) 213-34; 'Indians East and West: Primitivism and Savagery in English Discovery Narratives of the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1978) 77-114; and 'I gentili e "un uom nasce a la riva de l'Indo"' (Par. xix. 70 sgg.), *L'Alighieri* 18.2 (1977) 3-8.

¹¹ See Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1957), and Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (Durham, N.C., 1965); and on translation, see S. K. Workman, *Fifteenth-Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose* (Princeton, 1940).

John Free.¹² Yet the names of Alexander and Aristotle in themselves were sufficiently attractive to elicit a translation and a copy of the *Letter* from aspiring (if almost wholly incompetent) classicists. Clearly interest on this quite rudimentary level was a necessary groundwork for the fuller flowering of humanism in England.

The purposes of the translator and scribe, and the needs of their intended audience, are not at all self-evident. Professor A. I. Doyle has suggested that the contents of the manuscript indicate 'a strongly sacerdotal interest'. He continues: 'Yet the very putting of such items into the vernacular is exceptional, and these are for the most part not only unique copies but also unique renderings, done so literally as to depend on the originals for intelligibility, that is, rather as cribs for consultation than for independent circulation.'¹³ To take this suggestion one step farther, we might regard a number of items in the manuscript, including the *Letter*, as exercises or trial translations undertaken by rank beginners. Such work, especially a sustained effort with a pseudo-classical text like the *Letter*, parallels, at a certain remove, the more impressive stylistic and scholarly achievements of the time. We may perhaps take a prefatory remark from another piece in the manuscript as our guide in judging the more modest attainments of this translator and his audience:

In this work I see ther no straunge Inglishsh, but that that is esiest and most comune, and suche as is most like to the latyn; so that they that knowen nat the latyn, bi the Inglishsh thei may come to many latyn wordis. In the translacioun I folowe the lettre asmoche as I may; and ther I fynde no propre Inglishsh, I folowe the wit of the wordis; so that thei that shuln rede it dar nat dreede erryng.¹⁴

This comment offers several keys into the translation of the *Letter*: it should lead us to expect a simplified prose, whose syntax imitates the Latin and where a one-to-one Latin-English verbal equivalence provides the reader help with vocabulary. Our translator invariably tries to 'folowe the lettre asmoche as I may', and he produces a typical fifteenth-century 'stencil translation'.¹⁵ Indeed, in his faithfulness to the letter, he often mistakes or masks 'the wit of the wordis' to such an extent that the result is mere gibberish. This procedure, coupled with the translator's almost entirely deficient knowledge of Latin, undercuts the *Letter*'s literary value, but it opens to view some characteristic features of fifteenth-century English. For example, the tendency to ignore (or misconstrue) Latin constructions and syntax demonstrates that for this writer English had already become entirely an analytic

¹² See Weiss, *ibid.*, pp. 39-70 and 106-22.

¹³ Doyle, 'An Unrecognized Piece' (n. 4 above), 431.

¹⁴ See Hulme, 'Richard Rolle' (n. 3 above), 17-18. Betty Hill, 'Legend of the Cross', 208, calls attention to this passage also.

¹⁵ For a description of 'stencil translations', see Workman (n. 11 above), who provides many passages suitable for comparison with the *Letter*.

language—so much so, that the synthetic character of the Latin is lost on him. Meaning depends on the order of the words, not on inflections; he renders ‘intra tectorum suorum culmina delituerunt’ as ‘withyn their covertis hidden hem in the toppis’ (ll. 147-148). Here (unlike some other instances) the English retains a fair sense of the Latin, though we can see the translator has taken ‘intra’ as governing ‘tectorum’ and has analytically inserted another preposition (‘in’) in order to incorporate ‘culmina’ into the sentence. Moreover, he treats prepositions—and other words as well—as if each had only one English equivalent (thus ‘de’ invariably becomes ‘of’), and he trusts word order and context to establish the meaning. He attempts to break the Latin down into the smallest possible units; this results in his reading ‘insignis’ as ‘in signo’ (uniformly translated as ‘in signes and tokens’ [e.g., ll. 63, 100, 139, 337]), ‘visum’ as ‘in sinum’ (ll. 49-50), ‘subsecutum’ as ‘sub se cunctum’ (l. 198), ‘inquam’ as ‘in quem’ (l. 277), ‘admodum’ as ‘ad modum’ (ll. 336, 563), ‘remitterent’ as ‘re niterent’ (ll. 386-387), and ‘devicto’ as ‘de victoria’ (l. 480).¹⁶ The translator follows the words, but not the grammar, of the Latin, and this changes or, more often, obliterates the meaning in the English. At times his version degenerates to clusters of unrelated glosses.

Some of the translator’s failures may have resulted from ambiguous or indecipherable manuscript readings such as occur in certain letter combinations in late Carolingian minuscule or thirteenth-century Gothic scripts. For example, ‘indiciis/iudiciis’ (l. 35), ‘visum/in sinum’ (l. 49), ‘volebam/nolebam’ (l. 290), and the classic instance of ‘numinum/minimum’ (l. 461) are all capable of double interpretation. The Latin scribe may also have caused confusion by using letter forms that closely resembled one another: for example, ‘mecum/metum’ (l. 412) and ‘metum/mecum’ (l. 438), or ‘veluti/velati’ (l. 99 and elsewhere). However, there are many instances where the confusion obviously reflects sloppy or inattentive translating; some instances are ‘inutiles/rutiles’ (l. 239), ‘inquam/in quem’ (l. 277), ‘mox/nox’ (l. 362), ‘numina/nomina’ (l. 385), and ‘mos/mox’ throughout the translation. That we ought to apportion blame here to the translator, and not to an incompetent scribe, seems clearer because of a series of impossible or nonsensical renderings that could hardly have had their origin in the Latin. Among the first category are ‘aberro/ab errore’ (l. 30), ‘opibus/oppidis’ (l. 42), ‘novenos/novum’ (l. 342), and ‘epulae/epistolae’ (l. 376). Translations that make no sense are ‘gelded’ for ‘castrensium’ (l. 125), ‘on knees’ for ‘nongentos’ (l. 336), ‘mylkyng’ for ‘mulcens’ (l. 401), and ‘I have loved’ for ‘animavi’ (l. 536). The

¹⁶ All Latin citations are taken from the critical text or the appropriate variants in Boer (n. 7 above). Hill, ‘*Legend of the Cross*’, 208, also calls attention to the equivalence of ‘in signo’ and ‘by signes and tokens’. She suggests that the English phrase owes its presence here to the influence of the Bible, but it seems more likely to have been taken wholesale from a dictionary entry; see, e.g., Elyot’s *Dictionary* (n. 23 below), s.v. *signum*: ‘a signe, token....’

preponderance of translations in the latter categories undermines our sense that the translator was done in by his source. A corrupt text and confused abbreviations may explain some of the *Letter's* peculiarities, but a great number come from the unthinking application of English habits of thought and speech to the Latin text.¹⁷

The *Letter* displays a number of other features that characterize prose, and especially translation, in the fifteenth century. The text bears traces of the aureate style and of fondness for Latinate vocabulary. In particular, our writer favors the rendering of single words by doublets—ordinarily, one English and one Latin equivalent. Examples abound: 'ingeny or wisdam' (l. 7) for 'ingenio', 'I signified and marked' (l. 34) for 'significaveram', or, to cite one of the more feeble reworkings, 'thiese ancepts and kervyng wordis' (l. 411) for 'ancepts verbis'.¹⁸ This literary affectation, taken together with the foreign syntax, the use of uncommon or learned words, and the anglicization of certain Latin words, makes for a hybrid prose not too uncommon at this time.¹⁹ In effect, the translator writes a version of what New Gyse, a character in the roughly contemporary play *Mankind*, mockingly condemns as academic officialese:

Ey, ey! yowr body ys full of Englysch Laten.
I am aferde yt wyll brest ...
Ye are a stronge cunnyng clerke.²⁰

This 'Englysch Laten' could hardly have grown up in the fifteenth century were it not for another development whose influence is apparent in the *Letter*—the Latin-English dictionary.

¹⁷ Many additional instances of the author's habits of translation and composition are identified in the Commentary. Because we cannot specify the particular text that our author worked from, we cannot say with certainty whether reconstructed readings originated with the translator or in his source. Features in several manuscripts of the *Epistola* resemble the peculiarities of the *Letter*, but in none are the errors so frequent or flagrant, and it is clear that none of these is the translator's original. For more information on the manuscripts, see the present writer's 'Notes on Ross's Check-List of Alexander Texts', forthcoming in *Scriptorium*. On the analytic character of fifteenth-century English syntax, see H. C. Wyld, 'Aspects of Style and Idiom in Fifteenth-Century English', *Essays and Studies* 26 (1941): 30-44; Walerian Swieczkowski, *Word Order Patterning in Middle English: A Quantitative Study...* (Janua Linguarum 19; 's Gravenhage, 1962); L. Kellner's introduction to Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* (EETS ES 58; London, 1898), especially pp. cix ff.; and R. R. Aurner, 'Caxton and the English Sentence', *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* 18 (1923) 23-59.

¹⁸ Latin citations are again from Boer, and additional instances are likewise adduced in the Commentary. Most discussion of these aspects of fifteenth-century prose have centered on Caxton's writing: see N. F. Blake, 'Caxton's Language', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 67 (1966) 122-32, and 'Caxton as Translator', *Caxton and His World* (London, 1969), pp. 125-50; and M. Donner, 'The Infrequency of Word Borrowings in Caxton's Original Writings', *English Language Notes* 4 (1966-67) 86-89.

¹⁹ See N. F. Blake, 'Caxton and Courtly Style', *Essays and Studies* 21 (1968) 29-45.

²⁰ *The Macro Plays*, ed. Mark Eccles (EETS NS 262; Oxford, 1969), p. 158.

Though these glossaries have received some attention, not much work has been done on their literary influence or on how translators made use of them.²¹ The *Letter* provides extensive evidence for the study of their role. Numerous copies of fifteenth-century dictionaries survive in manuscript and in early printed editions. The *Promptorium parvulorum*, *Catholicon anglicum*, *Medulla grammaticae*, *Ortus vocabulorum*, and, in the sixteenth century, Elyot's *Dictionary* are most noteworthy. One feature of these early glossaries is that while copies of even the same dictionary differ in particulars, each depends upon and repeats entries from the earlier collections.²² Therefore, though we cannot be certain which list our translator used, a comparison of the text with the various dictionaries shows that he relied upon some such compilation.

The evidence of the glossary's use may be grouped in several categories. First, there are numerous instances in which the translator's rendering coincides precisely with a dictionary definition, even to spelling; for example, 'mussitare' becomes 'doubtest' (l. 10 and *Catholicon anglicum*), 'subacta' becomes 'vnderdon' (l. 15 and *Ortus vocabulorum*), and even the idiom 'wold god' (l. 25, for 'utinam') duplicates the *Ortus*.²³ In the second place, our author occasionally piles unrelated words one atop another, evidently transferring a series of definitions from his word list (e.g., ll. 7 ff.). Elsewhere, inappropriate or unidiomatic translation of a word or phrase reflects the thoughtless reproduction of a glossary entry (e.g., ll. 26 ff., 32 ff., 37 ff.). Thirdly, the translator sometimes depends so fully on his reference book that he loses sight of the Latin syntax (e.g., ll. 7 ff.). Indeed, he is on occasion so neglectful of context or syntax that he seeks out the wrong Latin word, for example looking up 'mussitare' for 'inusitatum' (ll. 10-11), 'iudicium' for 'indiciis' (l. 35), or 'oppidum' for 'opibus' (l. 42). Finally, there are many instances where the text of the *Letter* seems puzzling until we consult the glossary entry for the reading (or misreading) of the *Epistola*; again and again we find that the dictionary definition duplicates the English text. For example, 'inplied and folden' (l. 37) reproduces 'to enply or folde' (*Ortus*, s.v. *implico*); 'curteisly' (l. 45) seems a baffling reading for the proper name 'Fasiacen' until we realize that the translator has consulted his glossary at the nearest match, 'facetia' (as in the *Ortus*), and read the name as an adverbial form of 'curtesye'; 'gridlms' (l. 64) explains itself as the translator's

²¹ DeWitt T. Starnes, *Renaissance Dictionaries: English-Latin and Latin-English* (Austin, Tex., 1954), discusses each glossary, and provides a list of editions and reissues. He does not, however, consider their use.

²² See Starnes, *ibid.*, pp. 3-67 and *passim*, and the introductory note to *Ortus vocabulorum* (1500) (Scolar Press Reprint; Menston, England, 1968).

²³ In the analysis that follows, I quote from the following editions: *Promptorium parvulorum* (c. 1440), ed. A. L. Mayhew (EETS ES 102; London, 1908); *Catholicon anglicum* (c. 1475), ed. S. J. H. Herrtage (EETS OS 75; London, 1881); *Ortus vocabulorum*, see n. 22 above; and Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* (1538) (Scolar Press Reprint; Menston, England, 1970).

misreading of 'crateribus' as 'craticulis' (*Promptorium parvulorum*, 'a Grydyryn'); and the unusual word 'bies' (l. 68) copies the dictionary definition, a 'bye of gold or sylver' (Elyot's *Dictionary*, s.v. *torques*). The *Letter* makes clear how large a part, at least at an elementary level, the Latin-English glossary played in the classical revival of the fifteenth century, and it gives concrete evidence of the extensive use (or misuse) translators made of this resource.

Despite its heavy reliance upon vocabulary books, the *Letter* contains a fair number of unique and historically significant linguistic and philological features.²⁴ We have already touched on the modern character of the *Letter's* syntax—especially its emphasis on fixed word order, and its increased use of prepositions. Though the translator was quite the opposite of a self-conscious innovator in his use of words, his text nonetheless provides documentary evidence for the history of the language. In particular, the *Letter* records the first occurrences of more than a score of words,²⁵ and it supplies early attestations for another thirty or so words.²⁶ The text also contains a score of noteworthy or unusual usages,²⁷ and more than a dozen *hapax legomena*.²⁸

²⁴ For additional philological information on the *Letter*, see Vincent DiMarco and Leslie Perelman, 'Noteworthy lexical Evidence in the ME *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*', *Neophilologus* 61 (1977) 297-303. Though the citations in this article are apparently based upon a transcription of the text, I note the following differences from the manuscript readings: 27 the] þe; 28 preserved] persevered; 73 regioun awoundred] Regioun I awoundred; 159 unaware] vnware; 196 to the water] to þe water; 242 girdels] girdelis; *ibid.* which] whiche; 326 From the] ffrom the; 362 unmeasurable] vnmesurable; 363 thei shuld] the shuld; *ibid.* knyghtes] knyghtes; 364 snow ne] snow without furþ ne; 410 Forwhi] fforwhi; 411 of the] of þem; 513 ebuyn] ebityne; 514 gold] golde. For the sake of convenience, I have cited line numbers from the present text, followed by the reading in DiMarco and Perelman, and finally the manuscript reading as it appears in the present text. I have called attention only incidentally to the omission of capitals and distinctive letter forms, or to the regularization and modernization of spelling.

²⁵ In almost every case, I have provided specific information about words and phrases at the appropriate place in the Commentary. First occurrences include: vnconvict (28), arbitre (32), examyne (40), ordynaries (41), preparatories (42), soler (58), elate (73); incomodites (174), stadies (184), spryng ... of the moone (195), noisaume (197), insette (203), standersabout (226), manifestly (292), tripping (334), wulflockis (362), penurite (396), contumelies (409), adorted (445), libature (513), opyniond (545), and piramudes (549).

²⁶ Early attestations include: esteemed (7), ignoraunt (23), comoditees (32), devict (46), fervence (82), likly (102), cotidianly (129), differre (133), aduertised (138), serpentyne (141), incontynent (147 and 534), ductors (157), .iiii. footed (182), waterberers (185), pestelent (205), adiacent (266), transmytted (288), woodehewers (322), in al the haste (322-323), presumen (382), illude (408), floterd (411), commysed (415), copiously (419), straitnes (423), nedynes (423), Oracle (435), whatsumever (472), disperacioun (537), and precident (565).

²⁷ Unusual usages include: ingeny (7), musest (11), in Idel as for in earns (67), comelynges (74), weysetters (118), hunshid (159), .ii. and .iii. heded (209), diuersite (216), outake (227), fuyrly (237), elderman (276), tabernacle (277 and 353), anywhat (299), empugne (324), to ... light on (324), a grete taile (325), masculyne (405), evenknyghtis (443), stilly (479), displeasure (485), and ebityne (513).

²⁸ *Hapax legomena* include: conceiveres (17), memoratiefly (49), excessiblete (88), beestious

A number of the Middle English *Letter*'s special features, then, make it worthy of the attention of scholars interested in the language and culture of the fifteenth century. Unlike other writers on Alexander and India, the translator did not consciously expand or modify his original, and we have no reason to believe that the cruces in the text arose from his consulting another version of the medieval legends.²⁹ As a result, most of the *Letter*'s special features arise from its *sui generis* character, and this allows us to trace very carefully the footsteps of this 'stronge cunningy clerke'. We can readily comprehend the translator's choice of vocabulary, his habits of word formation, his sentence structure and grammar. We can see clearly his intentions and abilities as a translator—his sense of the original, his procedures, his particular use of the aids to translation common to the fifteenth century, and his relative success (or failure) in conveying his meaning when compared to his contemporaries. In short, the *Letter* merits study not so much for its intrinsic worth as for its potential richness to those who study the details of fifteenth-century literary history.³⁰

* * *

The text presented here is transcribed from ms. F. 172 in Worcester, Cathedral Library. I have preserved the scribe's distinctions in letter forms: *I* as a capital and as equivalent to *j*; initial *R* as distinct from two other lower case *r* forms: the first descending below the line and used medially and sometimes initially, and the second a rounded *r*, used in initial, medial, and final positions; and, finally, *u* as distinct from *v*. I have followed the scribe's use of lower case and capital letters (but not transcribing *ff* as *F*). The manuscript contains occasional punctuation, although this is erratic; I have tried to bring out the sense of the translation, as far as this is possible, by adding punctuation (including capitals at the start of sentences, which correspond to capitals in the manuscript only about half the time) and paragraphs. I have made one obvious emendation (l. 59).

The Latin text is taken from W. W. Boer's critical edition (n. 7), reprinted here through the kind permission of Professor Reinhold Merkelbach and Verlag Anton

(141), evynmade (173), Arrectis (195), whiter (239), lucan (241), eveneful (248), infallen (258), tubicynes (327), aneeps (411), evenestooden (454), Imbriouns (456), evenmoeved (461), and Iubar (470).

²⁹ Hoyt N. Duggan has carefully studied the intentions and techniques of another Middle English author who translated from the matter of Alexander: 'The Source of the Middle English *The Wars of Alexander*', *Speculum* 51 (1976) 624-36. Comparisons between the work of this alliterative poet and our translator shed revealing light on the nature and possibilities of late medieval translation.

³⁰ I should like to thank Mr. David Mycoff and Professor A. G. Rigg for their careful reading of this material. In particular, I owe nearly a score of entries in the Commentary to Professor Rigg's suggestions.

Hain. I have inserted, within square brackets, a selection of those variants that help explain the translator's readings. In most cases these variants come from group II of Boer's stemma, and in particular from three mss. that survive in England (Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Mm.5.29, British Library Royal 12.C.iv and Royal 15.C.vi). I have tried to indicate the place of the variant in the Latin text by citation of key words, though in most cases the reading will be clear from context or from the Middle English translation. I have reserved for the Commentary explanations and reconstructions of what the translator must have seen in his Latin text.

Epistola Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotelem magistrum
suum de itinere suo et de situ Indiae

Semper memor tui, etiam inter dubia bellorumque nostrorum pericula, carissime praeceptor ac secundum matrem meam sororesque meas acceptissime, et quoniam te deditum philosophiae noveram, scribendum tibi de regionibus Indiae ac de statu caeli innumerisque serpentium et hominum ferarumque generibus existimavi [estimavi], ut aliquid per novarum rerum cognitionem studio et ingenio possit accedere [accidere]. Quamquam in te consummata prudentia nullumque adiutorium expostulet ratio doctrinae quae a te et tuo saeculo ac futuris temporibus conveniat, tamen, ut mea gesta cognosceres quae diligis et ne quid inusitatum haberes, ea quae in India vidi [coacervata] per summos labores ac pericula Macedonum [passus sum] scribenda tibi putavi. Etenim sunt digna memoriae singula ac multis modis coacervata, quem ad modum inspexi: non crediderim cuiquam esse tot prodigia, nisi subiecta [subacta] meis oculis ipse [ipse *om.*] prius cuncta ponderavissem.

Mirandum est terra quantum aut bonarum rerum pariat [parens] aut malarum, concepatrix et parens [pariens] publica ferarum ac fructuum metallorumque atque animalium. Quae si omnia liceat intueri homini, vix suffectura tot varietatibus rerum ipsa crediderim nomina. Sed ego de his quae primum cognovi eloquar daturus operam, ne aut fabulae aut turpi mendacio dignus efficiar. Etiam naturam animi mei, cum fueris [scias] praeceptor, non ignoras [praeceptor eius non ignarus]: solere me terminum aequitatis custodire et parcius loqui quam gesta sint omnia. Et nunc spero quod agnoscis nihil me [me *om.*] tamquam captantem iactantemque gloriam militiae nostrae asserere. Quae utinam minus fuissent laboriosa nobis nec tot rebus experimenta necesse esset cognoscere. Ago gratias Macedoniae iuvenum virtuti et invicto exercitui nostro, quia in ea [mea] patientia perseveraverunt ut rex regum appeller. Quo [Quod] tibi meo titulo misso laetari [te], carissime praeceptor, si dubito, delinquo, et a mea tuaque aberro pietate, nisi tibi ut Olympiadi matri meae sororibusque meis de singulis regni mei commodis scribam; quae tibi et illis communia esse arbitror, idque nisi feceris, parum de nobis simpliciter iudicare videberis.

Prioribus litteris significaveram tibi de solis lunaeque eclipsi et de constantia siderum aerisque indicis, quae non sine magna cura ordinata tibi misi et has novas [nunc] implicaturus historias omnia cartis commendabo. Quae cum relegis, scito esse talia quae cura Alexandri tui complecti decuerant [docuerunt].

(f. 138r) Incipit epistola Alexandri magni Regis Macedonum Ad Magistrum suum Aristotilem.

Alwey I am myndeful of the also among the perels and doubtes of our batels, most diere comaundour, and after my Moder and susters most acceptable. fforwhi I knowe the lierned in philosophie, I write to the of the Regiouns of ynde and the state of hevene, and of the vnnumerable of serpentis and of men and wield bestis. I have esteemed bi the knowlache of newe thynges, bi busy studie and ingeny or wisdam myght falle, whiche the with holl prudence and non helpith askith bi reason of doctryne, whiche of the and of thi world of tymes to come is convenient. So as my deedis thow knowest, whiche thow lovist—nothyng what thow hast thow doubttest or musest—tho thynges whiche that in ynde I have bien hold with grete perel, and many labours I have suffred and past, I have trowed to write to the. And as thei bien worthy to be had in mynde, and in many maners to be kept, inasmoche as I have bihold and seen, I trowed nat or bilieved to any man of so many woundres but that with myn eyen I have proved al thynges vnderdon.

It is a wonderful lond, and Moder of so many goode thynges berith, or she is a conceiveres of e(f. 138v)vil thynges; and beryng hir thynges openly, as furytes, metals, and beestis, whiche though thei al wern at the sight a man to biholde, vnneth shuld suffice so many diuersites and variaunces of thynges hem to bileve or trowe the names. But I, whiche of thiese thynges first have knowen, shal speke to yeve the werk nat as to fables, fonned speche, and lesyng, worthi that I be founde. And forsothe, the nature of my soule and lif thow knowest, of whiche thow art comandour, nat ignoraunt me of custom to kepe the terme and thende of equite, and more scarsly to speke than the deedis be don. And now I hope thow knowist nought as taken bost and veyne glorie of oure chivalrie, I assure the, whiche wold god their labours had bien lasse, neither so many thynges experimentis necessarie were to knowe. I do thankynges to þe strength and vertu of the yongelynges of Macedony, and vnconvict or overcomen in our host, forwhi thei han persevered my pacience as that I cald kyng of kynges. That my title I sende to glad the, my most derrest comaundour, if doubte I trespas, And from error with pite of myn and thyn, but to the, as Olimpiade my Moder, and my susters, of everiche of my Realmes I shal write, of the comoditees whiche to the and theym to be comune I arbitre, and that but if thow do litel of vs and simply thow seemest to deme.

The former and first lettris I signified and marked to the of the Sonne and Moone and of þe Eclips, and of the constance of the skies and Iugementis of the Aire, the whiche nat withoute grete charge and cure ordeigned to the I have sent. And thiese newe histories, now inplied and folden, al the deedis and writynges I shal commende. The whiche whan thow ageyn redist, wite and know thow to be of suche charges whiche of thyn Alisaunder thow hast fully charged and decreed.

Mense Maio rege Persarum Dario apud Gangem amnem superato acceptaque in condicionem omni eius regione ordinarios praeparatoresque nostros praeposuimus [proposuimus] orientis provinciis, multis opibus regalibus ditati, ut in priori epistola significaveram tibi. Et nunc, ne sim scribendi multiplex, priora facta iam praecognita praetereo.

Mense Iulio deficiente in Indiam Fasiacen pervenimus, ubi mira celeritate Poro rege devicto, potiti ingentibus divitiis regia gaza repleti sumus. Sed ut cognoscas ea, quoniam mihi memoriae digna esse videbantur—quaedem enim novi quae memorabilia fuerunt—aequum est visum mihi scribere [describere] de innumerabili exercitu eius, in quo fuere praeter peditum copias sedecim milia equitum, octingentae quadrigae, omnes falcatae; captisque elephantis quadringentis qui superpositas cum armatis iaculatoribus turres gestaverant, ipsam urbem regiam Pori domumque armis invasimus, in qua columnas aureas solidasque ingenti grossitudine atque altitudine cum suis capitellis admodum quadringentas enumeravimus auratosque parietes laminarum digitalium grossitudine. Quos cum aestimare vellem, aliquibus locis intercidi. Vineam quoque solidam auro argentoque inter columnas pendentem miratus sum, in qua folia aurea racemique crystallini [et lignitis] erant interpositi distinguentibus smaragdis. Thalami cubiliaque margaritis unionibus et carbunculis exornata erant, fores eburneae miri candoris, et ebenina lacunaria nitebant testudinibus cypressinis [quibus lauri] in insigni loco et in balnearibus, quibus lavari erant soliti. Aureae quoque solidaeque cum crateribus aureis statuae et innumeri thesauri. Foris in domus pariete avium innumerabilia genera variis coloribus oberrabant [aberrabant] inter aureas platanos unguibus rostrisque inauratis cum [pro] inauribus torquibusque, margaritas et uniones gerentia. Multa gemmea et crystallina electrinaque vasa potatoria [portaria] et sextariola, multa aurea invenimus et rara argentea.

Quibus in potestatem redactis interiorem Indiam perspicere cupiens cum universo Caspias portas perveneram exercitu. Ubi cum fertilissimarum regionum admirarer felicitatem, quodam gaudio [elatus] digna cognoveram [conveneram] loca, quamquam praedixerant nobis incolae regionis eius, ne serpentes et rabida ferarum genera incideremus quae plurima in his vallibus et campis silvisque ac montibus habitabant, nemorum saxorumque latebris occulta.

40 In the moneth of May, Darius, the kyng of Perse, at Gages dide do examyne
above and indiction taken of al his Regioun. With our ordynaries and
preparatories we han purposed of thest provinces and many Roial toynes saide, as in
the first epistel I signified to the. And now nat in manyfold writynges the former
deedis now bifore knownen I passe over.

45 Also, in thend of the Moneth of Iully, we cam curteisly into ynde, wher with
wounder hast Porrus the kyng was devict and overcomen, of whos myghti men and
Richesses with kyngly luels and vessel we bien Repleete. But as that thow knowe tho
thynges whiche seemen to me worthy to bien Remembred, sum I have knownen
forwhi memoratiefly it was. And eveene it is to me to describe and write in my
50 bosum of his vnnumerable host in the whiche weren (f. 139r) so grete plente; that is
to say, more than .xvi.m. of horsmen withoute footemen, and .viii.C. of waynes and
cartes charged with abilementis of werre, and .iiii.C. Oliphautes, and al taken,
whiche vpon sette with touris vpon their backis in the whiche wern men of armes
castyng dartis and speris. That kyngly Citee with the house of Porrus we invaded
55 and went, In whiche wern pilers of gold, holl and of to moche gretnes and of height,
with their chapiteis to the maner of .CCCC. We nombred the wallis of gold with
platis of .iiii. fynger gretnes, whiche as I wold estemed it to sum other placis, I fil
bitwene a vyne and a soler of gold and siluer, bitwene the pilers hangyng, of whiche
I was awoundred, In whiche the levis wern of go<1>d and the braunchis of cristal,
60 and the byndynges wern bitwene sette to the distinccioun of Smaragdis. The
chambres and the beddis al of grete margarites to grapes and charbuncles wern
garnysshed and arraied. The doores wern wondirly white, of Ivory and Ibynes
whitened, and shone in lakis and with the hedis of Cipres, of whiche place in signe
and token of laurer and in bathis wern with gridlrns of holl gold statued and
65 ordeigned of vnnumerable tresour. Withyn the house and without the dores and
wallis vnnumerable kyndes of divers colours therfrom erred. Among whiche wern
large and brode plates of gold with nailes, and beelis of briddis in Idel as for in
earn, with bies and ouches whiche with grete magarites ooned, beryng many
gemmes and cristalynes gretely light; and shynyng vessels portatief, and sextaries,
70 and many other thynges gold ther we fond, and sielden siluer.

Whiche in to our power brought and kept, coveityng to bihold and see the Inner
ynde with al and vniuersal yaatis of Caspie bi the lovyng and lusty host. Wher with
the most fertile and plentivous Regioun I awoundred of the felicitye, elate with suche
a Ioie that I cam to such worthi placis, whiche that the comelynges of that Regioun
75 biforsaide vnto that we fal nat among serpentis and so many kyndes of wild bestis,
whiche many of hem dwellen and enhabiten in theise fieldis, valeys, and high
mountayns, in woodis, Rokkes, and dennes bien hidde.

Sed ego, ut fugientem ex proelio Porum primum adsequerer, antequam in desertas orbis terrarum abiret solitudines, compendiosa magis quam tuta itinera eligere malui. Acceptis igitur centum quinquaginta ducibus qui brevitates itinerum noverant, mense Augusto per ferventes sole harenas et egentia humoris loca profectus sum, pollicitus his praemia qui nos periti regionum ducebant per ignota Indiae loca, si me cum incolumi exercitu in Bactriacem perduxissent penitusque remotos ad abditos Seres, quae gens foliis arborum decerpendo lanuginem ex silvestri vellere vestes detexunt. Sed illi maiorem hosti quam mihi favorem accommodantes efficere pergebant, ut nos in exitiabilia serpentium et rabida ferarum beluarum genera ignaros regionum inducerent; quae illos cogitasse ex ipsis patebant experimentis.

Tum ego cernens ex parte mea id accidisse, quia utilia consilia spreveram amicorum pariter et Caspiorum hominum qui dixerant [praedixerant] mihi, ne ita vincere festinarem, ut nullo dolo interveniente mihi adempta [adeunda] esset victoria, imperavi militibus omnibus, ut armis induti agmen sequerentur, propterea quoniam, cum auri ex rapina margaritarumque non parvam secum praedam veherent, timendum esset, ne occulto hostes sua ablaturi victoribus insidiarentur. Et sane miles ita locupletatus erat, ut vix ferre pondus auri posset. Accedebat quoque armorum non parva gravitas, quia omnia ego aureis incluseram laminis. Ita totum agmen me veluti sidere aut fulgore clarum radiantibus auro insignibusque sequebatur cum signis et vexillis. Eratque inter varietates spectaculum in conspiciendo talem exercitum, quia ornatu pariter ac viribus inter gentes ceteras eminebat. Ego certe respiciens felicitatem meam insigni numero iuventutis immenso afficiebar gaudio.

Sed ut aliquid plerumque in secundis rebus fortuna obstrepit, accidit nobis siti laborare. Quam cum iam vix sustineremus, miles Zephyrus inventam mihi in lapide concavo aquam galea aurea protulit ipse sitiens, animaeque meae magis quam suae vitae consulebat. Quam ego vocato exercitu palam effudi, ne me bibente magis sitire miles inciperet, collaudansque Zephyri erga me benevolentiam dignis eum muneribus honoravi [ornavi]. Quae res cum animaequiores fecisset exercitum, coeptum iter institui.

Nec longe mihi in desertis locis flumen apparuit cuius ripas pedum sexagenum arundo vestiebat, pinorum abietumque robora vincens grossitudine, qua Indi materia ad constituenda aedificia utebantur [aedificia inde incole loci illius utebantur].

Tum ego, quoniam quadrupedia et exercitus sitiebant, iussi continuo castra poni a metatoribus. Quae dum ponuntur, ipse sitim levare [extinguere] cupiens

But I, as the flight of the bataile of Porrus, whiche first I folowed bifore that he went in to the desertes and wildernesses, most compendious lond of al the world, more than siker and sure Iorney wold I to cheese. Therfor, taken .CCCCI. Dukes whiche knewen the shortnes of the Iorneys in the moneth of August, the sande and gravel bi fervence of the sonne and nedy placis of moisture I am past, garnished and arraied thiese with Rewardis and yiftis, whiche lierned and ledde vs thurgh the Regiouns bi vnkouth and vnknownen placis, shit and (f. 139v) closed with myn holl host in Bactaricen, a place so named, bi whiche vtirly thei brought vs bi hidde places, wher and in whiche the folk of the cuntrey gnewen and eten the levis of trees, and of the mosse and barks of trees made hem clothis. But thei, more enemyes to theymsilf than to me lenyng favour, wenten as we in to excessiblete of serpentis and Ravenyng wield and woode beestis, vnknownen kyndes of Regiouns inbrought and ledde, whiche thei had thought shulden have shewed experymentis.

While that I biholdyng of my partie to have falle that profitable counsailes, I dispised of friendis, and in like wise of men of Caspie, whiche biforsaide and told to me nat so hastily to overcome, as to me was no victorie to go or come bytwene. I bad and comaunded to al the knyghtis clad in armure folowe thost. Therfor, that nat of a litel Ravyne and Robbery of gold and precious margarites and stones that thei drewe and drof, it was to drede lest hid and prevy enemyes as victours theym assawted to take their thynges from hem. And holl knyghtis wern so plentivous that vnneth thei myght bere the weight of gold. It fil also nat a litil hevynes of armes, forwhi I al with plaatis of gold enclosed, so as al the host insomoche wrapped as the skie shynnyng, with cliere beames with gold in tokenes, foloweden with signes and banners. Ther was also of diversitees a Mirrou into bihold such an host whiche was redy and likly arraied, and to honours, worshippes, and strengthis among other folk enhaunsed. Certainly, I biholdyng my felicity in signe and nombre of yowth out of mesure, I made Ioie.

But as sumwhat more fully in depnes of worldly thynges, cast out and fil to vs a grete and hevy thurst to labour, whiche that—and as now vnneth we sustene—the knyght Zeverus founde to me water in an holow stone, of the whiche he brought to me a golden healme. But he knowyng my soule, counsailed more his owne. Than I cald the host openly and shed the water, ne that my drynkeng shuld cause the knyght to take the more thurst. And Zeverus, moche lauded and praised at my benevolence, with worthy yiftes I have arraied. Whiche thyng with ful soule don the host, I ordeigned to the best Iorney.

Nat fer from me in desert placis a floode to me appiered, whos hithes was clad with Riede of .lx. feete, Pynes and Abietes, whiche bien trees of the woode; thei overcame the strength and gretnes to make edifices, and hovsyng therof the comelynges of that place vseden.

Than and while I and the host and the foure footed beestis thursted, I bad anon the castels to be set down of þe weysetters whiche while thei setten down, thei to

amariorem elleboro fluminis aquam gustavi, quam neque homo bibere neque ullum pecus haurire sine tormento potuit. Angebar autem magis pro mutis animalibus quam pro nostra necessitate, durabiliorem hominem [dum rabidiorem hominem] cunctis in rebus recognoscens quam pecudem.

Quippe qui aurum vehebant elephantum ingentis magnitudinis admodum mille, quadringentae quadrigae equorum, omnes falcatae, bigae vero mille ducentae, equitum turmae, viginti milia, peditum ducenta quinquaginta milia sub armis, mulorum castrensium et ad sarcinas militum vehendas circiter duo milia, camelorum dromedumque et boum duo milia, quae frumenta vehebant [d. Dromedariorumque et buballorum II, equorum honeratorum clitellas ferentium quae frumenta vehebant II], et armentorum ad usum carnis cotidianae ingens numerus sequebatur. Ceterum in equis et mulis et elephantis et camelis aurea quoque frena luxus non [non *om.*] parvus nobis permiserat [permiserat *om.*] victoriarum. Sed tunc inasperata ipsa pecora [insiperata illa siti pecora] vix se continere poterant. Milites quoque nunc ferramenta lambendo, nunc oleum gustando diram aliquo modo differre sitim vel auferre conabantur. Vidimus etiam plerosque pudore amisso suam urinam vexatos ultimis necessitatibus haurientes. Quae res me dupliciter torsit.

Primo de statu exercitus magis quam de proprio meo sollicitus fui periculo; iussi tamen, ut armati agmen sequerentur; legem dixi me in eum animadversurum qui non legitimis indutus insignibus in acie deprehensus esset. Quod ipsi quoque mirabantur, quod ita, ubi nullus appareret hostis, necesse esset in tanta siti armatos ingredi. Sed ego sciebam per bestiosa serpentiosaque loca nobis iter esse, ne opposito periculo frangeremur [ne ... frangeremur *om.*] ac ne imprudentes circumveniremur nec inopinato periculo feriremur [verebemur].

Ripam igitur fluminis sequentes ad horam diei octavam ad oppidum pervenimus quod in medio amne in insula ex his arundinibus quas paulo ante descripsimus, erat aedificatum, paucosque Indorum seminudos notavimus homines, qui visis nobis continuo intra tectorum suorum culmina delituerunt. Quorum ego praesentiam videre desiderans, ut dulcem ignaris aquam demonstrarent, apparente nullo paucas in civitatem dei sagittas imperavi, ut si voluntate sua nollent procedere, metu bellico acti [coacti] exhiberentur. Tanto magis cunctis propter timorem abditis, diu apparente nemine ducentos milites ex Macedonibus levibus armis misi per amnem nataturos. Iamque quartam fluminis partem nataverant, cum horrenda res visu subito nobis conspecta est. Maiores elephantorum corporibus hippotami inter profundos aquarum emersi apparuerunt gurgites raptosque in vertice crudeli poena viros flentibus nobis absumpserunt. Iratus tum ego ducibus qui nos in insidias deduxerant, iubeo ex his centum in flumen mitti. Quibus propulsis natantibusque invicti rursum hippotami dignos iusta poena affecere; sed maior explicatus [duplicatus] numerus beluarum quam prius affuit. Ad spem inde contingentis cibi cum apparerent, veluti formicae efferbuere. Et ne qua noctu cum aquarum prodigiis

qwenche (f. 140r) coveityng their thirst, I tastid the water of the floode, bitterer
 120 than elebor or elder, that neither I ne no maner beeste myght drynke without grete
 turment. It eekid morre for dum beestis than for our necessite or neede, while in
 mannes woodenes in al thynges I ageyn knowe than beestis.

Wonder to me was whiche drewen the gold: oliphauntis of to moche gretnes
 to the maner of a .M.; and .iiii.C. waynes of hors al charged with gisarmes; forsoth, of
 125 cartis .MM.; the host of horsmen .xxxii.M; of footemen .l.M.; of Mulis, gelded, to
 the nomber of .M., that drowen knyghtes harneys; of Camels aboute .MM., and of
 Dromedaries .v.C, and Bugles .MM., and of hors charged thynges of seruice or
 serving to divers vses; of oxen whiche drewen whete .MM.; of harneys berers,
 triewly to thuse of flessch, cotidianly in grete nomber folowed the remenaunt in hors,
 130 Mulis, Camels, and Oliphauntis; and with golden bridels lusty, and to vs a litel
 victorie, and inspired in tho beestis suche a thirst that vnneth thei myght contene or
 endure. And the knyghtis now and than likyng their harneys, now tastyng oile, hard
 in any maner as thei cowde to take away or to differre the thirst, we sie theym sette
 and put in so ful shame, and their Iniurie vexed, drawyng to the vttermost necessite,
 135 whiche thyng wrang and troubled me in double wise.

First, of the state of þe host more than of myn owne peril I was right busy.
 Eftsones I bad and comaunded that the armed men shuld folowe the felawship, and
 for a lawe I saide it, as my soule me aduertised, whiche were nat taken in the host
 clad in lawful clothis, signes, and tokens, whiche and that they gretely woundred
 140 that so where non host appiered what neede it was in suche a thirst to entre in to
 armes. But I wist bi the buystous and beestious serpentyne places to be to vs a
 straunge iorney, and nat vnauised and vnprudently to be compassed aboute in
 sodayne peril, lest wee wern shamed.

Therfor folowyng the huyth of the floode vnto the .viii. hour of the day, we cam
 145 to a Towne whiche in the myddis of an Ile compassed aboute, of thiese Reedis,
 whiche a litil bifore we discribed, was it edified and made. A fewe men of the yndes
 half naked we called, whiche with sight of vs, anon incontynent withyn their
 covertis hidden hem in the toppis. Of whos presence I desiryng, as fressh and swete
 water to me vnknown, thei shulden shewe. Non appieryng, I comaunded to cast a
 150 fewe arowis in the Citee, as if thei wold nat procede and go furth of þer owne goode
 wil, to be coarted and driven furth bi dreede of bataile. So moche the more thei al
 for the dreede, a long while no man appiered. I sent .CC. knyghtis, lightly armed
 swymmers of the Macedoynes, to swymme þe compas aboute. And now whan thei
 hadden swymmed and Rowed the .iiii. part of the floode aboute, sodainly was seen
 155 horrible and grisely þingis. (f. 140v) Eliphauntis, more of bodies than epothams,
 among the depthis of waters appiereden drowned. Ravissyng swolowes in the top
 of cruel payne toke vs vnto wepyng. I than so wroth with the ductors and leders that
 brought vs in these assautis, I bad of thiese to put .Cl. in the floode. To whom so
 hunshid, punshid, and shoved at to swymmeng and Rowyng, and vnware of thiese

bella gereremus, iussi dato signo bucinæ ad iter militem aptari. Quid enim manere in tali sitientibus proderat loco?

Igitur ab hora diei decima usque ad undecimam cum iter fecissemus, vidimus homines per medium amnem factis ex arundine rotundis praetervehi naviculis. Quos cum dulces aquas percunctaremur sua lingua ubi inveniri possent, dixerunt [dixerunt. Iterumque nobis demonstrantes locumque nominatim exprimentes dixerunt] ingens nos stagnum dulcissimæ aquæ inventuros, quo et ipsi nos quinquaginta itinerum duces erant deducturi. Et quoniam facta sunt nobis tot instantia [obstantia] perpeti mala, nocte tota ambulavimus siti et onere armorum confecti. Quibus necessitatibus illa quoque adiciebantur incommoda, quod tota nocte incursantibus leonibus ursisque, tigridibus pardis ac lyncibus pariter resistebamus, quæ genera ferarum promiscua nobis in silvis occurrebant. Tandem ad horam circiter octavam postero die, cum iam siti fere defecissemus, ad praedictum nobis stagnum pervenimus quod erat coronatum vetustissima abundantique silva, mille passus tamen patens. Cum ergo dulci aqua potata gaudio alacer pecora et impedimenta cum exercitu [pro abundanter refecta sunt] pariter et [Moxque cum] lassa quadrupedia militum refecissem, castra in longum stadia viginti duo totidemque in latum collocari iussi. Quibus celeriter erectis iubeo caedi nemus, ut facilius aquatoribus esset accessus ad stagnum, quia unicum in illis regionibus erat. Igitur inter ipsa tentoria aggerebantur [gerebantur quedam me iubente] impedimenta, et elephanti in media castrorum parte collocabantur, ut aptius contineri possent, si quis nocturnus casu oriretur pavor tumultusque aliquis novus, cum iam mille quingenti extrinsecus essent ignes accensi sufficiente silva quantum vellemus [silva quæ ibi copiosa aderat].

Deinde testante bucina cibum et ipse cepi et [Hora deinde diei undecima cibum] militibus capere imperavi accensis lampadibus aureis admodum duobus milibus, cum ad primos lunæ radiantis ortus subito erectis caudarum aculeis a pascualibus Indici scorpiones consuetam petentes aquationem ad castra innumeri confluxerunt, tumultu acciti nostro an siti incertum erat [tumultu ... erat *om.*], sed ad nocendum promptissimi erant. Haec prodigia est insecuta immensa vis cerastarum humidarumque serpentium [vero ad nocendum promptissimi sunt haec prodigia: in secunda vero noctis hora subsecutum est agmen immensum cerastarum serpentium] variis distincta coloribus, nam quaedam rubentibus squamis erant, quaedam nigri et

160 Rede Epothams worthi and Iust peyne to bere, But to the double number of
 devourers and swolowers more than was afore To hope therof to fal or happene to
 mete. Wheras thei appiereden wrappid with pissemeres or amptes to be shed out bi
 the floode. And no while as with the wondres of waters we myghten bere batailes,
 bad to yeve signe and token with a trump apt to knyghtly iorney. What, forsoth,
 165 profiteth it to dwel or abide in suche a thursti place?

Therfor, at the .x. houre of the day, what tyme we made Iorney, we sawe men by
 half the compas, made bi Iugement of charite, of the Rounde Reedis smale litel
 botis, whiche with fressh waters wher thei myght be founden in their langage and
 tunge thei tolden vs. Eftsones, and to vs shewyng the place, and expressing bi name
 170 to vs, saide and tolde thei, and the same grete ponde of the most swetest and
 fresshest water founden, whiche thei and we, .l. dukes and ductours or leeders,
 eftsones wern to be lad. And forwhi so many obstacles and evils to vs don, al the
 nyght we walked with thirst and charge of armure and harneys evynmade. Of
 whiche necessites and needis and tho incomodites was eeked and throwen to, forwhi
 175 al the nyght with hast of liouns, Beres, Tigres, Panters, and linxes, redily and
 toguyder we withstoode. Whiche kynde of beestis so medled mette vs in the woode,
 Insomoche that at the houre aboute .viii. in the day after, whan forsoth as now
 vttyrly with thirst we feynted and failed, we cam to the forsaide ponde. That was
 corowne with the most eldest woode and moste habundaunt, shewyng the space of
 180 .M. pas. Whan, forsoth, that I drank of this fressh and sweete water, I ioied.
 Swiftly þe beestis and the werkbeestis with the host after habundauntly and
 plenteuously wern refresshed. And with the maner of the .iiii. footed beestis and the
 knyghthod refresshed, I bad the castels to be set and gadered in the space of .xxii.
 stadies in length and as moche in breede. The whiche hastily don, I bad to cut the
 185 woode and to felle, as the more lightly the waterberers and waterers of hors and
 beest myghten have their cours and goyng vnto the ponde, forwhi only in tho
 Regiouns was. Therfor, among and bitwen tho tentis thei baren sum, me bidding
 Impedymendis and the oliphauntis in the myddil partie of the castels wern chosen
 and gadred, as the more (f. 141r) apt thei myghten contene and endure if any hap
 190 or cas of dreede Ros or sprang in the nyght, or of any other newe strif. So as long
 while as .xv.C fuyres wern kyndeled and brent of woode sufficient, whiche ther
 perto was copious.

The hour and tyme of the day therof .xi., I comaunded the knyghtis ther to take
 mete with lampis of gold light to þe maner and nombre of .MM. Therfor, at the first
 195 spryng or risyng of the moone beames, sodainly Arrectis, serpentis so named, with
 sharpe tailes, to shepherdis Iugement cald scoriounes, askyng to þe water, to the
 castels evenflowed vnnumerable. And forsoth to noisaume thiese woundres bien.
 fforsoth, in every hour of the nyght vnder hem, holl is the felawship, with
 vnmesurable horned serpentis of variable and dyvers colours distinct avexed. Sum
 200 forsoth wern with Rede scalis, sum with nailes of white colour, sum to gold shyneng

candidi coloris, quaedam auri fulgori similes inspiciebantur—sibilabat tota regio—non parvum nobis inferentes metum; sed frontem castrorum densabamus clipeis et in manibus longas habebamus hastas, quarum acutissimis spiculis malas pestes configebamus et ignibus plures aliquando necabamus. Quae res nos prope duas horas in eo opere sollicitos tenuit.

Potata aqua minores abire coeperunt serpentes, maiores cum ingenti gaudio nostro latebras petierunt, cum ad horam noctis tertiam [ventum foret] aliquam sperantibus nobis requiem binorum ternorumque capitum cristati serpentes Indici [indicio] columnarum grossitudine, aliquantulum proceriores [maiores prioribus], ad potandum aquam ex vicinis montium speluncis processere oribus squamisque suis humum atterentes; quorum pectora erecta cum trisulcis linguis fauces exserebant [exercebant] scintillantibus veneno oculis; quorum halitus quoque erat pestifer. Cum his hora non amplius una debellavimus, triginta servis et viginti militibus amissis. Orabam Macedones, ne adversis casibus [causis] cederent neve deficerent, quamquam et ipsorum dura esset patientia. Omnes se afficiebant [Omnes intentos redderet] operi. Post serpentes cancri immodicae multitudinis, corcodrillorum pellibus contexti ad castra venerunt; quae prodigia duritia thoracae ferrum respuebant: multa ignibus usta, multa se in stagnum receperunt.

Iam nos vigiliis [invigiliis] inquietos quinta noctis hora bucina admonebat quiescendum. Sed affuere albi leones taurorum comparandi magnitudinibus: cum ingenti murmure concussis cervicibus, stantibus alte iubis in modum fulminum in nos impetum faciunt exceptique venabulis ruunt. Tantus repentinus oriebatur tumultus cumulate caeca nocte [ut omnes attoniti redderemur]; nec minus apri ingentis formae, setis veluti vallo horrentibus metuendi [haec prosequuntur apri ingentis formae irruentes a vallo iactibus veluti horrentibus valde metuendi], mixti maculosis lyncibus tigridibusque et horribilibus pantheris [cum his omnibus hac et illac], miscebant proelia nulli iam pesti comparanda. Sed et vesperilionum vis ingens columbinis corporibus aequales in ora vultusque nostros ferebatur, habentes dentes in morem hominum quibus artus militum violabant. Una praeterea novi generis bestia maior elephanto affuit [apparuit], tribus armata in fronte cornibus, quam Indi appellare dentityrannum soliti sunt, equo simile caput gerens atricoloris. Haec potata aqua intuens castra in nos subito impetum dedit nec ignium compositis tardatur [tardatur *om.*] ardoribus [floccipendens ardores]. Ad quam sustinendam cum opposuisssem Macedonum manum, triginta sex occidit, duos et quinquaginta calcatos inutiles fecit vixque [tamen demum] ipsis defixa est venabulis [interiit].

like to biholde, hissed and whisteled to al the Regioun, and to vs nat brynggyng in a litel dreede. But the front of the castels we thikkeden with healmes and basenettis, and in our handis we hadden long battis, staves, and speris. Of the weren insette with the most sharpest prikes and stikyng instrumentis, and thus we put to flight
 205 thiese pestelent thynges, and with many fuyres theym noied, slow, and brent. Whiche thynges insomoche werk hield vs nygh .ii. houres.

The water drunk, lasse serpentis bigan to go, and with inly grete Ioie our derk and hid placis axeden. And whan it was com to the thrid hour of the nyght, sumwhat we hoped Rest, of .ii. and .iiii. heded beestis, craasted to Iugement, with the gretnes
 210 pilers sumwhat more than the former, to drynke the water wenten and camen out of the dennys of the next and nygh mountayns, and with their scaled mowthis drawing the moisture, whos brestis wern aReised, with threhold tungen exerciseden and wipynge theyr chekis, with eyen sparklyng venym, and of whos breth was veray pestilence. And with thiese more than an hour we faught, and .xxx. seruauantis and
 215 .xx. knyghtis we lost. I praied the Macedonyes that for non vnhappy cause or diuersite thei shuld nat fall ne faile in perel of lif and soule, that than and of their hard pacience al thynges intended and take heede to shal yelde to the werker. After, serpentis in the litelnes of crabbis, and a grete multitude of Cocodrilles with skynnes covered, turned to the castels, whiche with their wondrous harde backes and cotes
 220 dulleden Irun. Many with fuyre only wern brent, and many on toke hem to the ponde.

Now we in the wacchis and vnrest of .v. nyghtis with a trump amoneshid and warned to Reste. Than sodainly sprang and ros a tumulte and a noice and a gaderyng in an hepe in the derke and blyndenes of the nyght, that (f. 141v) al we
 225 yielded vs astonyed. ffor ther wern to comparison of gretnesse of boolis, in grete murmur and noise smote the backes of standersabout, with hie cnobbis in maner shyneng, and in vs maden a grete and a sodayne haaste. And except and outake tho that fel bi maner of huntyng, Thiese pursueden Bores, of the grettest forme and maner livyng, throwen from the valey wrapped with horrors, with wondrous grete
 230 dreedis, myxt and medled with many spottis, linxes, Tigres, and horrible panthers, with al thiese here and there medled bataile now, no pestilence to be comparised. And also backes of grete strength, like in body evyn to duffes, in tymes smoten vs in the facis, havynge teeth in maner of men, of whos chiere and smytyng knyghtis weren defouled. On, moreover, of a newe kynde of beestis appierid, more than eliphauntis,
 235 armed in the forhede with .iiii. hornes, whiche of the yndes is cald the toth of tirauntis, with an hede like to an hors, beryng .iiii. colors. Thiese the water drank biholding the castels. Yaven in vs a sodeyne haaste, thei fuyrly of made, brennyng flockes hangyng. To that suisteyned, whan I withset with the handis of Macedonyes, .xxvi. was slay, .lii. whiter and wevers, and of divers of shynyng clothis was made.
 240 Vnneth only the last fixed with hunters perished.

Ante lucanum deinde tempus caelo pestes venire candido versicolores in modum ranarum [zonarum], cum quibus mures Indici in castra pergebant vulpibus similes, quorum morsu vulnerata quadrupedia statim exspirabant; hominibus idem morsus non usque ad interitum nocebant.

Appropinquante luce nocticoraces venire aves vulturibus similes, corporum immanitate superabant, colore fulvo, rostro pedibusque nigris. Totam stagni complevere ripam non nobis perniciem ferentes, sed solitos pisces consumeabant [consumeabant *om.*; cum unguibus extrahebant ab aqua]. Quas nos aves neque fugare neque abigere ausi eramus; cunctae vero [ad ultimum vero cum] siccatis unguibus de conspectu nostro abiere. Tunc ego locorum demonstratores qui nos semper in insidias deducebant, pessime meritos [impendens eis secundum eorum merita], crurifragio [crucifragio] puniri iussi ut et nocte vivi spirantesque a serpentibus consumerentur, ut nos consumi voluerunt. Manus quoque eis confringi imperavi, ut merito pro factis suis uterentur supplicio.

Habita deinde contione, ut fortes milites essent neve adversis ut feminae casibus deficerent [cederent], castra concentu bucinarum repente ad Noti venti spiracula tetendi, ubi a collectis barbarorum Indorumque viris nova conspirari bella cognoveram. Militibus meis ingentes erant animi, quibus et census [sensus] victoriarum suppedibat et felicitas. Relictis periculosissimis locis munitum vix tandem iter calcavimus et in loca Bactrianorum auro divitiisque opulenta pervenimus; benigneque excepti a commeantibus, cum Persarum confinia adiacerent agri, in reparando bello castra viginti dies statui otio facto.

Mox dierum quattuor itinere pervenimus ubi cum collecto consederat exercitu Porus propriae deditioni magis quam proelio se commissurus. Nam et commeatus nobis palam non ut hostis dedit potestatem, cupidusque me nosse milites meos subinde commeantes interrogabat ubi ego essem quidve agerem. Qui cum incerta responderent, ipse auditis eius interrogationibus—omnia enim mihi regi magno Macedonum referebantur—sumpto habitu militari positoque meo cultu perveni in castra ut vini et carnis quidam emptor [empturus]; casuque Porus [intuitus me] sciscitans me interrogabat quid faceret Alexander aut cuius esset aetatis. Quem ludens mendacio temporis 'Tamquam homo senior' inquam 'dux noster in tabernaculo se accenso igni calefacit [calore reficitur].' Tum ille gaudio alacer, quia cum decrepito sene esset proelium commissurus, cum esset ipse iuvenis, elatus tumore [non modico infit] 'Quid ergo' inquit 'non respicit [respicias] aetatem suam?' Respondi uno id proposito ignorare me quid faceret Alexander, cum essem gregarius ex Macedonico miles exercitu. Tradidit mihi minis [nimis] plenam

Therof and from that, bifore lucan a litel tyme, with white lecherous beestis
 havng dyvers colour in maner of girdelis, with whiche myse, to sight and shewyng
 like vnto foxes, wenten in to the castels. Of whos bityng .iiii footed beestis wern
 wounded and anon deiden. Men with the same bityng gretely noied, But nat vnto the
 245 deth.

Than nygheng the daylight, of nyght crows (huntyng briddis like vnto vulturis
 overgrete in body) overcomyng, hem white of color with sharp billes and blac feete,
 That and al the huyth of the same ponde was eveneful, no noysaunce doyng to vs,
 but only fisshes with their nailles drewen out of the water. Whiche briddes we for
 250 their fiersnes neither to flight neither to do away we wern hardy nor durst. At the
 last, forsoth, with drie nailles, thei went from our sight. Therfor, than, the shewers of
 placis, whiche alwey brought and ledde vs bi assautis, doyng to theym after their
 merites and deservynges, bad punyssh thei to the turment of the cros, as in the
 nyght folowyng with the strength of blowers and serpentis bien thei consumed and
 255 wasted, as thei oughten and wolden to have consumed vs. And the handes of hem to
 fastene I bad, as to the merite and Rewarde for their deedis þer to vsen turment.

Therof had graunt and counseil as of theym that wern the strengest knyghtis, ne
 that non aduersites as to wymmens hovses thei infallen, with castels content at the
 sodayne blowyng of (f. 142r) the trumpe, with the blastis of the wynde I have
 260 intended, wherof gadered of Barbaryns and of yndes with their strengthis I knewe
 newe batailes to conspire. But my knyghtis wern of grete soule whatsumever
 wonderfull to whiche, and feelyng of victories, with their strengthis thei overcam it
 and put it vnderfoote. Therfor, placis of most perilous batailes vnnep arraied and
 harneised, the wey and Iorney therof we traden down, and to the placis of the
 265 Bactarynes with gold and plenteuous Richessis we cam by. And except of the
 goodely felawshippis of the Percians, thei next adiacent and liggyn to in the field
 with castels in to Repairyng to bataile, I ordeigned .xx. daies Idel made.

With the maner of .iiii. daies Iorney we cam bi wher with as the chosen Porrus
 considered to lierne the host more neer than to fight. fforwhi and the felawship to vs
 270 openly knewen enemyes, he hath yeven the power, coveityng to knowe me and my
 knyghtis therof of the felawshippes. Thei askiden wher I was and what I dide;
 whiche as incerteyne thei aunswerden hym al his askynges herd thei referreden and
 told to the grete kyng of Macedony. I mysilf toke and deposed and laide down every
 habite and clothyn of knyghthod, and cam in to his castels as oon to bie sum
 275 flessh, lest in hap Porrus biheld me inquiryng and askyng me what Alisaunder
 doeth, or of what age he were; whom Iapyng theym with lesyng, as to an elderman
 in þe whiche our Duke in his tabernacle with a fuyre kyndeled, reffresshith hym bi
 the heete. With swift Ioie, forwhi as with decrepite and coked age he were
 commytted and fordon with batail, nat but litel drad as he was whan he was yeven to
 280 yowth. 'What therfor and whi biholdest thou now his age?' I have answerd hym
 only to that propocioun: 'I wote nat what Alisaunder doeth whan I was a lover and

epistolam quam regi Alexandro darem; pollicitus est praemium. Cui iuratus dixi futurum, ut in manus eius hae litterae pervenirent; reversusque [rursusque] protinus in castra et antequam legerem et postquam legi epistolam, magno risu sum dissolutus. Cuius tibi et matri meae sororibusque meis, ut superbam inclinatamque barbari temeritatem mirareris, exemplar misi [transmisi].

Mox contuli cum Indis manu superatisque his ita ut volebam erepta armis regna Poro restitui. Qui, ut ei insperatus [superato] honor donatus est, mihi thesauros suos manifestavit quos ignorabam; ex quibus me et comites meos et universum ditavit exercitum factusque amicus ex hoste Macedonibus in [Macedonesque et me ad] Herculis Liberique trophea deduxit. In orientis autem ultimis oris aurea utraque deorum constituerat simulacra. Quae an [non] solida essent ego scire cupiens, omnia perforavi [iussi perforare] et id ipsum ut vidi solida, simili metallo complevi, Liberumque et Herculem deiectis victimis placavi.

Ultra deinde progressuri, si quid [aliquid] memorabile cerneremus, nihil praeter desertos in oceano campos silvasque ac montes audivimus, in quibus esse elephanti et serpentes dicebantur. Pergebam ad mare tamen volens, si possem, orbi terrarum circumfluum [tamen ... circumfluum *om.*] navigare oceanum. Quem [quoniam] tenebrosum vadosumque mihi locorum incolae affirmabant, quodque Herculis et Liberi ultra [*om.*] ausus nemini esset temptandum, praestantissimorum deorum, tanto maiorem me ipsis velle videri quam in patientia mortalium sacra praeterire vestigia [ausus esset temptandum, praestantissimorum deorum, digressus sum inde. Addebantque hoc etiam decendo valde ineptum esse maiorem me ipsis velle videri utraque potentiam mortalium sacra praeterire velle vestigia]. Quibus [merito] honoratis collaudatisque sinistram partem Indiae scrutari institui, ne quid mihi in ignotis subtraheretur locis, Poro rege non detrectante, ne qua abdita celare videretur regni sui bona.

Palus [itaque a leva regni sui parte] erat sicca et coeno [canna] abundans. Per quam cum transire temptaremus, belua novi generis prosilivit serrato tergo, hippotami pectore, duo capita habens, unum leaenae simile, corcodrillo gerens alterum simillimum duris munitum dentibus, quod caput duos milites repentino occidit ictu. Quam ferreis vix umquam comminuimus malleis, quam hastis non valuimus transfigere. Admirati autem sumus diu novitatem eius.

Pervenimus deinde ad silvas Indorum ultimas. Ubi cum castra per quinquaginta in longum et latum fere [viginti] stadia collocavissemus iuxta amnem Buemar, coeperamus velle epulari sub nocte hora diei undecima [XII iam transacta], cum

a knyght in the host of the Macedonyes.' Take ther was to me suche epistil gretly
ful, whiche as to the kyng Alisaunder I shuld yeve it. Praier is made and Reward to
me shewed, to whom I have saide sweryng in tyme to come as in his handis this
285 lettres shuln com by. Eftsones, and redy in the castels, and bfore that I red, and
after that I had Rad the epistil, eftsones I was gretly dissolute. Of whiche to the and
to my Moder and sisters, as the pride and the doute of the barbaryns inclyned and
bowid down, of wonderful example I have transmytted and sent over.

In maner, .I. have taken with yndes the hand. And thiese thynges overcomen, so
290 as I wil nat take away the armes of Porrus, the Realmes I have Restored. Whiche, as
he overcomen the honour and worship, is yoven vnto me his tresours. He hath
manifestly shewed the (f. 142v) whiche I knew nat. Of the whiche me and my
knyghtis and al þe host bien made Riche, and made is to me a friende of an enemy,
and the Macedoynes and me and hercules my sone the spuyles bien brought. In the
295 est, forsoth, in the last parties, wern ordeigned simulacres of gold of either or both
goddis, whiche if thei wern holl or nat I coveityng to knowe, badde hem al to be
bored and perced. And eftsones whan I saw hem holl, like to metal complete, and
freely hercule with cast down sacrifices it me plesed.

ffrom thens further to go if anywhat of memoratif or wondrous thyng we myght
300 bihold, nothyng sauf desert vnto the ocean, fieldes and woodes and mountayns we
herd, in whiche to be Oliphauntis and serpentis thei saiden. Than I went to the west
ocean see to Rowe or to shippe. fforwhi that to me the comelynges affermeden to
me derk to wade in, and that hercules and free sones wern hardy and redy to tempt
þe goddis of their maners and paces or goynges. And added to this, and to say that
305 wonder vnapt, to be more willyng theym to see above the power of mortal men that
wold go further than tho holy steppis. To whos merite, with honours, worshippes,
lawdis, and praisynges, I ordeigned to serche the lift part of ynde, that nothyng to
me be withdrawen of placis vnknown. With king porrus it seemyth nat with-
drawyng, nor to covere the hid goodis of his Realme.

310 And so openly at the lift side of his Realme was drie and habundaunt with
Reedis, bi the whiche, whan we tempted to passe bi, a newe kynde of devourers
wenten out with ragged backes, havynge .ii. heddis, that oon like to the moone, with a
short brest of a cocodril beryng, that other harneised and arraied with the most
hardest teeth, that .ii. knyghtis heddis sodainly slow at oo stroke. The whiche vnneth
315 only with Irun hamers and mallis myght bruse, breke, or make lasse, forwhi with
glayves we availeden nought in hem to fastene, and long woundred of that newe
thyng.

From thens we cam to the last woodis of ynde, wher with castels bi the space of .I.
stadies in length and .xx. in breede we dide do gader and cheese aboute the compas
320 of Brunar, a place so cald. We wold and hoped to han fed vnder the tyme of the

subito pabulatores lignatoresque exanimis [prae timore exanimati] omnes simul advenientes nuntiabant [hortantur], ut celerius arma caperemus: [dicentes] venire e silvis elephantorum immensos greges ad expugnanda castra. Imperavi ergo Thessalicis equitibus, ut ascenderent equos secumque tollerent sues, quorum grunnitus timere bestias noveram, et occurrere quam primum elephantis iussi; deinde alios cum hastis armatos subsequi equites, et tubicines omnes in prima adesse acie, equos insidentes praecedere, pedites remanere omnes in castris iussi. Ipse cum Poro rege et equitatu procedens video examina [agmina] bestiarum in nos erectis promuscidibus tendentia. Quorum terga et nigra et candida et rubri coloris et quaedam erant varia. Hos [rex] Porus capi habiles mihi in usus bellorum affirmabat facileque averti posse, si ab equitibus verberari sues [om.] non desisterent. Qui nihilominus fugiebant [non desisterent quod nihilominus fiebat]; nec mora trepidantes elephanti conversi sunt; tam plures quam pugnae priores [pugnae priores om.] saltus petere coepere bucinis hominum [et] grunnitibus sum attoniti [magis quam certamine pugne prioris]. Quorum nos [om.] equites caedendo poplites admodum nongentos octoginta occidimus, detractisque cornibus et dentibus insigni onustus praeda in castra perveni. Iussi tunc clipeis et lorica vallum praecingi, ne quid iniuriae noctu elephantorum violentia ferarumque aliarum afferret [iussi ... afferret om.]. Quieta nox fuit usque ad lucem omnesque somno refecti.

Primo deinde aurorae diluculo in alias Indiae profecti regiones in campo [Indiae proficiscentibus itaque nobis in campo patenti] patenti mulieres virosque pilosos in modum ferarum toto corpore [nudos] vidimus, pedum altos novem [pedes in altum novenos habentes]. Hos Indi faunos appellant; hi assueti fluminibus nec non et stagno [nec ... stagno om.] quam terris erant, crudo pisce tantummodo et aquarum haustu viventes. Quos cum adire vellemus vicinius, marini fluminis se immersere verticibus. Cynocephalis ingentibus deinde plena invenimus nemora, qui nos adlaccessere [ad pugnam laccessere] temptabant et eiectis sagittis fugiebant.

Iam deserta intransitibus nobis loca nihil dignum spectaculo ab Indis ultra superesse referebatur. Igitur aditurus Fasiacen, unde veneramus [Igitur rursus ad occidentem], signa converti imperavi, ut ex eo loco usque ad duodecimum miliarium castra vicina aquationi poneremus. Atque cuncta erecta tentoria erant largique ignes accensi, cum repente Euri venti tanta vis flantis exorta est, ut omnia tabernacula principiaque nostra conturbaverit everteritque maiorem [tabernacula aedificiaque maiorem] in modum stupentibus nobis [corruerent]. Quadrupedia multo vehementius vexabantur exituque scintillarum et titonium in terga [in quibus integra] venientium adurebantur. Tum hortor milites quia aequinoctiali [noctuali] tempore id accidisset, non deorum ira quod Octobri mense autumnoque urgeret. Vix tandem recollectis sarcinis ex integro in apriciore [aptiore] valle sedem castrorum inveni ordinatisque rebus omnibus cenare militem iussi.

nyght, the houre of the day .xii. than past, whan as sodayne dreede and abasshe-
 ment of tilers and woodehewers for dreede camen al toguyder, exhortyng vs as in al
 the haste to take armes, saieng to come in the woodis vnmesurable flockis of
 oliphauntis to empugne the castels. I comande the Tessalicy to Ride and light on
 325 hors, and with hem thei token (of custom of þe whiche I knew) a grete taile of bestis,
 and to renne and meete as to the first cours of oliphauntis. ffrom thens I comaunded
 and bad other, with axes and glayves armed, to folowe the horsmen, and tubicynes
 and trum(f. 143r)pers to be in the first host of the bataile of hors, forsoth, assautyng
 to go bifore, al footemen to Remayne and abide in the castels. Porrus kyng, as he
 330 and his horsmen procedyng, I saw the host of beestis in vs areised for to be kept
 tendyng, of whos backes wern of divers colours, white, Rede, and blac. Kyng Porrus
 affermed to me to take thiese to the vse of bataile, and lightly thow maist turne from
 horsmen if thow bete hem busily. Thei shul nat withstande that it be neverthelesse
 don. Nor trippyng Oliphauntis to tarie bien turned as many as taken, and to aske,
 335 lepyng or skippyng with blowynges of men and crienges, and theym more astonyeth
 that with grete strif bifore foughten. Of whos horsmen fil in maner on knees we
 slowgh. Ca .CCCClxix., and withdrowe out the hornes and teeth. In signe and token
 charged I cam to the castels spuyled. A quiete and a Restful nyght was vnto the light
 of day, and al refreshed with sleepe.

340 ffirst from thens in the morow erly we to go went into the Regionys of that other
 ynde. Ther also shewed to vs in the field men and wymmen hered in maner of wield
 beestis. Al the bodyes we saw naked, havyng feete on high newe. Thiese the yndes
 callid ffaunos. Thiese of custom drowen more to the floodis of waters, and lividen
 only bi Raw fissh and drynkynge of water, whiche whan we wold go to hem, thei
 345 torneden there to the next floodis to drowne hemsilf. ffrom thens we fond the
 woodis ful of folke cald Cenophals—half hors, half man—which temptyd to be
 wery to fight, but their dartis cast, token hem to flight.

Now to vs entryng the desert places, nothyng worthy to sight from that yndes
 above was to be brought. Therfor, eftsones to the west signes and tokens I
 350 comaunded to turne, as of somoche from þat place of .xii. myle the next castels we
 setten to watery placis. Now al the tentis wern areised, and with grete and large
 fuyre kyndeled, as sodainly thest wynde with suche a strength of blast aRos that al
 the tabernacles and other edifices, the more with the lasse, to the maner of vs gretely
 astonyed, fil down to grounde. The .iiii. footed beestis with many troublis wern
 355 gretly avexed in goyng out, with sparcles and leames to whom holl comyng theym
 brent. And while so I busied the knyghtis, forwhi in the nyghtis tyme it fil nat the
 wrath of the goddis, and the moneth of October with þe gruiche of Autumpne or
 heruest. Vnneth gadred the charges and burthens of the holl into a more apt valey,
 we fonde the seete of castels; And al thynges ordeigned, I comaunded to al the
 360 knyghtis to sowpe.

Nam et flatus Euri ceciderat et [sed] frigus ingens vespertino accrescebat tempore. Cadere mox in modum vellerum immensae coeperunt nives. Quarum aggerationem metuens ne castra cumularentur, calcare militem nivem iubeo, ut quam primum iniuria pedum tabesceret [calcare milites nivem deforis videbam ne omnino earum accumulatione in castris frigore contraheremur. Sed quia dicam. Opus eque a me indictum complentes frigore contracti morti sunt pene subacti], proderentur et ignes aliquatenus, qui nive paene erant extincti. Una tamen res fuit saluti, quod momento temporis [quando] hae dilapsae sunt nives imbre veniente [superveniente] largo [disparuerunt]. Quem protinus atra nubes secuta [subsecuta] est visaeque nubes ardentes de caelo tamquam faces decidere [descendere], ut incendio earum totus campus arderet. Verebatur [Verebamur] dicere ne deorum ira premeret, quod ego homo Herculis Liberique vestigia transgredi conatus essem. Iussi igitur milites scissas vestes opponere ignibus. Nox serena continuo reddita est nobis orantibus. Tum ignes ex integro accenduntur et ab securis nobis epulae capiuntur et triduo continuo [triduo vero nobis ibi commanentibus] sine sole claro id nobis accidit [semper aderat] pendente minaci nubilo.

Et ego sepultis admodum quingentis militibus qui inter nives perierunt, castra inde mutari imperavi. Nam et edita caelo promuntoria ad oceanum [et ab oceano] in Aethiopia vidimus et Enesios quoque vidimus montes et antrum Liberi, quo perditos immisimus, quia dicebantur [antrum de quo inaudita nimisque stupenda dicebantur quia] tertia die febribus mori qui speluncam dei introissent [moriebantur qui illud intrare irreligiose praesumerent]. Quod fuisse manifestum mortibus eorum probavimus, quia intrari praeter religionem et sine muneribus non poterat specus [muneribus sacris specus presumpserunt]. Supplex orabam numina, ut me regem totius orbis terrarum cum sublimibus tropheis triumphantem in Macedoniam Olympiadi matri meae remitterent. Quam rem [Sed pro dolor] frustra me petere ita [id hoc ordine] cognovi, quoniam dum sciscitor [sciscitans igitur], si quid etiam adhuc [om.] videre possem dignum admiratione aut memoria, omnibus Indis dicentibus [omnibusque adstipulantibus] nihil aliud memorabile inveniri posse in his locis quam quod cognovimus, iussi diverti signa in Fasiacen, antea Noti venti flatum secutus.

Tumque in itinere, sumptum agmen sub signis me ducente, duo senes nobis facti sunt obviam. Quos cum interrogarem, numquid nossent in illa regione dignum aliquid ad spectaculum [dignum memoria spectaculum], responderunt mihi esse viam decem non amplis dierum, per quam difficilis tamen accessus [dierum, ubi mirabilia valuissem videre, sed difficilis esset tunc accessus] propter penuriam aquae tantisque [multisque] impedimentis, si cum universo pergere vellem exercitu. Ceterum si commeatus quadraginta milium hominum proponerem propter angustas semitas et bestiosa loca [Ceterum iniquum si quadraginta milium hominum in

Forwhi and thest wynde fil, but in the eventide a grete colde encreased. To fal in the nyght in the maner of wulflockis vnmesurable (f. 143v) snowes bigan. Of whos encreas or ekyng, dredyng lest the shuld hepen in castels, I saw the knyghtes to trede and throw the snow without furp, ne that vtirly the hepyng of theym shuld drawe
 365 the cold in to the castels. But what saide I? Euen neede to me in the saide fulfylling, euen to withdrawe the cold vtirly, sum bien vnderdryven to the deth. It profited theym only sum to the fuyre, with whiche vtirly the snowes wern quenched. Than was ther oo thyng to grete helth, that in a moment of tyme whan these snowes wern fall, a Rayne than comyng vpon largely, the snowes disappiered,
 370 whom drie clowdis vnderfolowyng. Than folowed after that brennyng clowdis from the hevene as brondis to descende, as with the kyndelyng of hem al the field was brent. We shamed to say that the wrath of þe goddis vs overpressed, that I a man and hercules wer knowen to passe the steppis. Also I bad the knyghtis to cut their clothis and cast hem in the fuyre. Than a cliere nyght anon contynuauly was
 375 graunted to oure praieris. Than the fuyres of holl brent and kyndeled and of sure and siker epistels taken. The .iiii. day ther to vs, forsoth, there abidyng without cliere sonnelight, alwey to vs appiered hangyng with the thretyng or manacyng clowde.

And I to the nombre and maner of .v.C. knyghtis buried, whiche perisshiden among the snowes. I comaunded the castels from thens to be chaunged, forwhi and
 380 for the chaunges of the saide hevene. And from the occian, in Ethiope we saw the Mountaynes Ethneos, and the denne or cave of þe whiche many grete woundres herd and told. Forwhi the thrid day of fevers or acces thei dien whiche presumen to entre vnreligiously. That openly we proved the deth of hem was don, whiche to entre without Religioun and holy yiftes the denne presumed, So also therfor mekely
 385 I praied the names, as me kyng of al the londis of the world, with the high spuyles of victory, overcomen in Macedony to Olimpi, that is my Moder, the thyng shyne or be shewed. But alas for sorowe vaynly me to aske that this with order I have knowen. Therfor, inquiryng if be what wey I myght see to this worthy wonder or the memories, and of al the doutis nothyng other to mynde in theym myght be
 390 founde in tho placis that than we knowe, the lord than the signes and tokens therof curteisly I comaunded to a moiste yeer. The blast folowed.

So while the felawship toke Iorney I lad vnder tokens and signes, .ii. auncient men wern made and don vs metyng. Whom and whiche whan I had asked hem if thei knewe in that Regioun a worthy myrroure or spectacle memoratief to me, thei
 395 answerden to be a wey of .x. daies iorney and no more, where that (f. 144r) I myght if that I wold see mervails. But it was hard thider to go, for the penurite and scarste of water, and many other Impedymentis, if that I wold go thider with al myn host. ffurthermore, thei saiden, if that I ladde with me .xl.M. men in a felawship for the beestious placis that ther was, it may happen to have busynes to do vncredible.

comitatu ducerem propter bestiosa loca quae ibi erant], posse mihi contingere, ut aliquod incredibile perspicerem [perficerem] negotium.

Tum ego eo responso laetus 'Dicite mihi' inquam 'duo senes' humanitatis [His auditis animo exhilaratus 'Dicite mihi' inquam humanitatis] lege eos mulcens 'quid sit illud quod mihi tam illustre et tam magnificum pollicemini'. Tum unus [ex illis] exhilaratus blanda mea voce [mea voce affatus] 'Videbis' inquit 'rex, quicumque es, duas solis et lunae arbores Indice et Graece loquentes, quarum lignum virile est solis, alterum femineum est lunae, et ab his quae tibi instant bona aut mala nosse poteris.'

Qua re tam incredibili illudi me a barbaris senibus existimans, poena eos impingi et aliqua contumelia iussi notari, ita dicens [notari nisi haec ut astipulabantur contingerent. Anceps namque verbis eorum hac illacque fluctuabam indignansque mecum dicebam]: 'Itane eo maiestas mea pervenit ab occidente usque ad orientem, ut a senibus [Ab occidente usque ad orientem caeteris mundi finibus peragratis iam pervenit maiestas mea derisio quedam fiet si a senibus] barbaris ac decrepitis illudi posse videar?'

Quibus [Illis itaque] iurantibus se nihil falsi commiscere, [sed potius] experiri modo me posse an vera dicerent, appariturum brevi id non esse vanum, orantibus amicis comitibusque meis, ne tantae rei experimento fraudarur, quadraginta milia mecum cum equitatu [equitum] traxi, remissis in Fasiacen copiis cum quibusdam praefectis exercituque cuncto, elephantis et rege Poro et impedimentis omnibus [elephantis et ceteris omnibus cum rege]. Mox lecto robore iuventutis admirabilia [admiranda] visuri spectacula ducentibus Indorum senibus iter arripuimus; qui nos, ut diximus [praefati senes dixerunt], per immania et egentia plerumque aquarum plenaque serpentium ferarumque loca deduxerunt in proximam oraculi sedem. De quibus feris et serpentibus, quia innumerae et Indica lingua erant vocitatae, scribendum tibi non putavi.

Cum [igitur] appropinquaremus regioni a nobis petitae [concupitae], vidimus feminas virosque aliquos pantherarum tigridumque pellibus contactos; a quibus cum quaerimus quinam hominum essent, Indos se sua lingua esse dicebant.

Lucus [Locus autem ille] erat largus, ture et opobalsamo abundans, quae plurima ramis eorum innascebantur nemorum et vesci [vescique inde] incolae eius regionis consueverant. Et cum sacrarium nobis praedictum et multis incognitum incessissemus, pedum amplius decem statura altior, nigro corpore, dentibus caninis, antistes oraculi apparuit, perforatis auribus, ex quibus uniones dependebant, et erat pellibus vestitus.

400 Heryng thiese thynges with a glad soule: 'Say yee, sumwhat and ever to me of
 mannes lawe mylkyng theym, what this myght be that to me so nobly and so
 shynengly and so gretly ye shewen.' Whan that oon of theym was gladded, with
 faire voice me trusted, saide: 'Whatsumever kyng thow art, thow shalt see ther .ii.
 trees, oon of the sonne, another of the Moone, spekyng to the in ynde and greeke
 405 tunge, wherof the tree of the Sonne is masculyne, and the tree of the Moone is
 femynyne. Of theise þinges triewly, whethir thei bien to the goode or evil, thow
 maist knowe.'

Wherfor, so incredible to be illude and beiape me of old and auncient barbaryns,
 estemyng to punyssh hem with peyne and other contumelies and strives, I bad to be
 410 noted but if theise thynges fallen and happen as thei han told and Reherced. fforwhi
 thiese anceps and kervyng wordis of þem, here and ther I floterred, and disdeigneng
 dreede I saide: 'fforsoth, from the Est vnto the west of al thendis of the world gon
 aboute and don, now is my mageste to derisioun come, and scorn so don and made,
 if I of .ii. croked and decrepite barbaryns shuld be laped and thei vnpunysshed.'

415 And so thei to hym swore no fals thyng to hym commysed, but rather in tyme
 comyng myght have experience therof whether thei saiden trowth or nat; and that to
 array in short tyme it was nat vayne, As to pray myn felawshippes and friendis that
 nat to a thyng of so grete experience thei frauded or failed, I drowe and toke with me
 .xl.M. of horsmen; In ffasiacen left plente copiously with suche provostis and al the
 420 host of oliphauntis, with al other thynges, with the kyng Porrus. The maner chosen,
 with strength of yong men to see the wondrous spectacles and myrrours with old
 lore and techynges of yndes, we toke þe wey whiche to vs the forsaide eldermen
 hadden saide and told. Bi grete straitnes and nedynes of waters and bi many placis
 of serpentis and wield bestis thei lad and broughten vs vnto the next seete of praieng
 425 place. Of the whiche wield beestis and serpentis, forwhi vnnumerable wern of the
 ynde tunge cald, to write to the I nat trowed nor arretted.

Therfor, whan we nyghed to the Regioun with coveityng, we saw sum men and
 wymmen covered with the skynnes of Tigres and panteris. Of the whiche, whan we
 Required and asked what maner men thei weren, the yndes saiden in theyr langage
 430 and tunge.

Forsoth, that place was large, and habundaunt (f. 144v) of bawme and encence,
 whiche that of grete plente grewe in braunchis of their woodis, and the comelynges
 of that Regioun wern wont therof to clothen hem. So and whan to the forsaide holy
 place we cam, and many oper vnkknown thynges we filn and nyghed vnto, oon more
 435 hier of stature þan .x. feete, blac of body, with houndis teeth, bisshop of that Oracle
 or praieng place, to vs appiered, of whom the earis perced and ouches and bies þerin
 hangyng, and clad was with skynnes.

Atque cum me more rituque salutaret [Atque cum more suo salutaret metum simulatione silentioque textit], interrogare coepit [cum vero interrogaret], quid ego venissem. Dixi me cupientem inspicere sacras arbores solis ac lunae. Tum barbarus: 'Si a coitu' inquit 'puerili et femineo contactu vacas, scilicet intrabis divinum lucum' [Tum ille barbarus antistes: Si a coitu et femineo vacas, intrabis divinum locum. Sin alias non licet ingredi]. Astantibus amicis et commilitonibus meis circiter trecentis ponere anulos vestesque cunctas cum calciamentis imperavit [hospitantium more imperavi]. Parui per [Post hec] omnia homini, ut pareremus religioni [ut paperemus adhortatus est]. Undecima diei hora exspectabat sacerdos solis occasum: nam solis arborem loqui ac responsa dare ad primos iubaris ortus affirmabat. Item noctis eadem tempora custodire lunae enarrabat arborem. Quae res mihi mendacio magis quam veritati similis videbatur.

Igitur perambulare totum nemus incipio, quod intra parietem erat non magno aedificatum opere, videoque opobalsamum cum optimo odore omnibus undique arborum ramis abundantissime manans; cuius odore captus et ipse clibulas [clibulas *om.*] praevellebam de corticibus et idem comites mei faciebant. In media autem parte luci [loco] sacrae arbores consistebant [stabant] diversis generibus frondium circumstantibus. Hae pedum altae centum erant arbores [Hae autem arbores pedum altitudine centum habebant], quas brebionas [hibrionas] Indi appellant. Eas cum mirarer diceremque frequentibus imbris in tantum crevisse, sacerdos affirmabat mihi numquam in his locis pluviam neque feram aut avem aut ullam [eundum locum posse] adire serpentem; terminos antiquitus [illas autem arbores antiquitus] ab Indorum maioribus consecratos soli et lunae affirmabat [dicebat] easque in eclipsi solis et lunae [easque ... lunae *om.*] uberrimis lacrimis commoveri de numinum suorum statu timentes. Et cum sacrificare instituerem et victimas immolare, prohibitus sum a sacerdote, qui [quia] negabat licere aut tus in eo sacrario igni uri [adoleri] aut animal ullum interfici, sed volutos truncis arborum oscula dare orareque solem et lunam ut veridica mihi darent responsa. Quod ego cum facturus essem, interrogandum tamen sacerdotem existimavi, Indice an Graece mihi essent arbores responsurae. Tum ille inquit '[inquit *om.*]: 'Utraque lingua solis arbor pronuntiat futura, lunae Graeco sermone incipit, Indico finit'.

Dum ea geruntur, videmus ab occidente iubare [iubar] fulgentibus Phoebi radiis percussa arborum cacumina [percussa cacumina celi] et sacerdos ait: 'Sursum' inquit [*om.*] 'omnes intuemini et de quibus quisque rebus consulturus est occulte cogitet silentio, nemo palam pronuntiet.'

Tum ego et amici et commilitones accuratius [intentius] sumus intuiti ne inter nemorum densitatem aliqua seductione in morem veterem docta [seductione seduceremur aut in morem ullam voce docta] nos hominum aliquis eluderet. Mox interveniente nullo tali dolo usque ad cacumina ramosque perspeximus: stantibus nobis comminus divina aures occupant oracula. Cogitabam enim [Cogitabam tunc

- And with his maner gret and salue me with simulacioun to silence covered.
 fforsoth, whan he hadde asked what and wherfor that I thider cam, I saide me
 440 coveityng to bihold the holy trees of the Sonne and the Moone. Than he, that
 barbaryn Bisshop: 'If thou be voide and cleene of wymmens felawship thou shalt
 entre that godly place. If otherwise, it is nat lieful the to entre.' Standyng with me
 my friendis, felawes, and evenknyghtis, aboute .CCC., to put their Rynges and al
 their clothis in maner of hostage I comaunded. After al this, as we felt vs Risen,
 445 arraied, and adorted—it was the .xi. houre of the day—the priest abode to the
 goyng doun of the Sonne. fforwhi the tree of the sonne to speke and to yeve aunswer
 at the first biddying and Risyng he affermed. Also, in the same tyme of the nyght, he
 told to kepe the tree of the Moone, whiche thynges to me more to lesyng than to the
 liknes of triewth seemed more.
- 450 Therfor, al the woode I bigan to walke, that withyn a wall that was nat of grete
 edifieng wrought. I saw bawme with the best odour and smel of al the trees and
 braunches of the woode most habundauntly wellyng. Of whos odour and sweete
 savour taken, and of the same barkes and Ryndes, I bifore wold and my felawship
 didn. fforsoth, in myddis of the place the holy trees evenestooden with divers
 455 kyndes of blossom and flouris standyng aboute. fforsoth, thiese trees hadden the
 height of .C. feete, whiche the yndes clepeden Imbriouns, or sodayne Raynes. So as
 with theym I me awounderd, and to say often tho Raynes in so moche thei hadden
 seene and biholden. The priest affermed to me never in thoo placis to Rayne, nor
 wield beest ne brid ne serpent myght go to that place. fforsoth, thoo trees, the most
 460 auncient and the grettest of the yndes, saiden halued to the sonne and Moone, with
 plentevous tearis evenmoeved, of the litilnes of their state dredyng. fforsoth, whan I
 straw and lay to sacrifice and to offre, I am forboden of the priest, forwhy he
 denyeth though encence bawme or any other beeste myght be slayn, in that holy
 place to smel to, but the stockes of the trees torned to kisse, and to pray the sonne
 465 and the moone as thei yeven to me triewe aunsvers. That I whan I had don than, the
 priest asked what I had estemed and trowed the aunsvers of the trees to me in ynde
 or in greeke. (f. 145r) Sumwhile he 'either and both langages the tree of the sonne
 pronounced and told thynges to come. And the Moone bigan with greeke tunge and
 ended in ynde tunge.'
- 470 While thei didn this, we saw from the west Iubar shyneng, and the beames of the
 sonne smote the toppes of hevenes. And the priest saide: 'Above al thynges biholde,
 and of whatsumever thynges is counsailed, hid, and thought, with silence, nat
 openly, pronounced ne told.'
- 475 While I and my friendis and myn evenknyghtis we ententiefly wern to biholden,
 lest withyn the thikkenes of the woode or with any maner of treason we shuld bien
 betrayed, or in any maner of sum mans techyng with voice any vs beiaped or
 scorned. And that with no maner of frawde nor guyle comyng bitwene, to the toppe
 and the braunchis of the trees we biheld; we standyng toguyder, to the divyne praier

mecum tacitus] si devicto orbe terrarum in patriam triumphans ad Olympiadem matrem sororesque meas carissimas possem reverti, cum subito Indico sermone tenuissimo arbor respondit: 'Invicte bellis Alexander, ut consuluisti, unus eris orbis terrarum dominus, sed vivus in patriam non reverteris amplius, quoniam fata ita de tuo capite statuerunt.'

Haec [Tum haec] ego audiens mente percussus [percussus] sum: displicuit [displicentia] enim mihi quod tam multos adduxi mecum ad sacras arbores. Simul [Lacrimatus igitur pene prae dolore exanimatus sum simul] et amici mei et comites mei qui mecum venerant [erant] fleverunt valde et contristati sunt. Quos ego partim minis partim muneribus [ego honoribus partim nimis muneribus] consolatus sum, praecepique eis ut nemini haec responsa dicerent.

Rursum lunae oracula auditurus, quae media nocte posse fieri sacerdos affirmabat, quoniam tunc luna erat oritura, assumpsi mecum tres fidelissimos amicos, Perdicam et Ditoricam et Philotam, [Solus itaque cum his tribus amicis meis ad oraculum pergebam] quia nullum metuebam in illo loco, nec a me quicquam erat metuendum, ubi neminem fas erat interfici. Iterumque lucum intrantes iuxta arbores sacras constitimus et mox solita consuetudine adoramus. Consulens igitur ubi moriturus essem, tum ad primum lunae ortum percusso cornu splendoreque accepto [lunae ortum splendore suo accepto clare splenderet] arbor Graece respondit: 'Alexander' inquit 'plenam iam aetatis finem habes. Sed sequente anno mense nono Babilonia morieris: a quo minime speras, decipieris.' Tum lacrimas effudi et amici mei circumstantes flebant. [In hoc uno me consolabar:] Nullumque ab his [quos mecum eo adduxeram] dolum aut scelus resurrecturum sperabam [sciebam] sed magis pro mea salute mori paratos, nec [nolebam] ego quicquam de fidelissimis mihi amicis consulerem, ut illos cavendos esse Alexandro praemoneret oraculum.

Discessu deinde facto, cum iam [Inde deinde discedentes] ad epulas revertemur, ego animo aeger ad requiem vado. Rogantibus amicis, ne me anxietate et ieiunio [et ieiunio *om.*] conficerem, paululum cibi contra animi voluntatem sumere coepi meque, ut praesto essem ad primum solis ortum, in sacrario collocavi. Postero die matutino expergefactus diluculo amicos etiam semisopore somno excito [diluculo surrexi amicosque somno iam excitatos inveni]. Sed adhuc ipse quoque sacerdos velatus pellibus ferinis quiescebat, positaque ante eum in tabula ingens cliba turis [tabella ebithina ingens libatura] erat, quae illi ex pridiana cena superfuerat et culter eburneus. Nam aere et ferro et plumbo et argento egent, auro [argento et auro] abundant. Opopalsamo et ture vescuntur cadenteque rivo puram [Loci illius incolae puram] ex vicino monte [cadentem] potant aquam homines, accubantes [lectis] et quiescentes sine ullis cervicalibus stratisque, tantum pellibus ferarum. His amictibus contexti [contenti] vivunt ibidem annis fere trecentis.

we occupied our praiers. Than I thought stilly in mysilf if with tryumphe and
 480 overcomyng of al the world to my dere moder Olimpiade and my susters myght
 ageyn Retorne. Than sodainly with weyke and soft word of ynde the tree aunswerd:
 'Of vnrightwis batailes, Alisaunder, as thow hast counsailed in thi lif, thow shalt be
 lord of al the world, but alive into thi cuntrey shaltow never more torne, forwhi thi
 faates or destynes bien so ordeyned over thyn hede.'

485 Than I heryng this, smyten in my mynde with displeasure for that I had brought
 with me so many to the holy trees. Vttirly, therfor, for sorow I wept, examyneng
 mysilf toguyder with my friendis and felawship, whiche with me wern, gretely and
 wonderly wepten and wern right sory. Whiche I, a part with honours and
 worshippes and a part with many and grete yiftes, I made hem myrry, comaundyng
 490 hem that they ne say ne tel these aunswers to no man.

Eftsones, forsoth, to the Oracle or praieng place of the Moone for to go, to
 whiche the priest affermed myght be don at mydnyght, fforwhi than the Moone was
 for to be praied vnto. I toke with me .iii. my triewest and most feithful friendis, that
 is to say, Perdicam, Diatanan, and Philotan. And so aloone with thiese .iii., my
 495 friendis, I went to the oracle, forwhi I drad non in that place, or me anythyng drad
 wher no man was lieful to be slayne. In the meanwhile, entryng the place next the
 holy trees we ordeigned, and after the maner wont and acustomed, we worshipped,
 and I counseilyng therfor where I was to die. And at the first spryng and shynnyng of
 the Moone shuld take her clier light, the tree aunswer in greeke tunge And saide:
 500 'Alisaunder, now thow hast the ful end of thyn age. But the next yeere folowyng in
 the .ix. moneth at Babilon thow shalt dey, and of whom thow weenest and trowest
 lest thow shalt (f. 145v) be disceived.' Than I shed out tearis, and my friendes
 standyng aboute me wepten. In this oo thyng I was myrry, forwhi noon of thiese
 whiche with me insomoche I lad I knewe neither guyle, frawde, ne synne, but more
 505 redy for myn helth and welfare to die. I wold nat any thyng of my feithful friendis to
 counsail, ne theym bifore warne to be ware of Alisaundre.

Therfor, from the oracle departyng, we turned to mete. And I sike in soule went
 me to Reste. Knowen to my friendis nat me made dull or enfected with any doubte
 or dreede, a litel agenst the wil of soule I bigan to take mete. And as I was redy at
 510 the first spryng of the Sonne, I gadred me in to the holi place. After that day in the
 morownyng I aros erly, and now fond my friendes awaked, but yit the priest was
 asleepe, wrapped in skynnes of wielde beestis so rested, set bifore hym in a table
 ebityne and grete libature, foode, or Relief, ther was of the souper the day bifore
 knyves of Ivory, bras, Irun, and leede, golde and silver in plente. The comelynges of
 515 that place drank the cleene and pure water fallyng from the next mountaynes and
 hilles, liggyng and Restyng vpon beddis without any pillewes, but only made with
 þe skynnes of wльд beestis. With thiese maner clothynges thei livenen ther content
 almost to thage of .CCC. yeere.

Excitato sacerdote lucum intravi tertio consulturus eandem sacratissimam solis arborem, cuius mortem [*om.*] percussoris manu [*manum*] cavendam habeam quemve exitum mater mea sororesque meae habiturae sint. Arbor Graece dixit: 'Si mortis [*matris*] tuae tibi insidiatorem prodidero, sublato eo facile instantia fata [*facta*] mutabis mihi que tres [*mutabis*. Hec vero tibi non dicam ne mihi tres] irascentur sorores, quod veridico oraculo earum pensa impedierim [*vera dico oracula earum, id est*], Clotho Lachesis Atropos. Igitur post annum et menses novem Babilonia morieris, non ferro, quod [*ut*] suspicaris, non auro neque argento neque ullo metallo, sed veneno. Mater tua miserando turpissimoque exitu sepultura carebit iacebitque in via, praeda avium ferarumque, sororesque tuae felices erunt fato [*om.*] diu. Tu autem, etsi breve superest tibi tempus, dominus tamen orbis terrarum eris. Nunc modo cave, ne nos ulterius scisciteris; inde excede [*exstant*] terminos luci nostri et ad Fasiacen Porumque [*regem*] revertere.'

Sed et monuit sacerdos, ut pergeremus, fletum [*ut exiremus pareremusque eius responsioni dicens quia fletum*] et ululatum nostrum sacras arbores dicens [*nostrum arbores*] offendisse. Tum ego contionatus apud [*continuo citos*] universos milites dixi [*om.*], ut Porum et Fasiacen ex responso peteremus [*admonui et*], quod nobis faustum felixque esset futurum; de tempore vitae meae reticui [*meae exercitum animavi*. Haec vero fingebam], ne a commilitonibus meis redditus desperationi in alienis dirumperer [*distrueremur*] locis. Eas vero voces, quas ex responsis [*praefati comites mei*] una mecum audierunt, qui his nominibus appellabantur: Sermition, Protesilaus et Mistomus et Timotheus et Lacon et Traseleon et Deditus et Macon et Erocles et Silbrus et Sunsiclus et Perdicas et Philotas et praefectus praetorii Coracdas [*qui ... Coracdas om.*], silentio [*obsecrabam ut silentio*] ex sua fide et meo tegebant consilio.

Iamque a sacris excesseramus arboribus, sed iam [*adhuc*] odore turis opo-balsamique nares nostrae verberabantur. Indi enim sacra deorum ad oceanum colentes dicebant me quoque esse immortalem, qui usque eo penetrare [*qui in tam parvo evo positus universa mundi compita penetrare*] potuissem. Quibus [*Quos*] ego, quod de nobis [*taliam*] opinarentur insinuans [*collaudans*], gratias agebam.

Pervenimus deinde in vallem Diardinis [*iordeam*], in qua serpentes habitabant, habentes in collo lapides qui smaragdi appellantur. Hi serpentes [*Vellemque nulli ad evadendum incolunt, hi serpentes*] lasere et albo pascuntur pipere; hi lumen in oculis profusum accipiunt [*hi ... accipiunt ante Vellemque pos.*]. Hi vallem nulli adeundam incolunt: nam super hanc vallem sunt pyramides institutae pedum tricenum quinum [*pedum vigenum in altum habentes*], ab antiquis Indorum ob hanc causam aedificatae. Sed hi serpentes, quos paulo ante descripsimus, inter se quotannis vere primo depugnant multique [*aliorum*] morsibus depereunt. Inde nos paucos extulimus ingentis formae smaragdos.

Per magna deinde pericula pervenimus, deinde ad Seres, quae gens iustissima omnium gentium esse perhibetur. Ubi nec homicidium nec adulterium neque

Therfor, the priest awaked, I entred into the thridde counsail with the holy tree of
 520 the sonne, of whos hande smyten to be ware that nat my Moders issue ne my susters
 bien to be hadde. The tree saide in greeke tunge: 'If thi Moder were thyn enemye I
 shuld shewe, and lightly at this instaunce made and in so moche away taken thou
 shalt be chaunged. fforsoth, to the I shal nat say ne telle, lest my .iii. susters bien
 wroth, that triewly I tel the oracle of theym, that is to say, Cloto, lachesis, and
 525 Atrophos. Therfor, the next yeere the .ix. moneth at Babilon thou shalt die, nat
 with Irn as thou weenest and trowest, nor with gold nor silver, nor with no maner of
 metal, but only with venym. fforsoth, thi Moder with fowle and wrecched deth shal
 die and lacke hir sepulture, and the wey lie a pray to briddis and to beestis. Thy
 susters shuln bien happy for a tyme. Thou, forsoth, as short as thy tyme is, thou
 530 shalt be lord of al the londis of þe world. Now, beware that thou ne enquire ne aske
 vs no more. .vii. termes of our light bien to turne to ffasiacen and Porrus the kyng.'

But and the priest hath monysshed and warned as we to brenne and to array, to
 aunswer of hym sayeng, forwhi the weepyng and the wailyng of our trees he
 offendith. Than I anon incontynent cited al my knyghtis as Porrus and ffasiacen of
 535 the aunswere we aske to have monisshed and warned, and that of vs ffaustum and
 ffelix bien to come in tyme of my lif and the host I have loved. Triewly this I feyned,
 lest myn (f. 146r) eveneknyghtis yielded to disperacioun, we to distroy in straunge
 placis. Tho voices, forsoth, whiche of the aunswers aforsaide my knyghtes only wip
 me herden, I besought hem as of their feith with silence my counsails thei huyden
 540 and coveren.

Now of the holy trees we cease, but yit to the odoure of encens and the sweete
 bawme we turned our nosis fforth. The priestis of ynde vnto the west ocean vtirly
 me worshippyng, said to be immortal or vndedly, whiche in so litel tyme an end set;
 that I myght perce al the accomptis of the world, that I that of vs suche thynges bien
 545 opyniond, I dide thankynges and praisynges.

ffrom thens we cam into þe vale of Iordan, in whiche serpentis enhabited, havyng
 aboute their nekkis stones whiche thei callen Smaragdis. Thiese taken the light shed
 out in eyen, and that non to escape thiese serpentes cheesen to make wery, and with
 white peper theym feeden. Vpon this valley bien piramudes ordeigned, that is to say,
 550 sepultures, of tymber made, havyng in height *** feete, of auncient yndes to that
 cause edified. But thiese serpentes, of whom a litel bifore we discribed, amonges
 theym how many yeeris triewly to the first thei fighten, and of many other maners
 thei perisshen. Therof we take but fewe smaragdes of grete forme or shap.

ffrom thens bi many perels we cam to Ceres, where most Rightwis folke of al
 555 maner of people is to be witnessed, wher nother manslaughter, nor advowtry, nor

periurium neque ebrietas committi dicitur. Pane tantum et oleribus et aqua vescuntur. Qui nos commeatibus optimis suscipiunt et itinere recto ducentes [*om.*] per Caspiae portas ad regem Porum in Fasiacem deducebant.

Inde profecti et flatum Euri venti secuti incidimus externas feras [in ferocissimas feras], de quarum capitibus [carnibus] velut gladii a vertice serrata [acuti] eminebant ossa, quae more taurorum [arietino] in adversos incurrunt homines; et invictae ferae [*om.*] plurimorum militum clipeos cornu suo transverberabant [transverberantes transfoderant]. Quibus ergo occisis admodum novem [Quibus ego admodum octo] milibus quadringentis quinquaginta [intereri et] sic inde ad Porum exercitus meus cum summo tandem [*om.*] labore ac periculo meo metuque militum pervenit. Ibi quoque legato meo praecepi, quem Persidi [presidem] praeposueram, nomine Alconi [alanen], ut poneret [praeciperet] in Persarum et Babiloniorum terris pilas solidas aureas duas pedum vicenum quinum [pedum quinum altitudine habentes fecissent preciperetque ut] et in his omnia facta mea scriberet [posuissentque eas]. Atque in ultima India ultra Liberi et Herculis trophea, quae [quorum] centum erant, ego quinque mea aurea altiora denis pedibus [quaedam in diversis regionibus. Ibi itaque meas aureas pilas posteriores quinis pedibus] statui imperavi, quae miraculo futura sunt, carissime praeceptor [Aristoteles], posteris saeculis non parvo [non enim parva admiratione admirandum]. Novum perpetuumque statuimus virtutibus monumentum invidendum, ut immortalitas esset perpetua et nobis opinio et animi industriae, optime Aristoteles, indicium [statuimus monumentum ut quam diu seculi volvitur orbita nominis mei fama habeatur in gloria].

periury, nor gloteny is commytted nor done, as it is saide with brede, water, and herbis only thei bien fed. Whiche vs token with the best felawshippes and with right Iorneyes bi the yaatis of Caspie vnto ffasiacen, to the kyng Porrus ledden.

ffrom thens gon, and with the blast of the Ewre wynde, wee fil into most wielde
 560 bestis, of whos flessch as of a sharp swerde from the top or the poynt folowed, whiche
 in manere of Rammes token their cours agenst men, and overcam many with their
 knyghtly helmes, betyng with their hornes overtrade and beete. Of the whiche I,
 while as to the maner and tyme, I slow .viii.M.CCCCL., and so from thens to kyng
 565 Porrus with myn host with high laboure and grete perel, with drede of knyghtes I
 cam. Ther to my legat I comaunded that, and whiche precident I proposed and
 bifore sette, in name Alanen, as that he comaunde and bidde pat the perses and the
 Babiloynes as .ii. holl ballis of gold to the height and gretnes havynge of .v. feete thei
 don to be made; and also he comaunded as of al thiese my deedis and doynge bien
 570 writen, and put and sette theym in the last and vttermest ynde biyonde the sones and
 chieldren of hercules victory, of the whiche .C. sum weren in divers Regioniuns. Ther
 also my golden ballis biyonde theym of .v. feete to be statute and ordeigned I have
 comaunded, to the whiche (f. 146v) myracles or mervailles in tymes to come wern
 nat a litel to be received of the same Alexander and of his felawshippes or hostis, my
 most dierce comaundour, Aristotil, into worldis hereafter. fforsoth, nat with a litel
 575 wondryng to be woundred, and perpetual we ordeigne and statue, that as long while
 as the world lastith, wrappith, or turnyth into worldis, the fame of my name be had
 in glorie.

COMMENTARY

The primary purpose of this Commentary is to offer a series of conjectured readings (each preceded by an asterisk). These attempt to indicate what the translator may have seen in his Latin text; in some cases the likelihood of the suggested reading (or misreading) is quite obvious, in others the reading is more speculative. In any event, these suggestions constitute a short-hand commentary, one that is somewhat unusual but which will, I hope, aid those who wish to reconstruct the translator's methods of understanding the Latin text. I have offered many citations from the early dictionaries, in the first place to show the translator's dependence upon these word-books, and secondarily, to reinforce the probability of a conjectured reading. I have called attention to *hapax legomena*, to first and early attestations, and special or unusual usages. Citations within each note from the text of the *Letter* (from this and other transcriptions), from the Latin text, and from dictionaries have been italicized. I have used the following abbreviations:

- CA *Catholicon anglicum* (n. 23)
 DP DiMarco and Perelman, 'Noteworthy Lexical Evidence' (n. 24)
 ED Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* (n. 23)
 K Terrence Keough's transcription of the *Letter* (n. 2)
 MED *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1954—)
 OED *Oxford English Dictionary, with Supplement* (Oxford, 1933)
 OV *Ortus vocabulorum* (n. 23)
 PP *Promptorium parvulorum* (n. 23).

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5 lierned: deditum *doctum. Cf. ED *Doctus*: lerned.

6-7 I have estemed: [estimavi]. According to MED, this is a fairly early usage. See also l. 409.

7 ingeny: ingenio. Apparently *ingeny* occurs in only one other ME text, the *Inventorye* of Guy of Chauliac, dating from after 1425 (designated *Chauliac* (1) by MED).

8 myght falle: [accidere] See l. 98 and n.

whiche the with: Quamquam in te *Quam cum in te *vel* cum te.

helpith: adiutorium. A strange form for what should be a substantive; see l. 16 n.

askith: expostulet. Cf. CA *to Aske*: postulare.

9 So as: tamen ut *tam ut.

10-11 doubttest or musest: inusitatum *mussitatis. Cf. OV *Musso*: dubitare cum silentio; CA *to Dowte*: ... mussare. *Muse* occurs fairly frequently as an intransitive verb in the sense of 'to ponder' or 'to wonder'; used transitively it is rare, and this is the only instance of its use as a synonym for doubt (see OED *Muse* v., 10 and 11).

11 I have bien hold: vidi [coacervata]. This seems at first to be some implausible past form of *behold*, translating *vidi*. But the translator does offer a proper form just below (ll. 13-14, *I have bihold: inspexi*). Instead, the translator may have read *coacervata* as a form of

coacta; cf. OV: constrnede. The latter explanation is made the more likely by the mistranslation of *coacervata* as *to be kept* (l. 13).

15 proved: ponderavissem *probavissem. Cf. ED *Probo*: to prove.
vnderdon: [subacta]. Cf. OV: to vnderdo.

16 thynges berith: rerum pariat [rerum parens]. It is difficult to reconstruct the translator's reading here. *moder* might indicate the presence of *parens*, but *berith* seems to require the finite verb. For the possibility of *-ith* as a substantive ending, see l. 8 n.

17 conceiveres: concepatrix. A *hapax legomenon*; see DP, p. 301.

openly: publica *publice.

furytes: fructuum. *furytes* is an eccentric spelling, not recorded by MED, but this, rather than K's more reasonable *fruytes*, seems the correct reading.

23 of custom: solere *solito. According to MED, our text provides only the second or third attestation of *ignoraunt*.

25 bost and veyne glorie: iactantemque *iactantiamque. *bost* and *veyne glorie* may have appeared together in the translator's glossary (cf. OV *Iactancia*: boste, vanyte, or pryde), and so he found a ready-made rendering of the next word in the Latin text.

wold god: utinam. Cf. OV: wold god; ED: wold to god. This is an instance of idiomatic translation directly from dictionary to parchment.

28 vnconvict: invicto. OED provides seventeenth-century instances of the cognates *unconvicted*, *unconvinced*, and one example of *unconvict* (1618); there are fifteenth- and sixteenth-century uses of *convict* meaning 'overcome' or 'subdued' (OED *Convict* ppl. a.5 and *Convicted* a.2), so that *unconvict* would be the earliest instance of an established usage. See DP, p. 298.

30 from error: aberro *ab errore!

32 comoditees: commodis *commoditatibus. This is a fairly early usage in the sense of 'revenue' or 'produce', especially in a text that is not a commercial or official record. The translator may, however, have intended the more usual meaning of 'benefit'. See also *incomodites*, l. 174 n.

arbitre: arbitrator. This seems to be the earliest attestation in the sense of 'to estimate or suppose' (see MED *arbitren* (b)).

35 skies: siderum. Cf. ED: a nombre of sterres gathered ... sometyme it is taken for one sterre; cf. CA *a Steron*. The readings here and in l. 100 are ambiguous; though *skie(s)* seems plausible, they might be argued to read initial *s*, *t* with *-er* abbreviation above, medial *r*, final *e(s)*.

Iugementis: iudiciis *iudiciis. This is a good instance of the translator's mechanical rendering of the Latin without regard to sense.

37 now inplied and folden: [nunc] implicaturus. Cf. OV *Implico*: to enply or folde in. This is a representative instance of the translator's habit of covering all bases by incorporating several definitions from his glossary into the English.

39 charged and decreed: decuerant [docuerunt] *decreverunt.

40 examyne: amnem *examen. *examyne* might be taken as a verb, with *do* as a causal auxiliary, but the Latin makes this unlikely. If it is a substantive, this is the first instance of a noun which becomes relatively common after the early seventeenth century. *amnis* continually plagues the translator; see ll. 142, 145, 153, and so on.

- 41 above: *superato* **super*.
indictionem: in *condicionem* **indictionem*.
ordynaries: *ordinarios*. See next note.
- 42 preparatories: *praeparatoresque*. *ordynaries* and *preparatories* are first usages in this sense; see DP, pp. 298-99.
toynes: *opibus* **oppidis*.
saide: *ditati* **dicti*.
- 43 *nat in*: *ne sim* **nec in*.
- 45 curteisly: *Fasiacen*. The translator has not understood *Fasiacen* as a proper noun, and he has forced some sense out of the passage by seizing upon what seemed the most likely word in his glossary, *facete* or some approximation of this (cf. OV *facetia*: *curtesye*).
- 46 *devict*: *devicto*. An early instance; see MED *devicten*, and l. 28 n.
- 49 memoratiefly: *memorabilia*. Though the adjective *memoratief* is fairly common (cf. l. 394), this is the only attested use of this word.
- 49-50 in my bosum: *visum* **in sinum*!
- 56 to the maner: *admodum* **ad modum*.
- 58 *soler*: *solidam*. The translator reads *solium* (OV: *regia sedes*) and renders it *soler*, a rare synonym for throne. OED (*Soler*, sb. 2) cites only one other instance.
- 59 *braunchis*: *racemique* **ramique*. A representative instance of reading a rather obscure word—probably not in the translator's glossary—as a more familiar word.
- 60 *byndynges*: [*lignitis*]. Perhaps the translator read *lignitis* as *ligaminibus* (OV: *a bonde*) or even *ligatura* (OV: *a byndynges*).
- 61 grapes: *unionibus* **uvis*? Cf. OV: *a grape*.
- 63 *lakis*: *lacunaria*. K (p. 45): 'The word "lakis" has a number of possible meanings here: "fine linen" ..., "a gift or offering" ..., or "a great number of coins".' All these seem quite unlikely; the translator has almost certainly misread his text as *lacunis* (OV: *que alio nomine dicitur lacus*; PP *a Lake*: *lacus*).
in *signe* and *token*: *insigni* **in signo*. Cf. p. 110 above, and n. 16.
- 64 *gridlrns*: *crateribus* **craticulis*. Cf. PP *a Grydyryn*: *Craticula*.
- 67 in *Idel* as for in *earns*: *inauratis cum* [pro] *inauribus*. K (p. 46): '*idel*, *idyll*; *earns*, *urns*.' This explanation leaves us with no fuller understanding of what happens in the passage. Instead, the confusion here arises from a combined literal and idiomatic translation. First, the translator has misread *inauratis* for some form of *inanitas*, *inanis*, or perhaps even *in vanum*; see MED *idel* n. (a), for such translations, and ED *inanis*: *ydel*. Next, he has translated *pro* as *as for*, and he has misread *inauribus* as *in arra*; see ED *Arrha*: *ernest money*, and MED, *ernes* n. 1, citing the unpublished *Medulla grammaticae* (a1425): '*Arra*: *ernest* or *a wede*.' The phrase is then a variation on the idiom common in Chaucer and many other writers—in *game* or in *earnest*; see MED *ernest* n. (b) and *idel* n. (c) for other examples, one of which uses the collocation, 'In *ernest* and ... In *ydel*.' All of this shows, I think, how the phrase came about, but it does not show that the translator knew what he was doing.
- 68 *bies*: *torquibusque*. Cf. ED: *a colar*, *chayne*, or *bye of gold*.... Whether *ouches* translates *uniones*, or occurred in the translator's glossary at *Torques*, is difficult to say (see CA *an Ovche* and PP *a Nowch*). The latter seems more likely, since *ooned* may translate *uniones*; but see ll. 61 and 436.

72 bi the lovyng and lusty host: perveneram exercitu *per venereum exercitum ?? See also l. 241 and n.

73-74 elate with suche a loie: gaudio [elatus]. First usage of *elate* in sense of 'inspired, exultant'; see DP, p. 299.

74 comelynges: incolae. This is the translator's usual rendering of *incolae*, and it is somewhat unusual (*comelyng* ordinarily translates *advena* or *adventicius*; see MED and PP). The Wyclifite Bible translates Wisdom 19:10 (*Quae in incolatu illorum*) 'The comeling wonyng of hem', and Ezekiel 20:38 (*de terra incolatus eorum*) 'fro the loond of her cumlyngnes' (both cited by MED); these seem to be parallel uses.

82 fervence: ferventes. This is an early usage in the sense of 'warmth, bodily heat'.

82-83 garnissched and arraied: pollicitus *politus. Cf. ED *Polio*: to polishe, to garnyshe or dekke.

84-85 shit and closed with myn holl host: cum incolumi exercitu. The translator seems to have looked up *incolumi* twice, first misreading it as *includo* (OV: to shytt in) and then as *incolumis* (OV: holle or sounde).

85 vtterly: penitusque. Cf. OV: vtterly.

86 gnewen and eten: decerpendo. How the translator came to this rendering is unclear, but he wrote two synonyms for consume (cf. K: *griewen*).

88 lenyng: accommodantes. Cf. OV: to lene or profete.

excessiblete: exitiabilia. A *hapax legomenon*; it seems a misreading of the Latin, but in the sense of 'superabundance, an overwhelming number', it fits the context.

97 holl knyghtis: sane miles *sani milites!

98 It fil: Accedebat *Accidebat. Cf. OV *Accidit* -bat ... *contigit*. to hape. impersonale. See l. 8 n. and l. 91, *to have falle, accidisse*.

99 wrapped: veluti *velati. Cf. OV *Velatus*: opertus [coueryde]. This mistake is repeated at ll. 162, 229, and so on; the translator correctly renders *velatus* as *wrapped* at l. 512.

100 skie: sidere. See l. 35 n.

in tokenes: insignibusque *in signis.

102 likly: pariter. This is an early usage in the sense of 'the same way, similarly'.

103 in signe: insigni *in signo.

105 more fully: plerumque *pleniusque. It is difficult to see what the translator's reading was. Cf. CA *to Caste owte*: eicere, eiactere, eliminare; OV *Eiecto*: to caste out; ED *Eiiceo* [*sic*]: to cast out, or put out.

108 knowyng: sitiens *sciens.

113 hithes: ripas. This is the translator's usual rendering of *ripa* (see ll. 144 and 248), though it appears in none of the published glossaries.

114 Abietes: abietumque. Our translator follows his Old English predecessor in taking the word over from Latin. There are later English formations as well; see DP, p. 301.

118 castels: castra. This equivalence, which the translator always employs, shows his entire dependence on a glossary, and his lack of familiarity with any other Latin texts. Cf. OV *Castrum*: castellum [a castel].

of þe weysetters: a metatoribus. K: *of þe wey settls*. Though the reading is not clear, it does not appear to be *settls*. *weysetters* might be a translation of *metatoribus* (or perhaps of a misreading like *methodis* or even *metodoribus*), parallel to ED *Finitor*: a setter of boundes.

Cf. OV *Methodus*: est via ..., and ED: a compendious or redy way. For another parallel, see Thomas Wright, 'A Latin and English Vocabulary of the Fifteenth Century' in *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. R. P. Wülcker, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Trübner, 1884; rpt. Darmstadt, 1968), I. 604: '*Prepositor*: a setter of mes [*i.e.*, Mass].'

121 eekid: Angebar. It is difficult to say what the translator read here; *eekid* might mean 'bothered' (a cognate of *ache*) or, if the translator understood the word as *augebat*, it might mean 'increased'. The latter seems more likely (cf. CA *to Eke*: ubi to hepe, and *to Hepe*: ... Augere). The translator might easily have overlooked the deponent form (as he does elsewhere), and the third-person construction supports the suspicion of a misreading. See also I. 363, where *ekyng* translates *aggrationem*, and I. 174 where *eeked* translates *adicere*.

125 gelded: castrensiū *castratorū !

129 cotidianly: cotidianae. Not recorded before 1438, and so a fairly early usage.

131 inspired: [insperata]. A single manuscript, outside the family that includes the variants characteristic of our text, records *inspirata*.

131-132 contene or endure: continere. An instance of translation without regard to context; when *continere* occurs again, it is translated by the same glossarial formula (see I. 189: *contene and endure*).

132 harneys: ferramenta. One manuscript records the variant *sarmamenta*. *ferramentum* usually refers in the glossaries to an instrument made of iron; at *Harneys*, or *rayment* PP gives paramentum. Cf. I. 173, where *armure and harneys* translates *arma*.

133 differre: differre. An early use in the sense of 'to put off' (cf. OV: to dyfferre).

134 so ful ... vexed: plerosque pudore amisso suam urinam vexatos *plenoque pudore immisso suam iniuriam vexatos !

137 Eftsones: tamen *tandem.

138 as my soule me aduertised: me in eum animadversurum *me cum anima advertit. This is a fairly early use of *advertised* in the sense of 'to instruct or advise'.

host: hostis. The translator merely transfers the Latin word, which he elsewhere translates correctly, to his own text.

141 beestious: bestiosa. This form, which occurs also at I. 399, is not attested elsewhere: see DP, p. 301.

serpentyne: serpentiosaque. OED cites only one earlier instance of this adjective.

145 compassed aboute: amne. The translator here may have been influenced by *compassed aboute* in I. 142 (*circumveniremur*), but hereafter he repeatedly translates *amnis* as *compassed about* (see, e.g., ll. 153, 167, etc.). Cf. OV *Ambitus*: a goynge aboute; ED *Ambio*: to compasse.

147 anon incontynent: continuo. See I. 374, and I. 534 and n.

151 coarted: [coacti]. One might expect *coacted* here, but the reading is clear; cf. OV *Coarto*: to drawe or stryve togyder.

157 ductors: ducibus. This is only the second attestation of an uncommon word; it may here carry the secondary meaning of 'an army scout' (see MED).

159 hunshid: propulsis. DP (p. 299) cite this as the first instance of *hunchen* (see MED), a word recorded only once elsewhere, and in a remarkably similar collocation ('[he] hunched her & punched her'). MED suggests that *hunchen* is an imitative formation, and perhaps the translator has, here as elsewhere (see ll. 67 and 322-323), inserted an idiomatic phrase into his text.

vnware: invicti. Cf. ED *Inuisus* [second entry]: neuer sene....

160 Rede: rursum *russus.

to bere: affecere *afferre.

162 to be shed out: efferbuere *effundere. Cf. OV: to shede out.

167 bi l'ugement of charite: usque ad undecimam. *l'ugement* probably appears as a misreading of *undecimam* as *iudicium*; but how the translator managed *charite* from *usque ad* (or from other elements in the Latin) is unclear.

173 evynmade: confecti. MED does not list this compound, meaning 'fully made'. Cf. OV: to make togyder, and parallel compounds (also omitted from MED) *evenestooden*, l. 454, and *evenmoeved*, l. 461.

174 incomodites: incommoda. MED records the first attestation from 1475, so that this use is one of the earliest, and perhaps the first.

182 .iiii. footed: quadrupedia. MED cites only two other instances. The glossaries do not give this adjectival form (cf. OV: of four feet). See further ll. 243 and 354, and cf. the parallel forms, *.ii. and .iii.heded*, l. 209, which are also unusual.

184 stadies: stadia. This is the first instance of the plural *stadies* in English, though the word enjoys a lengthy subsequent history. See OED *Stade*¹, *Stadia*, *Stadie*, and *Stadium*.

185 waterberers: aquatoribus. OED records two earlier instances. Cf. OV *Aquaria*: a water berer.

195 spryng or risyng: ortus. Our text is the first to use *spryng* to mean the rising of the moon (OED, *Spryng* sb.¹, 5c). See also ll. 498-499, and l. 510, *the first spryng of the Sonne*, which is an early usage.

Arrectis: [arrectis]. The translator has himself inserted the gloss *so named*, indicating his understanding of the word as a proper noun. In l. 85 he uses the phrase in precisely the same context: *Bactaricen, a place so named*; in l. 426 he uses *arretted* to translate *putare* (see MED *aretten*). Not surprisingly, this is a *hapax*; see DP, p. 300.

196 to shepherdis l'ugement: a pascualibus {indiciis} *a pastoribus iudiciis.

197 to noisaume: ad nocendum. K: *to noisaunce*. The translator has misconstrued the grammar, and the line is a bit blurred, but *noisaume* seems the correct reading. Cf. OV *Nocibilis*: noysome. If we take *noisaume* to mean 'annoying', which seems most likely, it is the first attestation; if we take it as either 'harmful' or 'disagreeable', it would be only the second attestation (and OV, not recorded by OED, would be third). Cf. l. 248, *noysaunce*.

198 vnder hem, holl is the felawship: subsecutum est agmen *sub se, cunctum est agmen!

200 nailes: nigri et *ungues.

203 insette. There seems no ready explanation of *insette* in the Latin, yet this is the earliest use of this word meaning 'in-built, equipped'.

205 pestelent: pestes. OED lists only one earlier instance in the sense of 'harmful'.

207 with inly grete loie: maiores ... gaudio. K: *with only grete joie*. *inly* is a common adjective and adverb meaning 'intense(ly), great(ly)'; MED (adj. (a)) quotes Lydgate: 'inly gret desire'.

209 craasted to l'ugement: cristati serpentes [indicio] *iudicio. The phrase is made more unusual by *craasted*, which is unattested in this spelling elsewhere.

211-212 drawyng the moisture: humum atterentes *humorem attrahentes.

212-213 exerciseden and wipyng: [exercebant]. Cf. ED *Exercito*: to exercise. The trans-

lator must have felt uncertain of this reading, for he apparently looked up *Extergo* after recording *exerciseden* (OV: to wipe away). K: 'The translator may have read Lat. "faces" as Eng. "faces" and "translated" it as "chekis", though this would explain only part of the confusion.' But cf. OV *Fauces*: checbons [*i.e.*, bones], and ED *Faux*: a cheke.

215-216 cause or diuersite: [causis]. *diuersite* is an unusual usage; a glossary may have defined *causa* in terms of litigation (cf. ED: a cause or matter in suite), or it may owe its appearance to *adversis*, in this case meaning 'an adverse circumstance' (see MED *diversite* 4 (a)).

218 in the litelnes: immodicae *in modicitate *vel* in modico.

219 turned: venerunt *verterunt.

222 in the wacchis and vnrest: [invigiliis] *in vigiliis.

223 a noice: tumultus. K: *a voice*. Cf. OV: noyse or dynne. The translator changes the order of the next sentences from the Latin. None of the mss. I have examined, nor any cited by Boer, support this change.

226 standersabout: stantibus. First usage; the earliest citation in OED is 1582 (*standerby* occurs in 1545).

227 outake: exceptique. K: *ontake*. This is clearly a past participle used prepositionally; OED cites John of Trevisa's translation of Higden (1387): 'outake men [exceptis hominibus]'. Cf. the parallel construction, *away taken* (*sublato*), l. 522 [K: *a wey taken*].

229 wrapped: veluti *velati.

232 in tymes: in ora *in hora!

236 .iii. colors: atri coloris *tricolores.

237-238 brennyng flockes hangyng: [floccipendens ardores]. This is a particularly garbled passage, in which the translator tries to compensate for his confusion by literal rendering. He translates *ignium* as an adverbial form of fire, *compositis* as *of made*, *ardores* as a participle, and—most literal and most astonishing—*floccipendens* as *flockes hangyng*, demonstrating his tendency to break words into their smallest components. *Floccipendere* is not uncommon in medieval Latin, and is included in OV (*Floccipando*: idem est quam vilipendere [to sette at nought]).

239 whiter and wevers: calcatos. How the translator came to this phrase is difficult to say. He may have read *calcatos* as *calcator*, a caulker (and therefore a *whiter*) (cf. R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* [London, 1965], which lists this as a fifteenth-century definition). OED has no entry for *whiter*, and the earliest citation of *whitener* is 1611. The translator, or his glossary, may have defined *calcator* as *whiter* because of the common equation of chalk and white (see MED *chalk*, 2. *chalk-whit*, which cites many examples). In any case, this seems the earliest and only attested occurrence of *whiters*. How the translator managed *wevers* into the bargain remains a puzzle.

shynyng clothis: inutiles *rutilles.

240 with hunters: venabulis *venatoribus.

241 lucan: lucanum. A *hapax legomenon*; see DP, p. 301.

lecherous: venere *Venere! See also l. 72 and n.

beestis: pestes *bestiae.

246 nyght crows: nocticoraces *noctis cornices.

247 white of color: colore fulvo *colore albo.

248 *eveneful*: *complevere*. K: *evene ful*. MED records a series of similar compounds formed to translate Latin words having the prefix *co-*; the translator uses *even-* adverbially as an intensive in order to form a new word. MED records no additional instances of *eveneful* (see *even* adj. 16; *even* adv. 17; *ful* adj. 1 (a); *-ful* (2)). Cf. *evenflowed*, l. 197.

252 *doying*: *impendens* **implens*. Cf. CA *to Doo*: *implere*.

254 *strength*: *vivi* **viribus*.

255-256 *to fastene*: *confringi* **configi*.

258 *hovses*: *casibus* **casis*.

infallen: [*cederent*] **inciderent*. Cf. CA *to Falle in*: *incidere*, and l. 559. OED records *Infall sb.* and *Infallen ppl.*, but not the verb.

content: *concentu*. Two manuscripts, usually differing from the family of texts on which the translation is based, read *contentu*. The translator seems to have rendered the same Latin word twice, as *content* and as *blowyng*. *blastis* may have come about because the translator understood *ad Noti* as *afflatu* (cf. CA *a Blast of wynd*: *flatus*, and l. 559).

266 *adiacent*: *adiacerent*. The adjective is uncommon in the fifteenth century, outside Lydgate's works, and unattested earlier.

268 *chosen*: *collecto* **selectus*. Cf. OV: *chosyne*.

269 *to lierne*: *deditioni* **didiscere vel discere*. Cf. OV *Disco*: *to lerne*, and l. 5, where *deditum* comes over to the English as *lierned*.

to fight: *proelio* **proeliare*. Perhaps the translator meant this as a dative, though in such cases he ordinarily uses the article.

274 *oon*: [*vinum*] **unum*.

276 *elderman*: *homo senior*. This is an unusual usage, for *elderman* is confined almost entirely to Biblical translations of *senior* (MED *eldre-man*). MED cites only two other instances from a secular context. See also l. 422.

277 *in þe whiche*: *inquam* **in quem*!

278 *decrepite*: *decrepito*. According to MED, this is the second attested instance. See also l. 414.

279 *drad*: two mss. that do not usually agree with variants in the *Letter* read *timore* for *tumore*, and a separate unrelated ms. omits *elatus*.

280 *now*: *non* **nunc*.

285 *Eftsones*: [*rursusque*]. Cf. ED: *eftsones*. *eftsones* in l. 286 must be a misreading of *risu* as *rursus*, and *eftsones*, l. 297, indicates that the translator's text contained the variant *rursum* for *ipsum*.

286 *dissolute*: *dissolutus*. This is a rather uncommon word outside Biblical translations, but it seems to have formed part of a special idiom describing laughter; see MED, which cites two parallel examples.

288 *I have transmytted*: [*transmisi*]. OED cites only one earlier instance of *transmit*. The *Epistola Pori ad Alexandrum*, containing almost 100 words, follows here in certain mss.

290 *I wil nat*: *volebam* **nolebam*. The translator renders as if this were present indicative or a subjunctive; cf. ED *Nolo*: *I will not*.

292 *manifestly shewed*: *manifestavit*. MED lists no earlier use of this adverb.

me and: *me ad* **me ac*.

294 hercules my sone: Herculis Liberique. The translator has lost control of both grammatical and mythological sense, making Hercules Alexander's son at the expense of Pater Liber. See also ll. 298, 373 and 569-570.

298 freely hercule: Liberumque et Herculem. Here Pater Liber changes from Alexander's son to an adverb.

299 anywhat: [aliquid]. MED offers only two other attestations, both earlier than the *Letter*.

301 west: how the translator arrived here is unclear.

303 to wade in: vadosumque *vadare.

hercules and free sones: Herculis et Liberi. The translator this time takes no chances, and misrenders *Liberi* twice.

hardy: ausus. Cf. OV: hardy.

303-304 redy to tempt þe goddis of their maners and paces or goynges: [temptandum praestantissimorum deorum digressus sum]. The translator takes *praestantissimi-* as an adjectival form of *praesto*; cf. ED: redy. He then takes the second part of the word—*morum*—as the genitive plural of *mos*, rendering it as usual of *their maners*. This is a further instance of the division of the Latin into the shortest intelligible units. The translator then understood *digressus* as a noun (cf. OV *Digradior*: to go a passe), and he characteristically offers a double equivalent as a hedge against error. It is just possible that he took *sum* as a reflexive possessive pronoun or adjective and so translated it *their*.

306 To whos merite: Quibus [merito]. The adverb here is taken as dative.

312 to the moone: leaenae *lunae.

322 woodehewers: lignatoresque. Cf. CA *a Woode hewer*: lignarius; OV *idem*: a wood hewer. MED lists several attestations of *heuer*, but OED records only one proper name and CA as attestations earlier than our text.

for dreede: [prae timore exanimati]. The translator seems to have rendered *exanimati* as *dreede* and *abasshement* (cf. OV: hertles), and then *prae timore* as *for dreede* (OV: drede). *abasshement* is uncommon in the fifteenth century.

322-323 in al the haste: celerius. An early instance of this idiom, which MED first records in the late fourteenth century.

324 empugne: expugnanda. One of the earliest occurrences in a secular context (MED *impugnen*).

324-325 to Ride and light on hors: equitibus ut ascenderent. This would be an early instance of *light (on)* meaning 'to mount'; *light* is much more common from the twelfth century in the sense of 'alight, descend'. On the other hand, it is possible that the translator has read *accenderent* for *ascenderent* (OV: to lighte), and has taken *equitibus* as a verbal form (see MED *lighten* v. 2, 7 (b), and 3 (a) and (b)).

325 custom: sues *suetio!

a grete taile: grunnitus timere. *taile* seems to mean 'band'; it is attested as 'band of men, followers' from the thirteenth century, but the application to animals is unique to our text (OED *Tail* sb.¹, 6). We may speculate that the translator read *grandis* for *grunnitus* (OV: grete) and *turba* for *timere* (OV: collectio hominum).

327 tubicynes: tubicines. A *hapax*; see DP, p. 301.

334 trippyng: trepidantes. With this astonishing mistranslation (cf. PP *Tryppyn*: Cespito)

trippyng apparently makes its first appearance in English (OED cites *treipand* from Henryson, c. 1470; see *Trip* v.3, and *Tripping* ppl.).

taken: coepere *capi.

336 in maner: admodum *ad modum.

on knees: nongentos *in genua. The translator confuses the number by having the horsemen on their knees, but no variant yields 469.

342 newe: novenos *novum.

343 *drowen* may be a misreading of *terris* as *tracti* (OV: to drawe); it cannot easily be explained in any other way, and there is no other indication that *terris* is translated.

346 folke: ingentibus *gentibus.

Cenophals—half hors, half man: Cynocephalis. These are the renowned dog-headed men of India. Our translator's glossary was apparently not complete enough to include them (cf. OV *Cinocephalus*). The translator's gloss, however, indicates that he found something to fit his need; cf. ED *Centauri*: a people in the cuntry of Thessaly, whom the poetes dyd fayne to be the one half lyke a man, the other halfe lyke a hors.

346-347 to be wery to fight: [ad pugnam lacesere]. The translator must have read *lassescere*; cf. ED *Laseo* & *lassesco*: to be wery, and l. 548, *to make wery* (*lasere* **lassare*).

353 tabernacles: tabernacula. Unusual in a secular, non-Biblical context, especially with the meaning of 'building' and not 'tomb'. Cf. also l. 277.

357 *gruiche*: urget. K: *ginithe*. The ms. reading seems clear, though it makes little sense. *gruiche* might be taken as a substantive or a present tense from *grucchen*, 'to resent', though it does not fit the context or any likely misreading. *grinche*, a rare word meaning 'to grind the teeth', is possible but seems even more unlikely.

362 nyght: mox *nox.

wulflockis: vellerum. First instance; see DP, p. 300, where another instance from 1555 is cited.

363 I saw: iubeo [videbam]. DP, p. 300, comment: 'The translator's rendering *I saw* for the familiar verb form *jubeo* is difficult to explain'; but *videbam* is from a manuscript that contains characteristic variants.

365 in the saide: indictum *in dictum.

366 vtirly: pene. The translator consistently translates *pene* as *penitus*; see, e.g., l. 367, and for correct rendering of *penitus*, l. 85.

370 drie: atra *arida.

373 hercules: Hercules Liberique. Somehow the translator avoids the troublesome Liber altogether this time.

wer knownen: conatus essem *cognitus essem.

374 anon contynuauly: continuo. See l. 147, and l. 534 and nn.

376 epistels: epulae *epistolae!

380 for the chaunges: promunctoria *pro mutatoria. OV: chaungeynge.

the saide hevene: edita caelo *edicto caelo.

382 herd: inaudita *audita.

presumen: praesumerent. OED cites only two earlier instances of *presume* (cf. l. 384).

385 names: numina *nomina.

386-387 the thyng shyne or be shewed: remitterent *re niterent!

387 But alas for sorowe: [Sed pro dolor]; cf. OV *Prodolor*: alas for sorowe.

388 be what wey: quid etiam *quid a viam!

389 doutis: [adstipulantibus] *scrupulis *vel* scripularibus. Cf. ED *Scrupulum eximere*: to put away doubt.

390-391 the lord ... yeer: iussi ... venti. A particularly difficult passage. *lord* and *curteisly* seem to arise from a misreading of *Fasiacen*, *antea* as *facece cenatorem* (see l. 45 n., and OV *Cenatus*: lordschyppe). The variant, *tunc*, after *diverti* explains *than*. However, the reading *a moiste yeer* makes little sense, and is not completely clear (K: *amaistu yeer*). Unfortunately, the Latin offers little help in sorting out the confusion.

394 memoratief: [memoria]. See also l. 49 n.

396 I wold: [valuisssem] *voluisssem?

thider: [tunc] *illuc.

penurite and scarste: penuriam. This seems to be the first instance of *penurite*; OED cites Henryson (c. 1480) and a group of sixteenth-century examples.

400 sumwhat and ever: inquam *umquam!

401 mylkyng: mulcens *mulgens!

402 ye shewen: pollicemini *publicamini. Cf. CA *to Schewe*: publicare.

403 trusted: [affatus] *affisus.

405 masculyne: virile. According to MED, this is the second use of *masculyne* in a non-human context.

406 whethir thei bien: instant *an sunt.

408 illude: illudi. An early instance in the sense of 'scorned, set at nought' (MED *Illuden* (b)).

409 contumelies: contumelia. This is the first instance of *contumelie* in the sense of 'humiliation'.

411 anceps: [anceps]. The translator took this directly from the Latin, like *illude* (l. 408) and *contumelies* (l. 409), though *anceps* found no other uses in English. The translator's glossary must have left him puzzled about the meaning of *anceps* in this context; cf. OV: cuttyng on bothe sydes, and the more revealing definition in ED: doubtful. DP, pp. 301-302, comment on this *hapax*.

flotered: fluctuabam. MED cites only three instances of this verb, two of which are earlier than our text.

412 dreede: [mecum] *metum.

al: caeteris *cunctis.

413 to derisioun come, and scorn so don: [derisio quedam] *derisioque tam. This is a rather early use of *derisioun*.

414 coked: senibus *sinuis. Cf. CA *Cruked*: ... sinuus.

decrepite: decrepitis. See l. 278 n.

415 commysed: commiscere. This is an early usage (MED, *commixt*).

417 array: appariturum. Cf. CA *an Aray*: apparatus.

418 frauded: fraudaremur. MED records only two other instances of *frauden*.

419 copiously: copiiis. MED cites only four other attestations of this adverb, all from the mid-fifteenth century. Cf. PP *Copowse* or *plentevows*: Copiosus.

420 maner: Mox *Mos. Grammatical inappropriateness does not prevent the translator's looking up *mos* here and elsewhere (see ll. 182 and 289); cf. ED: a maner.

421-422 old lore and techynges: ducentibus senibus *docentibus *vel* doctrinis senibus / Cf. OV *Doctrina*: techynge or lere. *Senibus* is obviously taken as an adjective; cf. OV *Senex*: olde.

423 straitnes and nedynes: egentia. OED cites only two earlier attestations of *straitnes* in the sense of privation, one from the mid-fourteenth century and one from the mid-fifteenth. Likewise, OED lists two earlier instances of *nedynes*.

433 to clothen: [vescique] *vestire.

435-436 Oracle or praing place: oraculi. According to OED, this is only the second or third use of *oracle*. The translator offered an equivalent, perhaps from a glossary, in ll. 424-425; *oracle* is used again in l. 524.

438 me with: metum *me cum. See l. 412 and n. for a misreading exactly opposite to this one.

441 felawship: [coitu]. It seems likely that the translator has read *comitatu*, his usual equivalent for *felawship*, for *coitu*; but there are earlier examples of this euphemism for intercourse (MED *felauship* 2 (b) and (c)).

444-445 as we felt vs Risen, arraied, and adorted: [ut paperemus adhortatus est]. How the translator produced *felt* is unclear; *arraied* seems a misreading for *paperemus* (a puzzling form, apparently a mistake for *pareremus*, occurring in four mss. closely related to the translator's original) as a form of *apparare* (cf. l. 417 n.); *Risen* very likely represents an initial understanding of *adhortatus* as a form of *oriri*; and *adorted*, in the sense of 'urge', is a first usage. On *adorted* see DP, p. 300.

447 biddynge: iubaris *iussus. Cf. l. 470 n.

453 barks and Ryndes: corticibus. Cf. OV *Cortex*: the rynde of [? or] the barke.

454 evenestooden: consistebant [stabant] *constabant.

456 Imbriouns: [hibrionas]. *Imbriouns* is a *hapax legomenon*; it appears in no glossary, and none of the Latin variants, including *brebionas* and *hibrionas*, appear either. The original reading—perhaps referring to the banyan, a tree that makes its way into many ancient and medieval accounts of India—has been hopelessly lost. The gloss, *sodayne Raynes*, while not an apt name for a tree, makes sense as a rationalized reading of *Imbriouns*, from *imber* (cf. *imbribus* in the next sentence). Almost certainly this gloss appeared in the translator's original, and this unique feature would provide a means of identifying this copy of the *Epistola*. A careful check of the two dozen or so *Epistola* manuscripts that survive in England revealed that none contain a gloss on this particular word, though many exhibit interpolated explanations and marginal notations.

460 halued: consecratos. Cf. OV *Consecro*: to halowe.

461 litilnes: numinum *minimum. Cf. CA *Litille*: minime, minimum.

461-462 I straw and lay: sacrificare instituerem et victimas immolare. The translator seems to have read *victimās* as a form of *nitor*; cf. ED: to be stryff. OED, *Strive*, lists *straw* as a strong preterite form. (K's explanation, 'strew', makes little sense in the text or in terms of the translator's habits.) *lay* appears to be a translation of *instituerem* as 'ordain' (so in both OV and ED), but in present, not past, tense; see MED *leien* 8 (a).

464 to smel to: [adoleri]. Cf. K, p. 74: '[This] must be derived from "ullum" having become some form of "olere".'

470 Iubar: [iubar]. A *hapax*; see l. 447 n. and DP, p. 302. K, p. 75, suggests that *Iubar* is actually a personification, not a hapless Latinism; in support of this cf. ED: a sterre ... Lucyfer and Hesperus.

472 *whatsumever*: quibus quisque. *whatsumever* is an uncommon usage in the fifteenth century, though it becomes more frequent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

477 scorned: eluderet. K: *stoined*, 'stunned'. Though the scribe's medial *r* and *i* are similar, this is clearly *scorned*; cf. OV: to laugh, to scorne.

maner: Mox *Mos.

479 stilly: tacitus. Though forms of *stilly* are attested from the eleventh century, the word is fairly uncommon in later ME, especially in this spelling, which duplicates the modern—though usually archaic—adverb and adjective.

479-480 with tryumphe and overcomyng: devicto *de victoria. See l. 46 n.

482 Of vnrightwis batailes: Invicte bellis *In vicio bellis?!

in thi lif: unus *vivus *vel* in vita.

485 smyten: [percussus]. Cf. OV: smyten.

displeasure: [dispicentia]. MED *displesir* lists a half dozen other instances from the mid-fifteenth century, but our text is not only early, it is the first to duplicate the modern spelling.

486 Vttirly: [pene] *penitus.

examyneng: exanimatus *examinatus.

491 for to go: auditorus *aditurus. The nature of this misreading is clear from other renderings of the future participle, e.g., l. 493.

493 for to be praied vnto: oritura *oratura.

496 In the meanwhile: Iterumque *Interimque.

the place: lucum *locum.

497 the maner: mox *mos.

499 clier light: [clare splendor] *splendore. The translator seems to have rendered the first *splendor* as *shynyng* (cf. OV; idem fulgor [*Fulgens*: shynyng]) and the second as *light* (cf. ED: lyght). On *spryng*, see l. 195 n.

504 insomoche I lad: [adduxeram] *adeo duxeram. Cf. OV *Adeo*: in so mykyll.

507 Therfor: [Inde] *Ideo.

508 Knownen: Rogantibus *gnoscentibus?

510 After that day: Postero die *Post eam diem. From about this point to the end the translator seems to relax in his attempt to introduce an English equivalent for every Latin word.

512-513 table ebityne and grete libature: [tabella ebithina ingens libatura]. This is the earliest attestation of *libature*; here it seems to mean offerings, and is used as a synonym of *foode* and *relief* (see CA *Relefe*); see DP, p. 302. The adjective *ebityne*, an odd spelling based on the variant of *ebenina*, apparently occurs only once elsewhere in ME (MED *ebenif*).

520 that nat: quemve *quod ne.

522 away taken: sublato. K: *a wey taken*, but the Latin demonstrates that the meaning is 'taken away', not 'a path chosen'; cf. l. 227 n.

524 triewly: [vera] *vere.

528 the wey lie: iacebitque in via. It hardly seems that this is an idiomatic phrase like 'find

the way' or 'there lies the way'; rather the translator has by an oversight left out the preposition *in*.

531 .vii.: inde *vii de.

532 we to brenne: exiremus *exuremus.

534 anon incontynent: [continuo citos]. In one way or another, our author seems to have misunderstood and translated twice here. If his ms. read *continuo*, *anon* is easily understandable; cf. OV: *anone*. But in view of the ME text, his reading (or misreading) may have been *incontinens*, *incontinenter*, or some similar form (cf. PP *A-none*: *incontinenti*, apparently giving the ablative of the adjective as the adverb). It is even possible that he produced *anon* by misreading *citos* as *cito* (OV: *soone*). However, after he had written *anon*, he returned to his Latin text and retranslated *continuo* or some variant thereof as *incontynent*. The translator shows some consistency in rendering *continuo* as *anon incontynent* at l. 147; but at l. 374 he switches his formula, giving *anon contynuauly* for *continuo*. These last two instances give no hint of an equivalent for *citos*. Each time the translator deliberately offers a double translation. In the first two instances his equivalents are quite separate in meaning; his purpose here seems to have been to account for all possible versions.

535-536 ffaustum and ffelix: faustum felixque. Apparently misled by alliteration and the proper nouns in the previous lines, the translator takes these as names.

536 I have loved: [animavi] *amavi.

537 disperacioun: desperationi. An early use, since this word first appears in English in the fifteenth century.

541 cease: excesseramus *cessamus.

542 we turned: verberabantur *vertebamus.

priestis: sacra deorum *sacerdotes.

544 accomptis: [compita] *compotos. Cf. OV: a counte or a rekenynge.

544-545 bien opyniond: opinarentur. OED does not record the use of past participle/adjective *opinioned* before the late sixteenth century, and it does not record *opinion* as a transitive verb before 1555 (though both words are used fairly frequently in the seventeenth century).

548 to make wery: [lasere] *lassare. Cf. OV: id est fatigare [to make wery], and see ll. 346-347 n.

549 piramudes: piramides. According to attestations in OED, this is the earliest appearance of *piramudes* in English. The translator's gloss again demonstrates his dependence on a dictionary; cf. OV *Pyrama -tis et hic pyramis -idis*: quedam alta structura que fiebat antiquitus supra sepulcra mortuorum.

550 of tymber made: [vigenum] *meremii. Cf. OV *Meremium*: tymber. The scribe leaves a space between *height* and *feete*.

552 maners: morsibus *moribus.

553 smaragdes of grete forme or shap: ingentis formae smaragdus. Here follows in Boer's text a passage of about 350 words (forty-three lines) omitted by the family of manuscripts that included the translator's original.

555 is to be witnessed: perhibetur. Cf. OV: ... to bere wytnes.

560 folowed: eminebant *emulabantur. Cf. OV: ... sequi pro invidia vel amore.

561 overcam: invictae. See l. 28 n.

565 *president*: [*presidem*]. This is an early use in the sense of governor (see OED *President* sb., 2.a).

569-570 the *sones* ... *hercules*: see ll. 294, 298, 373 nn.

573-574 *nat a litel* ... *nat with a litel*: this entire passage is corrupt, for none of the variants explain l. 573, and Boer has inserted the conjectural reading *parvo* in order to make sense of the Latin. The repetition of *nat with a litel* perhaps implies extensive dittography.

574 *most dierce comaundour*, *Aristotil*: *carissime praeceptor* [*Aristoteles*]. The spelling of *dierce* is quite unusual for this repeated epithet (e.g., l. 4); one might have expected a double superlative, *most dierest* perhaps, but this is not the case (cf. ll. 170, 179, etc.).

576 *lastith*, *wrappith*, or *turnyth*: *volvitur*. Cf. ED: *to wrappe*, *to tourne*. This is the final instance of the translator's habit of forming doublets and triplets by repeating all definitions from his glossary; almost certainly his dictionary had 'to last' as well. One suspects that his habit of repeating all equivalents is an attempt to cover his uncertainty about context or specific meaning, and not a display of aureate diction.

into *worldis*: [*orbita*] **orbibus*.

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PLATO APVD BOHEMOS

Edouard Jeuneau

Du 19 novembre au 22 décembre 1973, j'ai eu l'avantage de travailler dans les riches bibliothèques de Prague.¹ Parmi les recherches que j'ai effectuées à cette occasion, celles qui ont porté sur la fortune médiévale de Platon (*Plato latinus*) me semblent avoir abouti à quelques résultats: je voudrais consigner ici ceux qui peuvent présenter un certain intérêt, soit en eux-mêmes, soit parce qu'ils sont susceptibles d'être prolongés, complétés et corrigés par de nouvelles recherches. Je prie le lecteur de ne pas s'irriter s'il trouve ici, non la synthèse définitive qu'il serait en droit d'attendre, mais un ensemble de matériaux dont pourraient tirer parti, moyennant d'éventuelles retouches, ceux qui, lorsque le progrès des connaissances le permettra, seront appelés à construire cette synthèse.²

Les recherches ont porté sur les manuscrits — accessoirement sur quelques incunables — que j'ai pu observer dans les bibliothèques de Prague (Université, Chapitre cathédral, Musée national, Couvent de Strahov) et d'Olomouc (Université, Chapitre). Les matériaux recueillis ont tous un rapport avec la fortune de Platon en pays tchèque: *Plato apud Bohemos*. Ils se répartissent en trois catégories:

¹ Pour effectuer ces recherches, j'ai bénéficié d'une mission accordée au titre des conventions d'échanges entre l'Académie tchécoslovaque des sciences et le Centre national de la recherche scientifique. Exception faite de deux jours passés dans la charmante ville d'Olomouc, j'ai séjourné à Prague. Qu'il me soit permis de remercier particulièrement M. le professeur Václav Vaněček, directeur des Archives centrales de l'Académie tchécoslovaque des sciences, ainsi que M. Zdeněk Vypel pour la cordialité de leur accueil et l'efficacité de leur concours. Ma reconnaissance va également aux directeurs de bibliothèques, aux professeurs et aux chercheurs tchèques qui m'ont généreusement aidé, notamment M^{mes} Růžena Dostálová, Marie Kostílková, Emma Urbánková et Anežka Vidmanová, MM. J. Bistrický, M. Boháček, F. Čáda, K. Chyba, J. Eršil, V. Herold, F. Hoffmann, J. Kadlec, J. Kejř, P. Kneidl, M. Kouřil, J. Pražák, F. Šmahel, P. Spunar, J. Trojan et L. Vidman. J'ai contracté une importante dette de gratitude envers le P. Paul De Vooght, le professeur Hugues Shooner et le Dr. František Šmahel qui, ayant examiné la dactylographie de cet article, m'ont aidé à en amender le texte.

² On trouvera une bonne documentation et un exposé d'ensemble sur la fortune de Platon en pays tchèque dans F. Novotný, *O Platónovi* (sur Platon), vol. 4: *Druhý život* (la fortune de Platon) (Prague, 1970). Pour la période humaniste on consultera F. Šmahel, 'Počátky humanismu na pražské universitě v době poděbradské' dans *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 1 (1960) 55-90.

- I. les œuvres de Platon
- II. les œuvres de Guillaume de Conches
- III. le recueil anonyme intitulé *Parui flores* et le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley.

Tels seront aussi les titres des chapitres de la présente étude.

I

LES ŒUVRES DE PLATON

Les manuscrits des œuvres de Platon que l'on rencontre dans les bibliothèques tchèques peuvent être rangés dans l'un des trois groupes suivants:

- (a) la traduction latine du *Timée* (17A-53C) due à Calcidius
- (b) les traductions latines de Leonardo Bruni et de Marsile Ficin
- (c) le texte grec des œuvres de Platon.

Nous examinerons successivement chacun de ces groupes.

(a) *Traduction latine du Timée par Calcidius*

Comme partout en Occident, la fortune de Platon en Bohême est d'abord celle du *Timée*, dans la traduction partielle (17A-53C) due à Calcidius.³ Or, autant que j'ai pu m'en rendre compte au cours de mon bref séjour, quatre manuscrits illustrent cette fortune: pour des raisons de commodité, je les désignerai par les sigles ABCD. Ce sont les manuscrits suivants:

- A: Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398)⁴
- B: Praha, SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626)
- C: Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 565
- D: Praha, SK ČSR IX.A.4 (1669).

Les manuscrits ABC contiennent effectivement le *Timée* latin. Le manuscrit D, qui le contenait au début du xv^e siècle, s'en trouve maintenant amputé. Si la

³ *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, in societatem operis coniuncto P. J. Jensen edidit J. H. Waszink [*Plato Latinus* 4] (Londinii-Leidae, 1962); editio altera 1975 (à moins d'indication contraire, c'est à la deuxième édition que je me réfère dans cette étude). Sur la fortune du *Timée* au Moyen Age, cf. E. Mensching, 'Zur Calcidius Überlieferung', *Vigiliae christianae* 19 (1965) 42-56.

⁴ L'ancienne bibliothèque de l'Université de Prague s'appelle désormais Státní knihovna ČSR, en abrégé: SK ČSR. Pour tous les manuscrits de cette bibliothèque, on se reportera à J. Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque Vniuersitatis Pragensis asservantur* 1 (Pragae, 1905), 2 (Pragae, 1906). Le chiffre mis entre parenthèses à la suite de la cote d'un manuscrit correspond au numéro sous lequel ledit manuscrit est recensé dans le catalogue.

présence du *Timée* dans le manuscrit A était connue et signalée, on ne peut en dire autant des manuscrits B, C et D.⁵ Voici quelques notes succinctes concernant ces manuscrits.

A: Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398)⁶

On ne peut décider de façon certaine de l'origine de ce manuscrit: la thèse d'une origine tchèque n'est pas indéfendable, mais celle d'une origine germanique ne peut être exclue. Si l'origine tchèque était démontrée, on pourrait avec grande probabilité dater le manuscrit de la deuxième décennie du xv^e siècle. Dans l'état actuel de la question, il est prudent de s'en tenir à une datation plus vague: entre 1400 et 1420.⁷ Il s'agit d'un manuscrit sur papier, avec une couverture faite d'ais de bois (305 sur 215 mm.), habillés de parchemin et présentant des traces de clous. Au dos de la reliure, se trouve une cote ancienne, celle de la bibliothèque du Clementinum (université des jésuites de Prague): Y.I.4 / 13. A l'avvers du premier plat, on lit les titres suivants: *Timei Pla(tonis)*, *Macrobius de somnio Scipionis*. Ces mots sont suivis du sigle de Procope de Pilsen (Prokop z Plzně, *Procopius Pilsenensis*).⁸ Au revers du premier plat, on remarque deux tables, l'une du xv^e, l'autre du xix^e siècle, recensant les œuvres contenues dans le recueil. Au recto et dans la marge supérieure de la première feuille de garde (parchemin), se trouve une cote ancienne (ff. II 2^m) suivie du sigle de Procope de Pilsen. Un peu plus bas, dans la même page, on peut encore noter un nom, celui d'un ancien possesseur probablement: LELIVS P.

Le volume a été doté d'une double foliotation, l'une ancienne, l'autre moderne. Ces deux foliotations coïncident jusqu'au folio 53; elles diffèrent ensuite. La numérotation ancienne dénombrait 136 folios; la numérotation moderne en compte 140. C'est à cette dernière que je me référerai par la suite. Le recueil contient les œuvres suivantes:

1^o. ff. 1ra-10va: 'Liber Allexandri de intelligenciis qui alio modo dicitur Memoriale rerum dificiilium', édité par Cl. Baeumker, *Handschriftliches zu den Werken des Alanus* dans *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 6-7 (Fulda, 1894).

⁵ Dans la deuxième édition de son *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, pp. cxciii-cxciv, M. J. H. Waszink a eu l'obligeance de mentionner cette petite découverte, publiée par ailleurs dans *La cultura antica nell'Occidente Latino dal VII all'XI secolo*. Spoleto, 18-24 aprile 1974 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 22.1; Spoleto, 1975), p. 39 n. 65.

⁶ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* I.155.

⁷ Je dois ces précisions au Dr. Jiří Pražák qui, le 26 novembre 1973, a bien voulu examiner avec moi le manuscrit et me communiquer ses conclusions: le Dr. Pražák m'a affirmé ne pas trouver dans ce manuscrit des indices suffisants pour conclure avec certitude à une origine tchèque.

⁸ Plusieurs fois recteur de l'Université de Prague (1420-21, 1425-26, 1443-44), Procope de Pilsen fut d'abord un partisan des idées hussites: J. Loserth, *Huss und Wiclif. Zur Genesis der hussitischen Lehre*, 2^e édition (Munich-Berlin, 1925), pp. 76, 92, 95, 200. Sur la fin de sa vie, il se détacha du mouvement hussite, il mourut prévôt de l'église de Tous-les-Saints au Château de Prague: J. Prokeš, 'M. Prokop z Plzně' dans *Husitský Archiv* SV. III (Prague, 1927); J. Kadlec, 'Collectura M. Prokopa z Plzně', *Listy filologické* 80 (1957) 237-45.

2°. ff. 10vb-20ra: Ibn Gabirol, *Fons vitae* (Résumé), édité par Cl. Baeumker sous le nom d'«Abrégé de Lilienfeld» dans *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen* 1.2-4 (Münster, 1895), pp. 341-87.

3°. ff. 20va-34ra: Albert le Grand, *Liber de natura et origine animae*, édité par B. Geyer dans *Alberti Magni Opera omnia* 12 (Münster, 1955), pp. 3-46.

4°. ff. 34rb-34va: Gilles de Rome, *Theoremata de esse et essentia*, édité par E. Hocedez, *Aegidii Romani Theoremata de esse et essentia* ('Museum Lessianum. Section philosophique' n° 12; Louvain, 1930).

5°. ff. 34va-35rb: Boèce, *De hebdomadibus* (PL 64.1311-14), édité par E. K. Rand (Londres-New York, 1918, 1926, 1936, 1946), pp. 38-50; édité par N. M. Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers* (Toronto, 1966), pp. 380-84.

6°. ff. 35va-36vb: Gundisalvi (Dominicus Gundissalinus), *De unitate liber* (faussement attribué à Boèce: PL 63.1075-78), édité par P. Correns, *Die dem Boethius fälschlich zugeschriebene Abhandlung des Dominicus Gundisalvi de Vnitute* dans *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen* 1.1 (Münster, 1891).

7°. ff. 37ra-39rb: Cicéron, *Somnium Scipionis*, édité par J. Willis en appendice à *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (Lipsiae, 1963), pp. 155-63.

8°. ff. 39va-73ra: Macrobe, *In Somnium Scipionis*, édité par J. Willis, *ibid.*, pp. 1-154.

9°. ff. 74ra-78vb: Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem* (extraits remaniés).

10°. ff. 79ra-128ra: Calcidius, *In Platonis Timaeum commentarius*, édité par J. H. Waszink, pp. 53-346.

11°. ff. 128va-140v: Platon, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, édité par J. H. Waszink, pp. 1-52.

Il s'agit, on le voit, d'un recueil fort riche et qui, à plus d'un titre, intéresse l'histoire de la philosophie médiévale. Les œuvres recensées sous les numéros 9, 10 et 11 concernent directement la fortune de Platon en pays tchèque. Les extraits du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée* de Platon (n° 9) seront examinés un peu plus loin, au chapitre II. Quant au *Timée* lui-même (n° 11) et au commentaire de Calcidius (n° 10), ils ont été étudiés par M. J. H. Waszink dans la préface de son édition de Calcidius. Selon ce savant philologue, le texte du manuscrit de Prague dérive d'un manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek Gud. lat. 2° 116 (4420), du XI^e siècle.⁹ Contentons-nous d'indiquer, pour les folios 128va-140v, quelques points de repère permettant de retrouver les articulations essentielles du *Timée*:

— Calcidius, *Prooemium in translationem Timaei*

ff. 128va-129ra (lin. 24): Isocrates in exortacionibus uirtutem ... audiendi (*sic*) maiorem fiduciam (éd. Waszink, pp. 5-6).

— Plato, *Timaeus, interprete Calcidio*

f. 129rb: Vnus duo tres quartum e numero uestro requiro Thimee qui estis... (éd. cit., p. 7).

⁹ *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, ed. Waszink, p. cxxiii.

f. 137rb: Et iam fere cuncta prouenerant... (éd. cit., p. 32).

f. 140vb: inuocabimus ante auspicium dictionis liberatorem (éd. cit., p. 46, ligne 8).

Le texte du *Timée* est donc incomplet: il lui manque environ six pages de l'édition J. H. Waszink. Une telle lacune s'explique probablement par la perte d'un cahier.

B: Praha, SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626)

Comme le précédent, ce manuscrit est en papier (300 × 210 mm.). Mais, ici, l'écriture, ainsi que les initiales ornées invitent à situer son lieu d'origine en Europe centrale et, selon toute vraisemblance, en Bohême. Il a dû voir le jour entre 1440 et 1480, sans doute plus près de 1480 que de 1440.¹⁰ Il a appartenu à Mathias de Pelhřimov, ainsi qu'en témoigne cette marque de possession sur le revers du premier plat: *E sexto magistri mathie Pelzi(moviens)is. E.35*.¹¹ La cote *E.35* se retrouve au folio 1r, suivie d'un *K* qui indique peut-être que le livre a appartenu au Collegium Karoli ou Karolinum.¹² Aux environs de 1662, le manuscrit passa au Clementinum, où il reçut la cote suivante: *Y. III. 2. n. 48*.¹³

Le volume comprend 98 folios, répartis en 8 cahiers: le premier cahier compte 14 folios, les sept autres en ont 12 chacun. Le texte s'arrête à la cinquième ligne du folio 96r; le reste du folio 96r, ainsi que les folios 96v-98v, sont restés en blanc.

Le catalogue de J. Truhlář décrit comme suit le contenu du manuscrit: 'Platonis Opera: Timaeus, Phaedrus, Apologia Socratis, Crito, Gorgias, Epistolae, latinitate donata et praefationibus instructa a Leonardo Bruno Aretino'.¹⁴ Une telle description laisse croire que B contient uniquement des œuvres de Platon et que toutes ces œuvres sont données dans la traduction latine de Leonardo Bruni. En fait, il faut distinguer, dans ce manuscrit, trois catégories de textes:

- (1) un fragment du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée* de Platon, ou *Glosae super Platonem*, cap. I-VI (f. 1r-v);
- (2) le *Timée* de Platon dans la traduction de Calcidius (ff. 1v-18v);
- (3) plusieurs œuvres de Platon (*Phèdre, Apologie de Socrate, Criton, Gorgias, Lettres*) dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni (ff. 18v-96r).

¹⁰ Je dois ces renseignements au Dr. Jiří Pražák qui, le 26 novembre 1973, examina pour moi le manuscrit B. Au folio 99, on remarque, en filigrane, une tête de bœuf surmontée d'une croix, elle-même sommée d'une étoile. Bien que la ressemblance ne soit pas absolue, on pourra se référer à L. Briquet, *Les filigranes* 4 (Leipzig, 1923), n° 14547 (Innsbruck 1454).

¹¹ Bachelier ès arts en 1476, maître ès arts en 1485, Mathias de Pelhřimov fut quatre fois doyen de la faculté de philosophie de l'Université de Prague: en 1491, 1499, 1504 et 1510. Cf. *Liber decanorum Facultatis philosophicae Vniuersitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*..., pars I (Pragae, 1830), pars II (Pragae, 1832), pp. 392, 407, 438 sqq.

¹² Telle est, du moins, l'opinion de J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* I.252.

¹³ Cette ancienne cote est donnée par J. Truhlář, *ibid.* Au folio 1r, autre cote ancienne, rayée: VIII B° 7.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

Le n° 3 de cette liste sera examiné un peu plus loin, quand il sera question des traductions de Leonardo Bruni; le n° 1 relève du chapitre II, qui sera consacré aux œuvres de Guillaume de Conches; seul le n° 2 nous intéresse présentement. Contentons-nous d'indiquer l'incipit et l'explicit des textes contenus dans les folios 1v-18v:

— Calcidius, *Prooemium in translationem Timaei*

ff. 1v, lin. 22 - 2r, lin. 8: Isocrates in exhortacionibus suis ... audendi fiduciam (éd. J. H. Waszink, pp. 5-6).

— Plato, *Timaeus, interprete Calcidio*

f. 2r, lin. 9: Vnus duo tres Quartum e numero, Thimee, uestro requiro... (éd. cit., p. 7).

f. 10v, lin. 30: Et iam cuncta fere prouenerant... (éd. cit., p. 32).

f. 18v, lin. 6: ... et ex leui admonitione perspicuo (éd. cit., p. 52).

C: Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 565

A la différence des deux précédents, ce manuscrit est en parchemin; seules les feuilles de garde sont en papier. Il mesure 330 × 250 mm. et comprend 67 folios. La reliure est moderne: plats de toile lie de vin, dos et coins de basane fauve. Au dos, une étiquette indique la cote (565) et l'appartenance à la bibliothèque capitulaire d'Olomouc: CO (*Capitulum Olomucense*). Les marques de possession du Chapitre d'Olomouc se retrouvent au folio 1r: *Ex Bibli(otheca) Cath(edralis) Ecclesiae Olom(ucensis)*; au folio 67r: *Liber Ecc(lesi)e maioris sancti Wencezlay in Olom.*; au folio 67v: *Liber Ecc(lesi)e maioris Beati Wencezlay in Olomuzch*.

Avant d'entrer à la bibliothèque du Chapitre d'Olomouc, ce livre avait appartenu à Augustin Käsenbrot (Kasenbrod ou Kazenprot), chanoine de la même ville, connu sous le nom d'Augustin d'Olomouc (*Augustinus Olomucensis*).¹⁵ Né à Olomouc en 1467, cet érudit tchèque qui, de même que son presque-contemporain Copernic, étudia à Cracovie, à Bologne et à Padoue, devait mourir dans sa ville natale, le 3 novembre 1513, trente ans avant Copernic. C'est lui qui fit don du manuscrit C au Chapitre d'Olomouc, ainsi qu'en témoigne cette note autographe: 'Ad Musaeum Olom(ucensis) Ecclesie nunc deuolutus hic liber' (f. 1r).¹⁶

¹⁵ A. Truhlář - K. Hrdina (continué par J. Hejnic et J. Martinek), *Enchiridion renatae poesis latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae...* 1 (Pragae, 1966), pp. 111-16. Je remercie vivement le Dr. Jan Bistrický et le Dr. Milos Kouřil qui m'ont aidé à décrire le manuscrit C.

¹⁶ Le Dr. Milos Kouřil a aimablement attiré mon attention sur deux autres manuscrits et sur un incunable donnés par Augustin Kasenbrod au Chapitre d'Olomouc et actuellement conservés aux Archives d'Etat de cette ville. Les deux manuscrits sont les suivants: CO 330 (Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, magnifique volume exécuté à Florence dans la deuxième moitié du xv^e siècle) et CO 360 (Stace, *Thébaïde*, xiii^e siècle). L'incunable était recensé sous le n° 110 dans la bibliothèque du Chapitre d'Olomouc. Le manuscrit CO 360 ainsi que l'incunable n° 110 avaient été offerts à Augustin d'Olomouc par le poète Conrad Celtes (†1508) qui, de même qu'Augustin, avait étudié à Cracovie: L. Prowe, *Nicolaus Copernicus* 1.1 (Berlin, 1883), pp. 126 sqq.

Dans l'inventaire des manuscrits du Chapitre d'Olomouc, notre manuscrit est daté du xiv^e siècle.¹⁷ Le même inventaire distingue justement les deux œuvres contenues dans le manuscrit:

- (1) Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, lib. I-II (ff. 1r-3r).¹⁸
- (2) Plato, *Timaeus*, interprete Calcidio (ff. 32r-66v).

Les deux parties présentent, dans leur fabrication, des différences mineures. Les quatre cahiers qui composent la première partie (ff. 1-31) sont tous des quaternions (bien que le dernier ait été amputé d'un folio): ils ont pour signatures les lettres a, b, c, d. Les cinq cahiers (deux quaternions, un ternion, un quaternion, un ternion) de la deuxième partie (ff. 32-67) sont signés I, II, III, IIII, V. Par ailleurs, la première partie possède des titres et des initiales rubriqués; on ne trouve rien de tel, sauf pour le mot *Et* (f. 51r), dans la deuxième partie. Malgré ces différences de détail, les ressemblances, dans la mise en page et dans l'écriture, sont assez frappantes pour que l'on puisse, sans trop de présomption, attribuer la composition des deux parties à des ateliers voisins, voire au même atelier. Dans l'une comme dans l'autre, le texte est écrit à longues lignes, à raison de vingt-cinq lignes par page, avec de confortables marges, à droite et à gauche, destinées à recevoir des gloses. Dans la première partie, ces marges ont été fort peu utilisées: les gloses y sont rares. Il en va autrement dans la deuxième partie, où les marges sont remplies par des gloses abondantes.

Voici comment se présente cette deuxième partie:

— Calcidius, *Prooemium in translationem Timaei*

f. 32r-v: <I> socrates in exhortacionibus suis ... audendi maiorem fiduciam (éd. J. H. Waszink, pp. 5-6).

— Plato, *Timaeus*, interprete Calcidio

f. 32v: <V> nus, duo tres. Quartum e numero Thimee uestro requiro... (éd. cit., p. 7).

f. 51r: Secundus liber Platonis (*rubr.*) Et iam cuncta prouenerant... (éd. cit., p. 32).

f. 66v: ... sed ex leui ammonicione perspicuo (éd. cit., p. 52). Explicit Platonis Thymeus.

Ainsi qu'on l'a dit, le texte du *Timée* est accompagné de nombreuses gloses marginales qui, comme la plupart des gloses du même genre, et malgré leur

¹⁷ Voici la description du ms. CO 565 dans l'inventaire en question: 'XIV. Zač. perg. 67 ff. 34: 26. Martianus Capella: De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii - Plato: Timaios (latine)' (J. Bistřícký - M. Boháček - F. Cádá, *Seznam rukopisů Metropolitní Kapituly v Olomouci*, p. 150 [Průvodce po státních archivech 14. Státní archiv v Opavě. Průvodce po archivních fondech, svazek 3. Pobočka v Olomouci, Prague, 1961, pp. 101-88]). Je serais tenté de placer à une date plus ancienne (fin du xiii^e siècle) le ms. CO 565. Toutefois, le Dr. Milos Kouřil, que j'ai consulté à ce sujet, pense que la date proposée par l'inventaire (xiv^e siècle) doit être maintenue.

¹⁸ La présence du *De nuptiis* (1-2) dans ce manuscrit et dans le ms. Praha, SK ČSR R.VI.Fc.30, pp. 1-38 (xv^e siècle) a été signalée dans *La cultura antica nell'Occidente Latino*, p. 36 n. 53.

caractère parfois décevant, sont des documents que l'historien du platonisme médiéval ne saurait négliger. Dans le cas présent, les gloses du manuscrit C ont pu influencer un lecteur comme Augustin d'Olomouc dans son interprétation du *Timée*. Cela n'est sans doute pas dépourvu d'intérêt, surtout si l'on tient compte du fait que le chanoine d'Olomouc et Copernic, qui était de six ans son cadet, ont fréquenté les mêmes grands centres universitaires.

D: Praha, SK ČSR IX.A.4 (1669)

Ce manuscrit sur papier (290 × 208 mm.) a appartenu autrefois à Simon de Rokyczany;¹⁹ il est probablement d'origine tchèque. Il renferme, aux folios 279v-296r, un texte sur lequel nous aurons à revenir bientôt: la *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches. Dans l'immédiat, ce qui doit retenir notre attention, c'est une table des matières qui se trouve sur un feuillet de garde en parchemin, au début du volume. L'écriture de cette table semble pouvoir être datée d'avant 1420.²⁰ Par ailleurs, au folio 196r, un repère chronologique précis nous est donné: 'Explicit magisterium X in septem artibus liberalibus collectum per henricum magistrum study pragensis theu(tonici?) Anno 1403°. Stanislaus de Wartha alla anna'. On peut donc situer la composition du manuscrit entre 1403 et 1420. Or, la table des matières déjà mentionnée nous permet de constater que, depuis lors, le manuscrit a été amputé d'un certain nombre de textes. Il lui manque, en particulier, tous ceux qui étaient contenus dans les folios suivants: 108-145, 170-195, 217-266.²¹ De plus, après le folio 303 (actuellement le dernier), se trouvaient cinq œuvres: la dernière commençait au folio 340; la première, qui s'étendait du folio 304 au folio 315, n'était autre que le *Timée* de Platon. Le dialogue platonicien est en effet recensé dans la table des matières de la façon suivante: 'Item liber pulcher qui dicitur Platho in Thimeum, fo(lio) 304°'. Au folio 316, commençait une autre œuvre: 'Item compendium de oculis nature, etc., folio 316°'. Le manuscrit D, malgré ses mutilations, témoigne de la fortune du *Timée* latin en pays tchèque au début du xv^e siècle.

(b) *Le 'Platon' de Leonardo Bruni et de Marsile Ficin*

A partir du xv^e siècle—faut-il souligner qu'aucun des manuscrits que nous avons

¹⁹ Simon de Rokyczany (Šimon z Rokycan, Simon de Rokyczano), bachelier ès arts en 1406, maître ès arts en 1410, chanoine de l'église de Tous-les-Saints au Château de Prague et doyen de la faculté de philosophie en 1416, fut brûlé vif par les Taborites à Beroun en 1421. Je dois ces renseignements à l'obligeance de M. Pavel Špunar qui prépare le *Répertoire des sources littéraires de Bohême au xv^e siècle*. On consultera surtout: *Magistri Iohannis Hus Quodlibet...*, éd. B. Ryba (Prague, 1948), p. 180 n. 4.

²⁰ Cette date est celle que propose le Dr. Jiří Pražák. Toujours selon le même érudit, l'origine tchèque est seulement probable.

²¹ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* 2.2.

examinés jusqu'ici n'est antérieur à cette date?—l'influence de Platon en Occident ne peut plus s'expliquer par la seule diffusion du *Timée* latin de Calcidius.²² De nouvelles traductions surgissent, celles de Leonardo Bruni (†1444) d'abord, bientôt suivies et supplantées par celles de Marsile Ficin (1433-99). Ces traductions ont pénétré rapidement en Bohême: nous en avons la preuve dans les manuscrits et les incunables qui sont encore conservés dans les bibliothèques tchèques.

1°. Les traductions de Leonardo Bruni²³

Au cours de mon séjour à Prague, j'ai pu prendre connaissance de deux manuscrits contenant plusieurs œuvres de Platon traduites par Leonardo Bruni.²⁴ Ce sont:

B: Praha, SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626)

E: Praha, Kapitula L.64 (1309).

Le premier de ces manuscrits (B) nous est déjà connu: nous savons qu'il est vraisemblablement d'origine tchèque, qu'on peut le dater de la deuxième moitié du xv^e siècle, et qu'il a appartenu à Mathias de Pelhřimov. On a décrit ci-dessus le contenu des folios 1v-18v; le moment est venu d'analyser les folios 18v-96r qui contiennent quelques œuvres de Platon (*Phèdre*, *Apologie de Socrate*, *Criton*, *Gorgias*, *Lettres* 1-12) dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni. Ces traductions sont accompagnées d'"arguments" dans lesquels Bruni résume les dialogues platoniciens.

²² On sait que le *Phédon* et le *Ménon* avaient été traduits, au xii^e siècle, par Henri Aristippe: *Meno interprete Henrico Aristippo*, edidit Victor Kordeuter, recognovit et praefatione instruxit Carlotta Labowsky [*Plato Latinus* 1] (Londinii, 1940); *Phaedo interprete Henrico Aristippo*, edidit et praefatione instruxit Laurentius Minio-Paluello ... adiuuante H. J. Drossaart Lulofs [*Plato Latinus* 2] (Londinii, 1950). Je n'ai trouvé aucun témoin de l'influence des traductions d'Henri Aristippe en pays tchèque. Mais des recherches plus attentives resteraient à faire avant de conclure qu'il n'en existe pas.

²³ Sur Leonardo Bruni et son œuvre, cf. H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1928; Wiesbaden, 1970 [nouvelle édition]); C. Vasoli, 'Bruni (Brunus, Bruno) Leonardo', article du *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 14 (Rome, 1972), pp. 618-33. Sur ses traductions en général, cf. L. Bertalot, 'Zur Bibliographie der Übersetzungen des Leonardus Brunus Aretino', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 27 (1936-37) 178-95, réimprimé dans L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, 2 vols., herausgegeben von P. O. Kristeller (Storia e letteratura 129-30; Rome, 1975), 2.265-83; H. Harth, 'Leonardo Brunis Selbstverständnis als Übersetzer', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 50 (1968) 41-63. Sur ses traductions de Platon en particulier, cf. E. Garin, 'Ricerche sulle traduzioni di Platone nella prima metà del secolo xv' dans *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence, 1955), pp. 341-74. M. Charles B. Schmitt m'a aidé à rédiger cette note: je l'en remercie vivement.

²⁴ Ces deux manuscrits ont été dûment signalés par L. Bertalot, *Studien* 2.268, 270, 271. Sur la fortune d'une autre traduction de Bruni, celle des *Economiques*, en pays tchèque, cf. J. Soudek, 'Leonardo Bruni and His Public: A Statistical and Interpretative Study of His Annotated Latin Version of the (Pseudo-) Aristotelian *Economics*', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968) 49-136 (en particulier 105 et 133).

Le *Phèdre* est précédé d'une préface dédiée à Antonio Loschi; les *Lettres* sont introduites par un prologue adressé à Côme de Médicis. Voici comment se présente cet ensemble de textes:

- ff. 18v-19r: *Leonardi Arretini prefatio ad Anthonium Luschem super Phedro Plathonis* (rubr.)
Subgloriari licet uidentissime Lusche ... tam luculentum aspitias. Vale.²⁵
- f. 19r-v: *Argumentum* (rubr.)
Lisias fuit orator antiqua, ut quidam tradunt, origine ... o amice Phedre, quonam et unde.
- ff. 19v-26v: *Platonis philosophi liber incipit qui dicitur Phedrus. Leonardus Arretinus traduxit e Greco* (rubr.)
Socrates: O amice Phedre, quonam et unde? ... ad hunc tuum alium suum conferre.²⁶
- f. 27r: *Leonardi Arretini argumentum in Apologiam Socratis* (rubr.)
Socrates philosophus uir omn(ium) innocentissimus ... uictorie tamen inimica fuere.
Exemplar *IHU XPI* (souligné d'un trait rouge).
- ff. 27r-37r: *Apologia Socratis* (rubr.)
Quid uobis acciderit iudices ... incertum est omnibus preterquam deo.²⁷
- f. 37r-v: *Leonardi Arretini argumentum in librum Platonis Crito* (rubr.)
Damnato Socrato (*sic*) et in carcerem truso ... ad cognitionem disciplinamque nostram.
- ff. 37v-42v: *Platonis Crito uel de eo quod agendum* (rubr.)
Quid tu hoc *Socrates* (rubr.) temporis uenisti o Crito ... deus agendum monstrat.²⁸
- ff. 42v-73v: *Incipit liber Platonis qui dicitur Gorgias. Leonardus Arretinus traduxit e Greco. 46 carte.* (rubr.)
Belli et pugne oportere aiunt o Socrates ... nam est nullius digna o Callicles.²⁹
- ff. 73v-74v: *Leonardi Arretini ad Cosmam Medicem prohemium in Epistolas Platonis* (rubr.)
Inter clamoros strepitus negotiorumque procellas ... non frustra collatum ostendas.³⁰
- ff. 74v-75r: *Argumentum super epistolas Platonis Leonardus Arretinus composuit* (rubr.)

²⁵ Le texte est publié dans H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, pp. 125-28.

²⁶ La traduction du *Phèdre* est incomplète. Elle s'arrête à la page 257 C 4 de l'édition Estienne: H. Baron, *ibid.*, p. 172; E. Garin, 'Ricerche', 365 n. 32.

²⁷ Il s'agit, semble-t-il, de la seconde traduction de l'*Apologie de Socrate*: L. Bertalot, *Studien* 2.271.

²⁸ Il s'agit de la seconde traduction du *Criton*: L. Bertalot, *ibid.*, 270; E. Garin, 'Ricerche', 363-64.

²⁹ L. Bertalot, *ibid.*, 267-70.

³⁰ Le texte est publié dans H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, pp. 135-36, et dans E. Garin, 'Ricerche', 365-66.

Ter Syracusas profectus est Plato ... maiestate Platonis commiscendam censui.³¹

- f. 75r-v: *Dion Syracusanus Dionisio et fratribus* (rubr.)
Ego tam longa uobis opera ... probabilius te geras.
- ff. 75v-77v: *Platonis Epistola ad Dyonisium* (rubr.)
Audiui ex Archidamo te censere ... cum eam legeris combure.
- ff. 77v-79v: *Platonis ad Dionisium secunda* (rubr.)
<P>etis an rectius ponatur in salutationibus gaudere ... mendaci sermone in uerum traducas.
- ff. 79v-80r: *Plato Atheniensis Dioni Syracusano iam mortuo Dionisio* (rubr.)
Puto manifestum per omne tempus ... Superbia uero solitudinem amicorum parit.
- f. 80r-v: *Plato Atheniensis Perdicce* (rubr.)
Eufreo suasi quemadmodum ad me scripsisti ... se onerandum putaret.
- ff. 80v-81r: *Plato Atheniensis Hermie, Erasto et Corisco* (rubr.)
Michi quidem uidetur deorum aliquis ... hominibus felicitatem nanciscimur.
- ff. 81r-92v: *Plato Atheniensis Hipparino ceterisque principibus Siracusas tenentibus* (rubr.)
Scripsistis michi censere uos ... satis quidem nobis dictum esset.
- ff. 92v-95r: *Qua [Eva Cod.] maxime sententia prospere succedant res ... opere felicitateque adimpleatis.*
- f. 95r: *Plato Atheniensis Archite Tarentino* (rubr.)
Venerunt ad nos Archippus et Philonides epistolam ferentes ... propter ipsum adolescentem. Vale.
- f. 95r-v: *Plato Atheniensis Aristodoro* (rubr.)
Audio te inprimis familiarem ... perseuera moribus.
- f. 95v: *Plato Atheniensis Amynte* (rubr.)
Scripsimus tibi eciam prius ... neque ea negligere. Vale.
- ff. 95v-96r: *Plato Athenien.* (rubr.)
Que uenerunt commentaria mirabile quam libenter ... nichil est opus cohortatione. Vale.

Par ces mots, qui sont les derniers de la *Lettre* 12 de Platon, se termine le recueil; le reste du folio 96r ainsi que les folios 96v-98v, tous réglés, sont demeurés en blanc.³² Il faut signaler, en marge de la traduction de Leonardo Bruni, notamment

³¹ H. Baron, *ibid.*, p. 174.

³² La collection des *Lettres* de Platon ne va pas au-delà de la douzième dans la traduction de Bruni, telle qu'on la trouve dans l'incunable imprimé à Paris en 1472 (H 13066). Elle est suivie, dans ledit incunable, de deux autres textes également empruntés aux traductions de Leonardo Bruni: Aeschines, *Epistola senatui populoque Atheniensi* et *Epistola Philippi Macedonici ad Athenienses* (il faut donc, sur ce point, corriger H. Baron, *ibid.*, p. 178). Pour l'incunable susdit (H 13066), j'ai examiné à Londres (British Library) l'exemplaire coté IA.39025, au sujet duquel on consultera: D. E. Rhodes, 'The 1472 Paris Edition of Plato's Letters', *The Library. A Quarterly Review of Bibliography*, 5th Ser., 8 (1953) 197-201.

aux folios 23v, 24r, 24v, 25r, etc., des notes rédigées dans une écriture qui était familière aux humanistes tchèques de la fin du xv^e ou du début du xvi^e siècle.³³

Le manuscrit B nous permet de faire plusieurs remarques concernant la fortune de Platon. D'abord, il nous assure qu'en Bohême, aux alentours de 1480—c'est vers cette date, ainsi qu'on l'a dit, qu'il a été composé—on se souciait de posséder les plus récentes traductions de Platon, celles que Leonardo Bruni avait exécutées directement sur le grec. Mais il nous apprend aussi que ces nouvelles traductions n'avaient pas entièrement détrôné la vieille traduction de Calcidius, qui ne rendait accessible aux Latins qu'une partie du *Timée* (17A-53C) et dont Bruni lui-même, usant de litote, affirmait qu'elle ne se lisait pas avec une extrême volupté.³⁴ En fait, le manuscrit B a vu le jour en un temps où le monde latin, ne possédant encore aucune version homogène des œuvres complètes de Platon, ne se faisait pas scrupule de recourir tantôt aux récentes traductions de Bruni, tantôt à la vieille traduction de Calcidius. Et celle-ci, loin de pâtir de celles-là, semble, au contraire, en avoir d'abord tiré avantage: tout se passe comme si, à la faveur du mouvement de sympathie qui portait les humanistes de la Renaissance vers l'œuvre de Platon, les textes dont s'était nourri le platonisme du plus ancien moyen âge avaient trouvé un regain de vie. Parce qu'il rassemble ingénument des textes aussi divers que les traductions de Leonardo Bruni, la traduction de Calcidius et un fragment du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée*, le manuscrit B est un bon exemple de ce qu'on a appelé 'la continuité de la tradition platonicienne' durant le moyen âge.³⁵ On peut penser que ce manuscrit, ayant appartenu à Mathias de Pelhřimov, qui fut quatre fois doyen de la faculté de philosophie de l'Université de Prague, était assez bien placé pour exercer une influence sur les universitaires pragois.

L'autre manuscrit qui doit retenir maintenant notre attention, auquel on a donné le sigle E, est conservé dans l'ancienne bibliothèque du Chapitre de Prague: Praha, Kapitula L.64 (1309).³⁶ C'est un volume comprenant 146 folios de papier, de 240

³³ Le Dr. Jiří Pražák m'a dit avoir rencontré des écritures semblables dans plusieurs manuscrits de Prague. Parmi les gloses qui garnissent les marges, relevons celles-ci où les allusions bibliques sont évidentes: 'Gaude M(ari)a uirgo' (f. 77v, en liaison avec le *χαίρειν* du début de la *Lettre* 3); 'Margaritas ante porcos proicere uetamur scilicet Perdicce' (f. 84v).

³⁴ Bruni écrivait, en effet, à Niccoli: 'Illud certe tibi, ni fallor, prestabo ut Platonem tuum sine molestia legas. Addo etiam, ut cum summa uoluptate legas. Quod, ut puto, neque a Calcidio neque ab hoc altero, qui bene atque grauiter nomen suum suppressit, adhuc tibi prestitum est' (cité par E. Garin, 'Ricerche', 362-63).

³⁵ R. Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages. Outlines of a Corpus platonicum medii aevi* (Londres, 1939; réimpression en 1950).

³⁶ Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Chapitre métropolitain de Prague, actuellement conservés dans le palais du président de la république de Tchécoslovaquie, ont été excellemment décrits: A. Patera - A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly Pražské* 1 (Prague, 1910). 2 (Prague, 1922). Pour une description complète du manuscrit L.64, cf. 2.237-39. Au folio 98r, les

sur 175 mm., que le catalogue de Patera et Podlaha date de la deuxième moitié du xv^e siècle: certaines parties du manuscrit, nous le verrons dans un instant, peuvent être datées de façon plus précise. Les feuilles de garde en parchemin sont des fragments d'un ancien homiliaire (xii^e siècle). Ce livre a appartenu à Venceslas de Krzizanow³⁷ qui a copié de sa main plusieurs des textes qui le composent, ainsi qu'en font foi les mentions des folios 72r, 83r et 91v. Parmi les textes copiés par Venceslas de Krzizanow se trouvent précisément quelques dialogues de Platon dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni. La copie du *Phédon* a été terminée en la fête de saint Donat (7 août) de l'année 1459; celle de l'*Apologie de Socrate* l'a été le 11 juillet d'une année qui n'est pas précisée mais qui, selon toute vraisemblance, est aussi l'année 1459.³⁸

Pour qui s'intéresse à l'histoire de l'humanisme et à sa diffusion en pays tchèque, le manuscrit E mérite un instant d'attention. On y remarque, aux folios 43r-48r, l'*Homélie sur la lecture des auteurs profanes* de saint Basile de Césarée, dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni³⁹ et, aux folios 48v-53v, le *De liberis educandis* du pseudo-Plutarque dans la traduction de Guarino de Vérone.⁴⁰ Ces deux textes sont suivis, aux folios 54r-83r, de trois dialogues platoniciens dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni: le *Phèdre*, des extraits du *Gorgias* et l'*Apologie de Socrate*. Les folios 83v-91v contiennent la *Vita Platonis* de Guarino de Vérone. Quelques points de repère aideront à s'orienter dans cet ensemble quelque peu touffu.

1^o. Platon, *Phédon* (traduction de Leonardo Bruni)⁴¹

Incipit: (I)pse affuisti o Phedon ea die qua Socrates uenenum bibit in carcere ... (f. 54r)

Explicit: ... ut nos arbitramur omnium quos experti sumus optimum et preterea sapientissimum atque iustissimum.

Finis grande (*sic*) cum labore in die s(ancti) Donati Anno Xⁱⁱ 1459 in studio

auteurs du catalogue (2.238) ont lu: *Leonardus Deretius improbat...* Le Dr. Charles B. Schmitt, du Warburg Institute, m'a fait à ce sujet une suggestion heureuse; il propose de comprendre: *Leonardus Aretinus improbat*.

³⁷ Venceslas de Krzizanow (Václav z Křižanova, Venceslaus de Krzizanow) naquit vers 1427/28. Bachelier ès arts en 1450, maître ès arts en 1454, il fut d'abord disciple, puis adversaire de Jan Rokycana. Ce fut, par ailleurs, un ami d'Hilaire de Litoměřice. C'est à Bologne qu'il conquit les titres de docteur en droit et en théologie. En 1461 il fut exclu de l'Université de Prague. Chanoine et prévôt de l'église de Tous-les-Saints au Château de Prague, il mourut vers 1468. Cf. T. Kalina, 'Václav Křižanovský', *Český časopis historický* 5 (1899) 333-59. (Je dois ces renseignements à l'obligeance de M. Pavel Spunar.)

³⁸ Telle est l'opinion d'A. Patera - A. Podlaha, *Soupis* 2.238.

³⁹ H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, pp. 160-61.

⁴⁰ Le *De liberis educandis* (traduction de Guarino de Vérone) se trouve dans le ms. Paris, BN lat. 16593: cf. A. Basanoff, 'L'emploi du papier à l'Université de Paris', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 26 (1964) 314 n. 2. Comme éditions incunables, on peut citer: HR 13146 et HR 13147. Sur l'œuvre elle-même, cf. E. G. Berry, 'The *De liberis educandis* of Pseudo-Plutarch', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958) 387-99.

⁴¹ H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino*, p. 161; E. Garin, 'Ricerche', 361-63.

Bonon(iensi) per Wen(cesla)um de +^{ro} sacre pagine professorem licet minimum. Corrige, lector, celerem scribendi cursum si quippiam demum repereris. (f. 72r)

2°. Platon, *Gorgias* 520A-527E (extraits; traduction de Leonardo Bruni)⁴²

Incipit: Platonis Gorgias sic habet in fine cum disputabat Socrates de rethorica cum Gorgia et Calide. Dicebat Socrates: (T)u o Callides propter ignorantiam pulcerrimum quiddam putas esse rethoricam, sophisticam autem contemnis, que tamen re uera pulcrior est quam rethorica ueluti positiua legum quam iudiciaria et gymnastica quam medicina. *Et sequitur:* Cautio sit ut soluatur merces (?) in gimnasiis... (f. 73r)

Explicit: ... tu me cohortaris nam est nullius digna o Callides. Finem habet huiusce (?) Gorgias. (f. 74v)

3°. Platon, *Apologie de Socrate* (traduction de Leonardo Bruni)⁴³

Argument: (S)ocrates philosophus uix omnium innocentissimus atque iustissimus ... tamen ini(mi)ca fuere. (f. 76r)

Incipit: Socratis appulo(gi)a per Leonardum Aretinum e greco in latinum traducta incipit. (Q)uid uobis acciderit iudices ab accusatoribus meis nescio... (f. 76r)

Explicit: ... incertum est omnibus plus (sic) quam deo. (f. 83r)

Ffinis Bono(ni)e XI die iulii Anno Xⁱⁱ etc. per magistrum theo(lo)gie Wen(ceslaum) + (f. 83r)

4°. Guarino de Vérone, *Vita Platonis* dédiée à Filippo Pellizzzone⁴⁴

Incipit: Gwari(nus) Veron(ensis) ad clarum phisicum Philippum Mediolanen(sem), Platonis uita.

(M)ultum diuque animo uerti, Philippe, uir doctissime... (f. 83v)

Explicit: ... uirgilianum illud obuoniet absentem absens auditque uidetque. (f. 91v)

Ffinis Platonis uite per Wen(ceslaum) de + ...⁴⁵ in studio Bonon(iensi) (f. 91v)

Ces quelques notes peuvent suffire à notre propos, mais le manuscrit tout entier mériterait une étude attentive. Certes nous ne sommes pas en présence d'un de ces luxueux volumes que commandent les riches collectionneurs et qu'exécutent d'habiles artisans. Il s'agit, au contraire, d'une copie faite à la hâte et pour son usage personnel par un étudiant désireux de posséder 'son' Platon. Mais cela même est, pour l'historien, du plus haut intérêt.⁴⁶

⁴² Les extraits recopiés par Venceslas de Krizanow correspondent aux pages 520A-527E du *Gorgias*, mais ils comportent des lacunes. On pourra en comparer le texte avec celui de l'édition incunable (H 13065, 2): Paris, BN Rés. R.723, 2^e partie, ff. 45r-49v (non numérotés).

⁴³ Il s'agit de la seconde traduction de l'*Apologie de Socrate*. Cf. L. Bertalot, *Studien* 2.271.

⁴⁴ Pour la *Vita Platonis*, on peut se référer, entre autres, à l'incunable (H 13125) conservé à Paris, BN Rés. R.J.95-96. La Lettre-dédicace à Filippo Pellizzzone a été publiée, sous le n° 574, dans R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* 2 (Venise, 1916), pp. 88-90. Cf. V. R. Giustiniani, 'Sulle traduzioni latine delle "Vite" di Plutarco nel Quattrocento', *Rinascimento*, Seconda Serie, I (1961) 3-62.

⁴⁵ Ici se trouve un mot que le catalogue d'A. Patera - A. Podlaha (*Soupis* 2.238) n'a pas transcrit. Peut-être faut-il lire: *magistrum*?

⁴⁶ Un autre tchègue, Jean de Rabenstein, exécutait à Pavie, avant 1464, une copie partielle des *Economiques* dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni: cf. J. Soudek, 'Leonardo Bruni', 69.

Aux deux manuscrits qu'on vient de décrire, il faut ajouter une édition incunable de l'*Apologie de Socrate* dans la traduction de Leonardo Bruni (H 13065, 1): Plato, *Apologia Socratis a Leonardo Bruno Aretino edita*, Bononiae, impressor Barbatiae, Johannina, c. 1475. Un exemplaire de cet incunable est conservé à la bibliothèque de l'ancien couvent de Strahov: Praha, PNP-Strahov. knih. D R III 22 (Hůlka).⁴⁷

2°. Les traductions de Marsile Ficin

Augustin Käsénbrot (Augustinus Olomucensis), ce savant chanoine d'Olomouc que nous avons déjà rencontré, parlant d'un triumvirat de philosophes composé de Pic de la Mirandole, d'Hermolao Barbaro et de Marsile Ficin, voit en ce dernier le représentant par excellence du platonisme: 'Ea tempestate clarissimi illi philosophiae triumviri effulsere, Joannes Picus Mirandulanus, Hermolaus Barbarus Patricius Venetus, et Platonicae philosophiae assertor Marsilius Ficinus Florentinus'.⁴⁸ De fait, c'est Marsile Ficin qui donna à l'Occident la première traduction latine des œuvres complètes de Platon. Commencée en 1463, cette traduction fut achevée en 1468, mais l'auteur en différa la diffusion: en 1482, il permit qu'on la recopiât, en 1484 parut la première édition imprimée.⁴⁹ Aussi bien, l'influence des traductions ficiniennes en Bohême semble s'être exercée, moins par la voie des manuscrits, que par celle des livres imprimés.

Il ne m'a été possible, au cours de mon séjour à Prague, de trouver, concernant le sujet de la présente étude, qu'un seul manuscrit digne d'être mentionné. Encore faut-il préciser que ce manuscrit ne contient aucune œuvre de Platon lui-même; en revanche, il renferme une riche collection de textes néoplatoniciens. Par ailleurs, il appartenait à une bibliothèque princière, ce qui, bien entendu, n'enlève rien à sa valeur intrinsèque, mais restreint nettement le champ dans lequel son influence a pu s'exercer.⁵⁰ Il s'agit du manuscrit suivant:

F: Praha, SK ČSR Roudnice VI.Ef.11.⁵¹

⁴⁷ La bibliothèque de l'ancien couvent de Strahov fait partie maintenant du Musée de la littérature nationale: Památník národního písemnictví, en abrégé PNP. Pour l'incunable H 13065, 1, j'ai consulté, à Paris, l'exemplaire suivant: BN Rés. R.723, 1^{re} partie. Toute la documentation sur les incunables conservés dans les bibliothèques de Tchécoslovaquie m'a été aimablement communiquée par M^{me} le Dr. Emma Urbánková, Conservateur au département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Etat de Tchécoslovaquie (SK ČSR).

⁴⁸ Augustinus Olomucensis, *Episcoporum Olomucensium series*, éd. F. X. Richter (Olomouc, 1831), p. 172, cité par F. Novotný, *O Platónovi* 4 (Prague, 1970), pp. 565-66.

⁴⁹ P. O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Virginia Conant (New York, 1943), p. 17 et 'Marsilio Ficino as a Beginning Student of Plato', *Scriptorium* 20 (1966) 41-54.

⁵⁰ Qu'on me permette de faire ici une remarque qui vaut pour l'ensemble du présent article: ni pour les manuscrits, ni pour les incunables, je n'ai la prétention de fournir des listes complètes et exhaustives.

⁵¹ Le ms. Roudnice VI.Ef.11 est décrit ou mentionné dans les ouvrages suivants: E. Gollob, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften in Oesterreich ausserhalb Wiens (Sitzungsberichte der*

C'est un volume de 406 pages de papier, mesurant 280 sur 205 mm.: les pages 1-402 sont couvertes d'une belle écriture humanistique, les pages 403-406 sont restées blanches. Le manuscrit a appartenu à la bibliothèque des princes de Lobkovic, ayant été acheté par l'un d'eux, Bohuslav Hasištejnsky de Lobkovic (†1510),⁵² à Milan, parmi plusieurs autres livres, en particulier un manuscrit grec des œuvres de Platon dont nous ferons connaissance bientôt.⁵³ En bref, voici ce que contient le manuscrit F:⁵⁴

- pp. 1-60: Excerpta Marsilii Ficini ex graecis Proculi com(m)entarius in Alcibiadem Platonis primum (*ed. Basil.* 1908-28)
- pp. 60-72: Excerpta ex Proculo in Rempublicam a Marsilio Ficino. Tres cuiusque dei proprietates (*ed. Basil.* 937-43)
- pp. 72-77: Athenagoras de resurrectione excerpta per Marsilium (*ed. Basil.* 1871-73)
- pp. 78-88: (en blanc)
- pp. 89-90: Marsilius Ficinus Florentinus Philippo Valori... (*ed. Basil.* 1801)
- pp. 91-218: Interpretatio Prisciani Lydi in Theop(h)rastum de sensu... (*ed. Basil.* 1801-35)
- pp. 219-228: (en blanc)
- pp. 229-232: Prohemium Marsilii Ficini Florentini in Alcinoi et Speusippi et Pythagorae opuscula... (*ed. Basil.* 1945-46)
- pp. 232-289: Alcinoi platonici liber de doctrina Platonis (*ed. Basil.* 1946-62)
- pp. 290-299: Speusippi Platonis discipuli liber de Platonis diffinitionibus (*ed. Basil.* 1962-64)
- pp. 300-302: Pythagorae philosophi Aurea verba (*ed. Basil.* 1978-79)
- pp. 303-305: Symbola Pythagorae philosophi (*ed. Basil.* 1979)

philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 146; Wien, 1903), *Abhandlung* 7, n° 7 (p. 136); P. O. Kristeller, 'La diffusione europea del platonismo fiorentino' dans *Il pensiero italiano del Rinascimento e il tempo nostro* (Atti del V Convegno internazionale del Centro di studi umanistici, Montepulciano, 8-13 agosto 1968, a cura di Giovannangiola Tarugi; Florence, 1970), p. 25 [pp. 23-41]; Ch. B. Schmitt, 'Priscianus Lydus' dans *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum...*, ed. F. E. Cranz et P. O. Kristeller, 3 (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 79 [pp. 75-82].

⁵² Sur Bohuslav Hasištejnsky z Lobkovic, né vers 1461, mort en novembre 1510, cf. A. Truhlár - K. Hrdina (continué par J. Hejnic et J. Martinek), *Enchiridion renatae poesis latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae...* 3 (Prague, 1969), pp. 170-203. Voir aussi: *Bohuslav Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz Epistulae* ediderunt Jan Martinek et Dana Martinková. Tomus 1: *Epistulae de Re publica scriptae* (Leipzig, 1969).

⁵³ PLATON: P. 2000 ducat. Mediol. emptus - Opera omnia (gr.) - Thimaeus siue genitura sensibilis mundi opus - Opera omnia - Marsilius super P.' (M. Flodr. *Die griechische und römische Literatur in tschechischen Bibliotheken in Mittelalter und der Renaissance* [Brno, 1966], p. 180). Cf. à ce sujet: E. Urbánková, 'Přirůstky rukopisného oddělení universitní knihovny od vydání Tištěných Katalogů' dans *Vědecko-theoretický sborník knihovna* (Prague, 1957), pp. 59-60 [pp. 41-64].

⁵⁴ Pour les œuvres de Marsile Ficin, je me réfère ici à l'édition de Bâle (*ed. Basil.*) de 1576: *Marsilii Ficini Florentini, insignis philosophi platonici, medici atque theologi clarissimi Opera...*, Basileae, ex officina Henricpetrina (il existe une reproduction photographique: Bottega d'Erasmus, Turin, 1962). Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florentiae, 1937).

pp. 306-308: (en blanc)

pp. 309-402: Argumentum Marsilii Ficini in Phedrum... (ed. Basil. 1363-86).

Comme on le voit, ce manuscrit introduisait en pays tchèque une riche collection d'écrits néoplatoniciens. En revanche, il n'y apportait pas le texte même de Platon. Mais, ainsi qu'on l'a déjà dit, l'imprimerie commençait alors à concurrencer les ateliers de copistes. C'est principalement sous forme de livres imprimés que les traductions ficiniennes des dialogues platoniciens pouvaient pénétrer en Bohême. Ce qui est certain, en tout cas, c'est que les bibliothèques de cette région conservent encore un bon nombre d'incunables de la traduction ficinienne des œuvres de Platon. J'en citerai quelques uns dont les cotes m'ont été aimablement communiquées par Mme le Dr. Emma Urbánková.

1°. *Edition incunable de 1484-1485 c.* (HC 13062)

Plato, *Opera*; latine a Marsilio Ficino. Florentiae, Laurentius Francisci de Alopa Venetus. [Mai. (V) 1484; ante Apr. (IV) 1485]

On trouve cet incunable dans les bibliothèques suivantes:

- Praha, SK ČSR R II Ac 25/a-c
- Praha, Kapit. knih. (Podlaha G 18)
- Bratislava, UK Inc. 274 (Kotvan 349).⁵⁵

2°. *Edition incunable de 1491* (HC 13063)

Plato, *Opera*; latine a Marsilio Ficino. Venetiis, Bernardinus de Choris de Cremona et Simon de Luere, impensis Andreae Torresani de Asula; 13.VIII.1491.

On trouve cet incunable dans les bibliothèques suivantes:

- Praha, SK ČSR. 42 D 2
- Praha, Kapit. knih. (Podlaha G 11)
- Praha, PNP-Strahov. knih. D M II 15; D M VI 36 (Hůlka)
- Český Krumlov, Prelátská knih. V DD 12 (Riedl 858)
- Olomouc, SVK II 48350 (Louda 1507)⁵⁶
- Kroměříž, Arcibiskup. knih. 11470/24044 (Louda 1508)⁵⁷
- Martin, Matica solvenská Inc. 25 (Kotvan 48).⁵⁸

En dehors de ces éditions des œuvres complètes de Platon, on remarque encore quelques éditions partielles de la traduction ficinienne: celle des *Lettres*, celle de deux dialogues considérés comme suspects, l'*Hipparque* et le *Théagès*.

⁵⁵ I. Kotvan, *Incunabula Bibliothecae Vniuersitatis Bratislauensis* (Bratislava, 1960), n° 349 (p. 196).

⁵⁶ J. Louda, *Soupis prvotisků Universitní knihovny v Olomouci a její pobočky v Kroměříži* (Praha, 1956), n° 1507 (p. 196).

⁵⁷ J. Louda, *ibid.*, n° 1508 (p. 196).

⁵⁸ I. Kotvan, *Incunabula Bibliothecae Institutionis Matica Slovenská in Martin* (Martin, 1961), n° 48 (pp. 38-39).

3°. *Edition incunable des Lettres de Platon* (HR 13067 = Cop. 4765)

Cette traduction des *Lettres* de Platon, due à Marsile Ficin et non, comme on l'a dit parfois, à Leonardo Bruni, a été publiée à Leipzig chez Conrad Kachelofen vers 1490 par les soins de Paul Schneevogel ou, si l'on préfère lui donner son nom latin, Paul Nivis.⁵⁹ On peut en citer les exemplaires suivants:

- Praha, SK ČSR 41 G 57; 41 G 82
- Praha, PNP-Strahov. knih. D M V 15/7 (Hůlka).

4°. *Edition séparée de l'Hipparque et du Théagès* (H 13064 = CA 1421)

Cette édition a paru à Deventer chez Jacques de Bréda vers l'an 1500. On en connaît un exemplaire:

- Praha, SK ČSR 44 F 59.

La Bohême ne devait pas se contenter d'accueillir les traductions latines venues d'Italie. C'est sur son propre sol que naquit, dès avant l'année 1494 estime-t-on, l'une des premières traductions en langue vulgaire de la *République* de Platon. Elle fut l'œuvre d'un lettré nommé Matyáš, attaché comme 'privatschreiber' au service de Jan de Kunčí, utraquiste (partisan de la communion sous les deux espèces), seigneur de Zaječice près de Chrudim. La version tchèque élaborée par Matyáš prenait elle-même appui sur une traduction latine, celle de Marsile Ficin vraisemblablement; elle est aujourd'hui perdue.⁶⁰

(c) *Le texte grec des œuvres de Platon*

La Tchécoslovaquie peut s'enorgueillir de posséder deux intéressants manuscrits grecs de Platon. L'un d'eux, actuellement conservé à Olomouc (Státní vědecká knihovna M.531), n'est arrivé en cette bibliothèque qu'à une date récente.⁶¹ Il échappe donc, de ce fait, au propos de cette étude qui n'entend pas suivre la fortune de Platon au-delà du XVI^e siècle. Cela ne signifie pas que le manuscrit d'Olomouc manque d'intérêt, au contraire. Les philologues nous diront sans doute un jour

⁵⁹ A. Bömer, 'Paulus Nivis, ein Vorkämpfer des deutschen Humanismus', *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 19 (1898) 51-94; L. Bertalot, 'Drei Vorlesungsankündigungen des Paulus Nivis in Leipzig 1489', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930) 370-75, réimprimé dans L. Bertalot, *Studien* 2.181-87; Ch. B. Schmitt, 'L'introduction de la philosophie platonicienne dans l'enseignement des universités à la Renaissance' dans *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance. XVI^e Colloque international de Tours* (Paris, 1976), pp. 93-104.

⁶⁰ E. Pražák, 'Český překlad platonovy Politeie X 15. století', *Listy filologické* 84 (1961) 102-108.

⁶¹ Le ms. Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna M.531 serait arrivé à Olomouc en 1930 selon B. Ryba, 'De Platonis codice graeco Olomucensi M 531' dans *Studie o rukopisech* 8 (Praha, 1969), pp. 1-10. En fait, il a été acheté le 5 décembre 1950: c'est ce que M. Jean-Marie Olivier, de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes de Paris, a bien voulu me confirmer.

quelle place il convient de lui attribuer dans l'histoire de la transmission du texte de Platon.

L'autre manuscrit, en revanche, mérite un instant d'attention. Il provient de la bibliothèque des princes de Lobkovic et se trouve actuellement conservé à Prague: SK ČSR Roudnice VI.Fa.1. C'est un beau volume en parchemin, écrit dans une élégante minuscule grecque datable du xiv^e siècle. Deux séries de chiffres courent au long du recueil. La première série, plus ancienne, dénombre 645 folios; la seconde, plus récente, compte 1294 pages. Chaque page mesure environ 360-365 sur 275-280 mm. Le manuscrit fut acheté à Milan, à la fin du xv^e siècle par Bohuslav Hasištejnský de Lobkovic.⁶² Il serait arrivé en Bohême vers l'an 1500.⁶³ Il contient le texte grec des dialogues de Platon, précédé du prologue d'Albinus (pp. 1-5) et de la liste des dialogues (pp. 5-6), suivi du traité de Timée de Locres (pp. 1282-1293). Au début de chaque dialogue se trouve un bandeau peint, plus ou moins décoré selon les cas, dans lequel dominent le pourpre, le vert, le bleu intense.

Le manuscrit VI.Fa.1 du fonds Roudnice est bien connu des spécialistes de Platon: je me contenterai de renvoyer le lecteur aux principales descriptions qui en ont été faites.⁶⁴ Il est généralement tenu pour une copie du manuscrit recensé sous le

⁶² Concernant Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic, cf. ci-dessus, note 52. Selon Miroslav Flodr, le prince versa deux mille ducats pour ce manuscrit: 'PLATON: P. 2000 ducat. Mediol. emptus - Opera omnia (gr.) - Thimaeus siue genitura sensibilis mundi - Opus - Opera omnia - Marsilius super P.' (M. Flodr, *Die griechische und römische Literatur in tschechischen Bibliotheken*, p. 180). En réalité, Flodr semble grouper ici le ms. Roudnice VI.Fa.1 et le ms. Roudnice VI.Ef.11. Il n'est guère plus aisé de s'y retrouver dans le vieux *Bibliothecae Hasisteniae Catalogus postremus librorum residuorum post miserabilem illam circiter LXX uoluminum conflagrationem in Arce Chomutoviensi*, imprimé à la suite de *Illustris ac Generosi D.D. BOHUSLAV HASISTEYNI à Lobkowitz, etc. Baronis Bohemici, Poëtae Oratorisque clarissimi Farrago Poematum in ordinem digestorum ac editorum per Thomam Mitem Nymburgenum...* (Prague, 1570). A la page 399 (non numérotée dans le volume), nous trouvons parmi les *Graeci Auctores manuscripti nitidissime*: 'Aëtius Medicus. Plato 2000 ducat: Mediol. emptus. Homerus...'; et à la page 418, parmi les *Philosophi*: 'Aristotelis excerpta. Thimaeus Platonis siue genitura sensibilis mundi. Opus Platonis. Ethica Aristotelis. Quaestiones Aristotelis. Marsilii super Platonem. Arist. Ethica: Politicorum. Platonis Opera omnia. Philosophia Alberti...'. Par ailleurs, le *Catalogus Bibliothecae Raudnicensis* (manuscrit) conservé à Prague (SK ČSR) décrit ainsi le volume acheté à Milan: 'Plato diuinus / Operum Tomus prior continens Dialogos Libros de Republica seu Politicorum et Timaeum. M(anu)s(crip)tus codex membranaceus ... ab initio singulorum Tractatum elegantissimis picturis exornatus characteribus minoribus et cum abbreviaturis scriptus. An eadem haec ex incendio Comotoviensi residuum (*sic*) pars Platonis est a Bohuslavo Hassensteinio a Lobkowitz mille aureis comparati, de quo uide in Effigiebus Eruditorum Bohemiae, vol. I, p. 19 et sq.' Un autre catalogue manuscrit, également conservé à Prague (SK ČSR) parle de mille ducats seulement: '[VI. Fa. 1.] Platonis opera (graece) Ms. codex membr. 645 foliorum cum picturis elegantissimis, olim a Bohuslavo Hassensteinio de Lobkowitz 1000 aureis emptus f. maj.' (*Stand-Reperitorium der Hochfürstlich Lobkowitz'schen Schloss-Bibliothek zu Raudnitz, Saal VI*).

⁶³ F. Novotný, *O Platónovi* 2.10 n. 4 et 4.562.

⁶⁴ Iani Cornarii *Eclogae in Dialogos Platonis omnes nunc primum separatim editae* cura Ioh. Frider. Fischeri... (Lipsiae, sumtu Engelharti Beniaminis Quicquerii, 1771) (il est question du *Codex Lobkovicianus* dans la préface de Fischer, ff. 3v-4v, et dans celle de Cornarius [Bâle, 1561], non paginée); *Platonis Opera graece* recensuit et adnotatione critica instruxit Car. Ern. Christoph.

sigle W dans les éditions critiques du texte grec de Platon, c'est-à-dire le manuscrit Wien, Nationalbibliothek Suppl. gr. 7.⁶⁵ Cela aussi est bien connu des historiens du platonisme.⁶⁶ Nul doute que ceux-ci ne puissent approfondir encore l'étude de ce manuscrit et, du même coup, faire progresser la connaissance de la tradition médiévale du texte grec de Platon. Du point de vue qui est le nôtre ici, cependant, ce manuscrit n'offre qu'un intérêt secondaire. En raison de la langue dans laquelle il est écrit, en raison aussi de la bibliothèque dans laquelle il était conservé, il ne pouvait atteindre un vaste public. Est-on sûr que Bohuslav lui-même s'y intéressa profondément? On trouve sous sa plume des invectives contre Platon qui font penser beaucoup plus aux antidialecticiens du XI^e siècle qu'aux humanistes du XV^e. Dans une lettre à Jean de Pibra, datée de 1494, il déclare que Platon, par ses allégories, a été cause de bien des erreurs.⁶⁷ Dans une autre lettre, non datée celle-là, le ton est plus violent: quand il parle de métensomatose, Platon ressemble plus à une

Schneider, I (Lipsiae, 1830), pp. xiv-xvi; J. Král, 'O Lobkovickém rukopise Platonových dialogů a rukopisech s ním příbuzných', *Listy filologické* 11 (1884) 32-39 et 'De Platonis codice Lobkovicensi', *ibid.* 13 (1886) 359-60; M. Wohlrab, 'Die Platonhandschriften und ihre gegenseitige Beziehungen', *Jahrbuch für klassische Philologie*, Suppl. 15 (1887) 641-728; E. Gollub, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften in Oesterreich ausserhalb Wiens* (voir ci-dessus n. 51), p. 108 (avec un fac-similé de la page 6 du manuscrit); *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okrese Roudnickém*, Díl 2: *Zámek Roudnický* napsal Dr. Max Dvořák a Dr. Boh. Matějka (Praha, 1907) [*Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království Českém* 27], pp. 291 et 294 (fac-similé de la page 1282 du manuscrit); E. Urbánková, *Rukopisy a vzácné tisky Pražské universitní knihovny* (Praha, 1957), p. 62 et 'Přirůstek rukopisného oddělení universitní knihovny od vydání tištěných katalogů' dans *Vědecko-theoretický sborník knihovna* (Praha, 1957), pp. 59-60 [pp. 41-64]; N. G. Wilson, 'A List of Plato Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 390 (n° 159) et 393 (n° 2); *The Plato Manuscripts. A New Index Prepared by the Plato Microfilm Project of the Yale University Library* under the direction of Robert S. Brumbaugh and Rulon Wells (New Haven-London, 1968), p. 17. Une description complète du *Codex Lobkovicianus* sera publiée dans un catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Tchecoslovaquie rédigé par M. Jean-Marie Olivier, de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes de Paris: J.-M. Olivier, 'Un manuscrit de Kosinitza retrouvé à Prague', *Byzantinoslavica* 35 (1974) 188. Je remercie chaleureusement M. Olivier, ainsi que sa collaboratrice M^{lle} Du Sorbier, du concours généreux et efficace qu'ils m'ont apporté pour l'établissement de la présente bibliographie.

⁶⁵ H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Supplementum graecum* (Wien, 1957), pp. 13-14.

⁶⁶ M. Schanz, *Ueber den Platocodex der Markusbibliothek in Venedig*, *Append. Class. 4 Nr. 1* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 62 et p. 100; J. Král, 'O Lobkovickém rukopise'; O. Immisch, *Philologische Studien zu Plato 2: De recensionis platonicae praesidiis atque rationibus* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 67; H. Alline, *Histoire du texte de Platon* (Paris, 1915), pp. 237, 241, 252, 310, 315; L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and Its Relations* (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association 4; Middleton, Conn., 1934), pp. 30-34 et p. 90. Le *Codex Lobkovicianus* n'est pas mentionné dans les index de l'excellent ouvrage suivant: A. Carlini, *Studi sulla tradizione antica e medievale del Fedone* (Roma, 1972).

⁶⁷ 'Sic Platonis Allegoriae multis erroribus perfugium fuerunt' (*Viri illustris et magnifici D.D. BOHUSLAV HASISTEINI A LOBKOVICZ etc. Noua Epistolarum Appendix conquisita et edita per Thomam Mitem Nymburgenum...* (Pragae excudebant haeredes Ioannis Gitzini, 1570), Cahier F, f. viii^v (la pagination fait défaut).

vieille radoteuse qu'à un philosophe.⁶⁸ Platon prône la communauté des femmes: beau précepteur à donner aux adolescents! ⁶⁹

Magnifique ornement de la bibliothèque princière des Lobkovic, le manuscrit grec acheté par Bohuslav à Milan a dû contribuer pour bien peu à la fortune de Platon en pays tchèque. Cette fortune a eu pour véhicules des livres moins nobles sans doute, mais plus facilement accessibles au grand nombre. Les traductions latines que nous avons mentionnées plus haut ont joué ce rôle. À côté d'elles, les commentaires et les florilèges médiévaux y ont aussi contribué, pour une part qu'il nous faut maintenant essayer de préciser.

II

GUILLAUME DE CONCHES

Les manuscrits que nous venons d'examiner attestent qu'au xv^e siècle il y avait, en Bohême, des érudits soucieux de se procurer les œuvres de Platon. D'autres manuscrits nous prouvent qu'au même moment et dans le même pays on n'était pas moins curieux de se procurer les ouvrages qui, au cours du haut Moyen Âge et jusqu'à la fin du xii^e siècle, avaient alimenté le courant platonicien dans l'Occident latin: la *Consolation* de Boèce, le *Commentaire* de Macrobie sur le Songe de Scipion, le *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella. Ces écrits étaient souvent accompagnés de gloses dont la lecture assurait, à travers les âges, et malgré la variété des contextes sociologiques, une certaine continuité de la tradition platonicienne.⁷⁰ Parmi les gloses qui ont contribué à assurer cette continuité, se distinguent celles que composa, dans le deuxième quart du douzième siècle, un maître fameux, Guillaume de Conches.

Fier de ses origines normandes, Guillaume ne l'est pas moins de son 'platonisme': 'Nos Platonem diligentes', écrit-il dans son commentaire sur le *Timée*.⁷¹ Dans son *Dragmaticon*, rédigé entre 1144 et 1149, il met sur les lèvres de son interlocuteur et protecteur, Geoffroi le Bel, duc de Normandie, la déclaration

⁶⁸ '... Plato etiam in animalia bruta transferri: quorum scilicet naturam, dum adhuc in uita essent, imitatae fuerunt: sed hic sermo Philosophone potius quam alicui delyrae aniculae conueniat, iudicent amatores eorum' (ibid., Cahier D, f. vii').

⁶⁹ 'Laudat idem Plato matrimoniorum communem usum et nudorum iuuenum atque puellarum exercitationes: dignus certe Praeceptor cui adolescentes erudiendos tradamus, ut discant ad unam mulierem tanquam canes concurrere, et deficientes libidines formosorum corporum aspectu atque contractione excitare' (ibid., Cahier E, f. i'). On trouve de semblables invectives contre Platon dans *Spisy Bohuslava Hasištejnského z Lobkovic 1: Spisy prosaické* (Les œuvres en prose de Bohuslav Hasistejnsky de Lobkovic), éd. B. Ryba (Prague, 1953). Je dois cette précision à l'obligeance de M. František Šmahel, que je remercie vivement.

⁷⁰ R. Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*.

⁷¹ Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, cap. CXIX, éd. E. Jeaneau (Paris, 1965), p. 211.

suivante qui exprime—est-il besoin de le préciser?—sa propre position: ‘Si gentilis adducenda est opinio, malo Platonis quam alterius inducatur: plus namque cum nostra fide concordat’.⁷² Guillaume de Conches a commenté la *Consolation* de Boèce, le *Commentaire* de Macrobie sur le Songe de Scipion et aussi la partie du *Timée* (17A-53C) traduite par Calcidius. Il a composé encore deux ouvrages d'allure plus systématique: la *Philosophia* et le *Dragmaticon*.⁷³ Or, les œuvres du philosophe de Conches sont assez largement représentées dans les bibliothèques pragoises. C'est du moins ce que j'ai cru constater au cours de mon séjour en Tchécoslovaquie; et le plaisir que j'ai eu à le faire n'enlève rien, je pense, au caractère objectif de la constatation. Je me contenterai d'énumérer ici—sans prétendre aucunement être exhaustif—quelques manuscrits contenant les œuvres du philosophe de Conches. Je les répartirai en trois classes:

- (a) la *Philosophia* et le *Dragmaticon*
- (b) les *Glosae super Boetium*
- (c) les *Glosae super Platonem*.

(a) La ‘*Philosophia*’ et le ‘*Dragmaticon*’

A Prague, on ne compte pas moins de quatre manuscrits contenant la *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches.⁷⁴ Deux d'entre eux sont conservés dans l'ancienne bibliothèque universitaire (SK ČSR), les deux autres appartiennent à la bibliothèque du Chapitre cathédral. Il s'agit des manuscrits suivants:

1° Praha, SK ČSR IX.A.4 (1669)

On a déjà mentionné ci-dessus, sous le sigle D, ce manuscrit, écrit dans le premier quart du xv^e siècle et qui a appartenu à Simon de Rokyczany (†1421). Dans la liste qui se lit sur un feuillet de garde au début du volume, la *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches est recensée sous le numéro 8, de la façon suivante: ‘Item philosophia pulcherrima Wylhelmi Doctoris optimi, folio 280°’. En fait, la *Philosophia* occupe les folios 279v-296r (ce dernier folio ayant été numéroté faussement: 297). Elle porte (f. 279vb) le titre suivant: *Iste liber phi(losophi)a Wylhelmi doctoris moderni uocitatur*.

⁷² Guillaume de Conches, *Dragmaticon*, éd. G. Gratarol (Strasbourg, 1567), p. 13.

⁷³ L'édition du *Dragmaticon* par G. Gratarol est très défectueuse. Depuis longtemps, la nécessité d'une édition critique se fait sentir: Cl. Picard-Parra, *Guillaume de Conches et le ‘Dragmaticon Philosophiae’* dans *Ecole nationale des Chartes. Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1943 pour obtenir le diplôme d'Archiviste paléographe* (Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1943), pp. 175-81. Les éditions anciennes de la *Philosophia* ne sont guère plus satisfaisantes. Les plus accessibles sont celles de Migne, PL 90.1127-78 et PL 172.39-102. Une nouvelle édition est préparée par M. Gregor Maurach: cf. ci-dessous n. 85.

⁷⁴ Pour les listes des manuscrits de la *Philosophia* et du *Dragmaticon*, on consultera A. Vernet, ‘Un remaniement de la “Philosophia” de Guillaume de Conches’, *Scriptorium* 1 (1947) 243-59.

2° Praha, SK ČSR XIV.H.8 (2653)

Ce manuscrit comprend 87 folios de parchemin, de 180 sur 120 mm. Il renferme les œuvres suivantes:

- ff. 1-14: Guillaume de Conches, *Philosophia* (écriture très fine, XIII^e siècle)
- ff. 15-83: Guillaume de Conches, *Dragmaticon* (belle écriture, début du XIII^e siècle)
- ff. 84-86: *Registrum* du *Dragmaticon*, écrit en 1445 par Pierre Bibat de Dwekačovic.⁷⁵ Il s'agit d'une sorte d'*Index rerum* recensant les principaux thèmes abordés dans le *Dragmaticon*. Pierre de Dwekačovic l'a fait suivre d'un explicit qui nous renseigne de façon précise sur la date de sa composition: 'Explicit registrum super philosophia Wilhelmi maiore que incipit *Quare uenerande dux*, etc. Collectum anno D(omi)ni 1445 fer(ia) 2^a post octauam corporis Xⁱ ad honorem dei omnipotentis et utilitatem qualemcumque legencium scriptum per manus m(agis)tri pe(tri) dicti B. in Colegio Karoli Amen' (f. 86vb).

Ce manuscrit est un témoin significatif de la fortune de Guillaume de Conches en pays tchèque au milieu du xv^e siècle, non seulement parce qu'il contient le texte de la *Philosophia* et celui du *Dragmaticon*, mais aussi parce que, grâce au *Registrum* de Pierre de Dwekačovic, nous savons que cette dernière œuvre était lue et étudiée 'la plume à la main'. Le manuscrit a appartenu au Karolinum, dont la marque de possession (Y.20.K) a été conservée sur une étiquette collée sur le plat de la reliure. On relève, par ailleurs, les cotes suivantes: Y.II.6 n.17 (au dos de la reliure), XIV.F.22 (feuille de garde du début).

3° Praha, Kapitula M.147 (1508)

Ce manuscrit comprend 76 folios de parchemin de 162 sur 120 mm. Le catalogue de Podlaha le date de la deuxième moitié du xiv^e siècle.⁷⁶ La *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches occupe les folios 1v-24r. Elle est suivie d'un *De naturis rerum* attribué à Albert le Grand (ff. 24r-73v) et d'un *Registrum* de la *Philosophia* (ff. 74r-75v). Ce *Registrum*, comme celui du manuscrit précédent, est un *Index rerum* énumérant, par ordre alphabétique, les mots les plus importants contenus, non plus dans le *Dragmaticon* cette fois, mais dans la *Philosophia* du maître de Conches. Le *Registrum* était terminé en 1404, ainsi qu'en fait foi, au folio 76r, la mention suivante: 'Ffinita sunt hec anno d(omi)ni M^oCCCCIII^o die decima octaua aprilis Indiccion XII concurrente 2^o Et epacta septima. In nomine Domini Amen'.

⁷⁵ Petrus Bibat (*dictus Barbatus*) de Dwekaczowicz était recteur de l'école de Prague-Týn en 1423, recteur de l'école de Hradec Králové de 1428 à 1429. La même année (1434) il est mentionné comme recteur de l'école de l'église Maria Nivis à Prague et comme expulsé de cette charge. Bachelier ès arts en 1435, maître ès arts en 1440, on le trouve, en 1445, au collège Charles; en 1449 il est doyen de la Faculté des Lettres. Cf. *Liber decanorum Facultatis philosophicae Vniuersitatis Pragensis* (cf. ci-dessus n. 11) et F. M. Bartoš, *Bojovnici a státníci husitství a Universita Karlova. Historia Vniuersitatis Carolinae* [Acta Vniuersitatis Carolinae] 12 (1972) 32-36.

⁷⁶ A. Podlaha, *Soupis* 2.355.

Il ne semble guère douteux, en effet, que ces dernières lignes ont été écrites par la même main qui a rédigé le *Registrum* et qui, au folio 74r, le désigne ainsi: 'Istud registrum pertinet ad primum librum huius uoluminis M(a)g(ist)ri Geruillni uel Elin(a)ndi siue Wylhelmy de Conchiis'.⁷⁷ La même hésitation sur le nom de l'auteur de la *Philosophia* se retrouve dans le titre de l'ouvrage (f. 1v, marge supérieure): 'Incipit libellus In phylosophia M(a)g(ist)ri Wilhelmi de Conchiis nimis bonus: Geruillnus de Conchiis Helinandus'.⁷⁸ Ce manuscrit, tout comme le précédent, atteste que les œuvres systématiques de Guillaume de Conches, *Dragmaticon* et *Philosophia*, étaient lues et étudiées en Bohême dans la première moitié du xv^e siècle.

4° Praha, Kapitula N.31 (1555)

Ce manuscrit sur papier comprend 238 folios de 280-288 sur 207 mm. Le catalogue de Podlaha le date de la deuxième moitié du xiv^e siècle.⁷⁹ La *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches occupe les folios 10r-29v. Son explicit vaut la peine d'être noté: '... ut animus lectoris alacrior ad cetera discenda accedat, hic quarte particule longitudinem terminauius et cetera *ryntuschichs tū schapczyn*.⁸⁰ Explicit summa et nucleus extractus totius philosophie per manus...' (f. 29vb).⁸¹

A vrai dire, il existe, en Tchécoslovaquie, un cinquième manuscrit de la *Philosophia*, actuellement conservé dans la bibliothèque du Château de Kynžvart (Königswart) sous la cote suivante: Lat. 20.H.27 (n° 68).⁸² La *Philosophia* est contenue dans les folios 65r-100r. Il s'agit, certes, d'un intéressant exemplaire du xiii^e siècle.⁸³ Toutefois, par sa provenance (monastère d'Ochsenhausen, puis

⁷⁷ Ce titre se lit dans la marge inférieure du folio 74r. Sur le même folio, en tête du *Registrum*, le titre est ainsi formulé: 'Istud est (*sic*) reistrum (*sic*) pertinet ad priorem librum m(a)g(ist)ri Geruilli uel Elinandi uel Wilhelmi de Conchiis'.

⁷⁸ De cette confusion entre Hélinand (de Froidmont) et Guillaume de Conches, le responsable pourrait bien être Vincent de Beauvais. En effet, Hélinand, dans sa *Chronique*, cite volontiers Guillaume de Conches: Londres, British Library Cotton Claudius B.ix, ff. 3va, 4va, 5ra, 5rb, 5vb, 7ra, etc. De son côté, Vincent de Beauvais fait de larges emprunts à la *Chronique* d'Hélinand. A l'occasion, il lui arrive de citer, sous le nom du moine de Froidmont, des textes que ce dernier a lui-même empruntés à Guillaume de Conches. C'est le cas, en particulier, dans *Speculum naturale* 1.18 (Douai, 1624), col. 33, où, sous le patronage d'Hélinand (*Helinandus in Chronicis lib. 1*), Vincent de Beauvais place une réfutation de l'épicurisme qui dérive à peu près certainement de Guillaume de Conches, *Philosophia* I.5 (PL 172.44A-D; éd. G. Maurach, pp. 11-12 [cf. ci-dessous n. 85]).

⁷⁹ A. Podlaha, *Soupts* 2.406.

⁸⁰ A. Podlaha (ibid.) a lu: *ryntuleichs unschapczyn*.

⁸¹ La phrase est incomplète dans le manuscrit.

⁸² F. Čáda, *Codices manu scripti Bibliothecae Castelli Kynžvart in Bohemia Occidentali. Catalogus codicum cum praefatione, annotationibus, tabellis, registris...* (Pragae, 1965), n° 68 (pp. 106-109).

⁸³ Cf. M. Boháček, 'Un manuscrit intéressant du *Compendium* de Werner von Schussenried', *Traditio* 18 (1962) 472-82. Ainsi que je l'ai noté dans 'Lectio philosophorum'. *Recherches sur l'Ecole de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973), p. 231 n. 7, mon attention a été attirée sur le manuscrit de Kynžvart par M. le professeur Franco Alessio: je l'en remercie vivement.

bibliothèque de Metternich), il échappe au domaine géographique de la présente enquête: on ne saurait l'annexer à une étude sur *Plato apud Bohemos*.⁸⁴

En revanche, les quatre manuscrits précédemment cités attestent la présence, en pays tchèque, de la *Philosophia* et, pour l'un d'entre eux, celle du *Dragmaticon*. Les maîtres tchèques du xv^e siècle pouvaient donc, s'il en avaient le goût, lire et citer Guillaume de Conches. De fait, certains le firent. Qu'il suffise d'en donner un exemple, particulièrement illustre. Jean Hus (1369/72-1415), en sa *Defensio articulorum Wyclif*, cite un passage, d'ailleurs significatif, de la *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches:

Quodsi quis obiecerit: Racionem de qualibet re expetere est diuine potencie derogare, ad istam obieccionem respondet magister Vilhelmus in sua Philosophia, libro 1^o prope finem, tractans illud Gen 2^o: *Formauit Deus hominem de limo terre*, ubi dicit: 'Nam in quo Scripture diuine contrarii sumus, si quod in illa dictum est esse factum, qualiter factum sit explicemus? Si enim unus sapiens dicat aliquid esse factum et non explicet qualiter, alter uero dicat hoc idem et explicet, que in hoc contrarietas?' Quasi dicat: nulla. 'Sed quoniam ipsi nesciunt uires nature, ut ignorancie sue socios omnes habeant, nolunt aliquem eas inquirere, sed ut rusticos nos credere nec racionem querere, ut iam impleatur illud propheticum: *Erit sacerdos sicut populus*. Nos autem dicimus in omnibus racionem esse querendam, si potest inueniri; si autem alicui deficiat, quod diuina pagina affirmat sancto Spiritui et fidei esse mandandum et committendum. Nam Moyses ait: "Si agnus non potest comedi, non statim comburatur igne, sed prius conuocet uicinum qui domui eius coniunctus est"; et si nec ista sufficiant ad esum agni, tunc demum igne comburatur, quia cum de diuinitate aliquid inquirimus, si ad illud comprehendendum non sufficimus, uicinum domui nostre coniunctum conuocemus, id est commanentem in eadem fide catholica inquiramus; sin autem neque nos neque ille ad illud comprehendendum sufficimus, tunc igne fidei comburatur. Sed isti multos habentes uicinos domui sue coniunctos ex superbia nolunt aliquem conuocare maluntque nescire quam ab alio querere et, si aliquem inquirentem sciant, illum esse hereticum clamant, plus de suo capucio presummentes quam sue sapiencie confidentes. Sed, queso, ne habitui credas. Iam enim in eis completum est quod Satiricus ait:

Fronti nulla fides. Quis enim non uiciis habundat
Tristibus obsenis?

Et iterum:

Rarus sermo illis, magna libido tacendi.'

Hec Vilhelmus.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ M'étant aventuré en dehors de la Bohême, j'en profiterai pour signaler un autre manuscrit de la *Philosophia*: Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 31 (26), ff. 143-155 (xiii^e siècle). Cf. W. Seńko, *Rękopisy Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie* (Varsovie, 1969), p. 15. Je dois ce renseignement à l'obligeance de mon collègue M. Zénon Kałuza.

⁸⁵ *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica* edidit Jaroslav Eršil (Pragae, 1966), pp. 165-66 (je me suis permis d'introduire dans le texte quelques unes des variantes que propose l'apparat critique de cette

Jean Hus cite donc la *Philosophia* de Guillaume de Conches comme un texte faisant autorité. Nous avons là une preuve de plus de sa diffusion dans les milieux universitaires pragoï du x^v siècle.

(b) *Les 'Glosae super Boetium'*

On sait que parmi les écrits qui ont véhiculé, du ix^e au x^v siècle, un nombre important de thèmes platoniciens et néoplatoniciens, la *Consolation de philosophie* occupe une place de choix.⁸⁶ Il serait surprenant que la sympathie de certains maîtres tchèques pour le courant platonicien ne les ait pas entraînés à lire ou à relire la *Consolation* de Boèce. En fait, non seulement la *Consolation* est présente dans les bibliothèques pragoïses, mais elle est parfois accompagnée de gloses qui sont soit les *Glosae super Boetium* de Guillaume de Conches, soit des gloses différentes où l'influence du maître normand se fait néanmoins sentir. Contentons-nous de quelques exemples.

Un premier manuscrit s'impose à notre attention: Praha, SK ČSR IV.F.14 (720). Ce volume, qui comprend 86 folios de parchemin, de 247 sur 163 mm., est du xiii^e siècle.⁸⁷ Il contient le *De consolacione philosophiae* de Boèce, accompagné de gloses (ff. 1r-31v), le *De disciplina scolarium* du pseudo-Boèce, accompagné de gloses et suivi d'un bref commentaire (ff. 32r-40v),⁸⁸ et deux commentaires (ff. 41r-71v, ff. 72r-86v) sur le *De consolacione*. Le premier de ces commentaires correspond au texte des *Glosae super Boetium* de Guillaume de Conches, tel qu'on le trouve, par exemple, dans le manuscrit 1381 (ff. 34-95r) de la Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes.⁸⁹ Voici quelques points de repère:

- Accessus: (B)oecius iste nobilis ciuis romanus fide catholicus extitit. Qui contra Nestorium ... pulcrius elucescit cum in commune deducitur. (f. 41r)
- Commentaire de *Consol.* 1, metr. 1: *Carmina*, etc. Boecius tractaturus de philosophica consolacione primitus ostendit se talem qui indigeat consolatore ... stabilis non erat ille gradu, id est forma prosperitate. (f. 41r-v)

excellente édition). Jean Hus cite ici Guillaume de Conches, *Philosophia* l.23 (PL 172.56B⁶-D⁹): cf. *Philosophia mundi. Ausgabe des 1. Buchs von Wilhelm von Conches' 'Philosophia' mit Anhang, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* von Gregor Maurach (Pretoria, 1974), pp. 32-33 (lignes 572-96). Sur la pensée de Guillaume de Conches, on consultera: T. Gregory, *Anima mundi. La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (Florence, 1955).

⁸⁶ P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris, 1967).

⁸⁷ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* 1.286-87.

⁸⁸ O. Weijers, [Edition de] Pseudo-Boèce, *De disciplina scolarium* (Leyde, 1976).

⁸⁹ On trouvera des extraits des *Glosae super Boetium* de Guillaume de Conches dans C. Jourdain, 'Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicolas Triveth sur la Consolation de la Philosophie de Boèce' dans *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* 20.2 (1862) 40-82 [= C. Jourdain, *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge* (Paris, 1888), pp. 31-68], et dans J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres* (Paris-Ottawa, 1938), pp. 122-36.

— Commentaire de *Consol.* 3, metr. 9: (*O*) *qui perpe(tua)*, etc. *Philosophia ostensura Boecio quo sit situm summum bonum et qualiter ad ipsum perueniatur ... ter(minus) idem*, quia ultra ipsum nichil est petendum, cum sit summum et perfectum bonum. (ff. 51v-55r)

La copie de ces *Glosae super Boetium* est très précisément datée du 22 novembre 1294: 'Explicit anno domini M^o CC^o LXXXVIII in die Cecilie. Amen' (f. 71v). Au xiv^e siècle, le manuscrit a appartenu à *Johannes de Nova domo* (Jan z Jindřichova Hradec), puis à Maître Závěš (*Liber Magistri Zawisij*).⁹⁰ Au xv^e siècle, il appartenait au Collège de la Nation tchèque, où il était recensé sous la cote A.93, encore visible sur le premier plat de la reliure.⁹¹ Il passa de là au Collège des Jésuites, le Clementinum, où il reçut la cote Y.III.I n.26, toujours visible sur la reliure. Il s'agit donc d'un livre qui a pu exercer une influence sur les milieux pragois des xiv^e et xv^e siècles.

Un bon exemple de l'influence des *Glosae super Boetium* de Guillaume de Conches nous est fourni par un commentaire du xv^e siècle sur la *Consolation* boécienne, que nous trouvons dans le manuscrit suivant: Praha, Národní muzeum XVIII.E.4.⁹² Ce volume, qui comprend 287 folios de papier, de 310 sur 222 mm., s'ouvre par le texte du *De consolacione philosophiae* de Boèce (ff. 2r-147v), entouré, dans les marges, d'un abondant commentaire qui fait de larges emprunts aux *Glosae super Boetium* de Guillaume de Conches. A la suite de Boèce, viennent le *De planctu naturae* d'Alain de Lille accompagné d'un commentaire et suivi d'un résumé (ff. 148r-274v), un petit traité de rhétorique—*Irrigabo ortum plantacionum...* (ff. 275r-277v)—, des *Versus ad metricae artis disciplinam* (f. 278r-v), une liste de définitions grammaticales (ff. 279r-280r),⁹³ enfin le *Libellus de predestinatione sanctorum a fratre feliciano ordinis predicatorum editus* (ff. 280r-286r).⁹⁴ Au folio 177v, on nous apprend que le livre a été terminé en l'an 1417, peu après la fête de saint Pierre-aux-liens (1^{er} août): 'Finitus est liber anno Domini M^o CCCC^o XVII^o in Crumpnalv f<eria> II^a post Vincula Sancti Petri Principis Apostolorum eximii'. Le volume a appartenu à Nicolas de Sedlczan, chapelain du château de

⁹⁰ Pour plus de détails, cf. O. Weijers, *De disciplina*, pp. 60-61.

⁹¹ On lit, en effet, dans le catalogue du Collège de la Nation tchèque (2^e moitié du xv^e siècle), col. 182, la description suivante: 'Textus Boecii de consolacione cum commento et de d(iscipli)na scoliarium' (J. Bečka - E. Urbánková, *Katalogy knihoven koleji Karlovy university* [Prague, 1948], p. 85).

⁹² Ce manuscrit n'est pas décrit dans le catalogue: F. M. Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů Národního musea v Praze*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1926-27).

⁹³ On y trouve, entre autres, les définitions de *membrum*, *articulus*, *continuacio*, *comparacio*, etc. Soit, à titre d'exemple, la définition suivante: '*Continua(c)i)o*. Et dicitur a "continuo", ab re, eo quod per ipsam subsequencia precedentibus continuantur'.

⁹⁴ J. Quétif - J. E. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* 1 (Parisiis, 1719), p. 881A; Th. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* 1 (Romae, 1970), p. 378.

Krumlov, dont le nom (*Nicolai de Sedlczan*) se lit à la suite de l'explicit du *De consolatione* de Boèce.⁹⁵

Le commentaire sur le *De consolatione* est introduit par un double prologue: le premier (ff. 2r-3r) est incontestablement tributaire de Guillaume de Conches, mais le second (f. 3r-v) semble en être indépendant. Quant au commentaire lui-même, il invoque, certes, des autorités qui n'appartiennent pas au répertoire familier des platoniciens du XII^e siècle—*Aristoteles in prologo de regimine principum*, *Jacobus in Canonica*, *Aristoteles in libro de celo et mundo* (f. 67r-v), etc.—mais une de ses sources majeures est Guillaume de Conches. Ainsi, le commentaire du Chant *O qui perpetua* (*Consol.* 3, metr. 9), aux folios 68 et suivants, reproduit-il textuellement des passages entiers des *Glosae super Boetium* du Maître normand.

Les deux manuscrits qui viennent d'être sommairement décrits ont retenu mon attention, à cause de leur relation à Guillaume de Conches. Il ne s'ensuit pas que les autres manuscrits pragois du *De consolatione* soient à négliger. Il n'est pas dans mon propos, cependant, de les étudier ici. Je me limiterai donc à mentionner, sans prétendre aucunement être exhaustif, ceux qui m'ont paru dignes d'intérêt. Les mss. Praha, SK ČSR I.G.40 (316), X.F.17 (1943) et X.F.22 (1948) contiennent le *De consolatione philosophiae* de Boèce.⁹⁶ Les deux derniers sont accompagnés de gloses marginales et interlinéaires. La copie du texte de Boèce a été exécutée en 1412 pour le ms. X.F.17, en 1377 pour le ms. X.F.22. Dans le ms. Praha, SK ČSR X.F.8 (1934), ff. 1r-77v (XV^e s.) est contenu un commentaire du *De consolatione* qui n'est pas accompagné du texte continu de Boèce.⁹⁷

Un autre témoin de la fortune de la *Consolation* boécienne est un manuscrit provenant de la bibliothèque des princes de Lobkovic, actuellement conservé à l'Université de Prague: Praha, SK ČSR Roudnice VI.Fc.30 (1^{re} moitié du XV^e siècle). Ce volume, qui comprend 228 pages de papier (avec des feuilles de parchemin ici et là), de 293 sur 210 mm., se compose de deux parties paginées indépendamment l'une de l'autre. La première partie (38 pages) contient les deux premiers livres du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella.⁹⁸ La seconde (190 pages) contient le texte (incomplet) du *De consolatione* de Boèce, précédé d'un *accessus* et accompagné, jusqu'à la page 166 inclusivement, de gloses marginales. Le texte

⁹⁵ Le ms. Praha, SK ČSR I.E.8 (193) a été donné par Nicolas de Sedlczan, en 1461, au couvent des Augustins de Třeboň. Par ailleurs, les livres suivants ont appartenu à Nicolas de Sedlczan: Praha, SK ČSR I.F.31 (263), XII.G.17 (2228); Praha, Kapitula O.8 (1592). Sur la bibliothèque de Krumlov, cf. J. Triška, 'Středověký literární Krumlov', *Listy filologické* 84 (1961) 85-101.

⁹⁶ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* 1.138, 2.92 et 93. Cf. O. Weijers, *De disciplina*, p. 81 et p. 82.

⁹⁷ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* 2.88.

⁹⁸ Pour la tradition manuscrite de Martianus Capella, cf. C. Leonardi, 'I codici di Marziano Capella', *Aevum* 33 (1959) 443-89, 34 (1960) 1-99 et 411-524. On a rencontré, au chapitre précédent, un autre manuscrit tchèque à ajouter aux listes de M. Claudio Leonardi: Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 565, ff. 1r-31r.

même de Boèce commence à la page 4; il s'interrompt, à la page 190, sur les mots *futurorum necessitate nichil* (*Consol.* 5, prosa 3; PL 63.842 B¹⁰; éd. L. Bieler, p. 94). Le premier mot de l'ouvrage (*Carmina*) se distingue par une lettrine joliment ornée dans laquelle sont représentés Boèce et la Philosophie. Quant aux gloses, elles sont assez éloignées, par la lettre comme par l'esprit, de celles que tissaient les platoniciens latins du xii^e siècle. Qu'on en juge seulement par ce commentaire du vers 13—*Tu triplicis mediam naturae cuncta mouentem*—au Chant 9 du livre 3 de la *Consolation*:

Hic Philosophia ostendit sapientiam Dei ex anime mundi productione. Vnde sciendum quod ista litera communiter exponitur ad intentionem Platonis in Tymeo. Sed quia illa expositio est difficillima et modice utilitatis, ideo eam pertranseo. Componatur igitur facior[em] ad intentionem Aristotelis, ad cuius euidentiā est notandum quod per animam mundi hic intelligitur intelligentia mouens orbem, que per motum uirtute sua influit inferioribus; et hec intelligentia dicitur media inter Deum et animam humanam. (p. 105)

L'ancienne bibliothèque du couvent de Strahov possède, elle aussi, un intéressant exemplaire manuscrit du *De consolatione* de Boèce: Praha, Strahovská knihovna D.E.II.32 (1069), ff. 226r-284v (xv^e siècle avancé). Le texte est accompagné de gloses marginales. Au folio 226v, à pleine page, on remarque un charmant tableau (inachevé), représentant Boèce couché et recevant la visite de Dame Philosophie, le tout dans un décor de prairie avec fleurs et animaux.

Plus près de nous encore, il faut citer un manuscrit ayant appartenu à Georg-Berthold Pontanus von Breitenberg († 1616), prévôt de la cathédrale de Prague. Ce livre fait partie de la bibliothèque du Chapitre métropolitain de Prague: Praha, Kapitula L.93 (1347). C'est un gros recueil de 500 folios. Le texte du *De consolatione*, précédé d'un *Accessus* et accompagné de gloses marginales, se trouve aux folios 229r-285v. Cette partie du manuscrit est très précisément datée; elle a été écrite par Wolfgang de Duxaw en 1501: 'Anno salutis millesimo quingentesimo primo Zittauie per me Wolffgangum de Duxaw pro quo Deus benedictus'.⁹⁹ Nous sommes au seuil du xvi^e siècle. Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si, à côté des anciens auteurs, traditionnellement invoqués par les commentateurs de Boèce depuis le haut Moyen Âge, on rencontre dans ces gloses des citations d'œuvres auxquelles, avant les traductions de Leonardo Bruni, le monde latin n'avait pas accès, telles que les *Lettres* de Platon (ff. 245r, 250r).

(c) *Les 'Glosae super Platonem'*

La tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée*

⁹⁹ On trouvera une description détaillée de ce manuscrit dans A. Podlaha, *Soupis* 2.253-56.

de Platon (*Glosae super Platonem*) est beaucoup plus pauvre que celle des autres œuvres du même auteur, y compris les *Glosae super Boetium*. Tout ce qui peut illustrer la fortune des *Glosae super Platonem* doit donc être recueilli avec soin. J'ai eu l'occasion, au cours de mon séjour à Prague, d'examiner trois manuscrits qui témoignent de l'influence exercée par ce texte en territoire tchèque. Deux d'entre eux appartiennent à la bibliothèque de l'Université [Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398). IV.B.24 (626)]; le troisième faisait partie de la bibliothèque du Chapitre métropolitain de Prague: Praha, Kapitula O.71 (1655). Nous examinerons successivement chacun d'eux.

1°. Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398)

Ce manuscrit nous est déjà connu: je l'ai décrit plus haut sous le sigle A. Il s'agit d'un recueil fort riche ayant appartenu, au xv^e siècle, à Procope de Pilsen. On sait qu'il renferme, non seulement le *Timée* de Platon dans la traduction de Calcidius, mais aussi, aux folios 74r-78v, des extraits plus ou moins remaniés du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur ce dialogue (*Glosae super Platonem*). Ces extraits, il est vrai, ne peuvent être d'un grand secours pour l'établissement du texte de Guillaume de Conches, d'abord parce que l'extracteur ne s'est pas gêné pour interpoler son modèle—c'est ainsi qu'on trouve une référence à Wyclif (f. 75va, ligne 41)—, ensuite parce que ces extraits ne constituent qu'une faible portion de l'œuvre originale. Sur les 176 chapitres que comportent les *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches, soixante-dix seulement sont représentés dans notre manuscrit: encore certains ne le sont-ils que par quelques lignes.¹⁰⁰ A un autre point de vue, cependant, ces extraits ont un réel intérêt pour l'histoire de la tradition platonicienne au Moyen Âge. Ils nous permettent de comprendre comment des gloses du xii^e siècle pouvaient, moyennant certaines retouches, servir de guide, en plein xv^e siècle, à un lecteur du *Timée*. Ils mériteraient donc d'être édités. Je me contenterai d'en reproduire ici les premières lignes, qui correspondent au chapitre II des *Glosae super Platonem* du philosophe de Conches:

Circa librum Platonis qui Timeus inscribitur queritur de causis. Primo de causa compositionis que fuit talis. Cum inter omnes recte philosophantes iustitiam et in confirmacione rei p(ublice) principatum obtinere certum esset et circa illius inquisitionem maxima eorum fuit intencio. Quorum Trasimachus orator sic ipsam distinxit: Iusticia est que plurimum prodest illi qui plurimum potens est, attendens quod propter comendacionem iusticie ad illum qui plurimum potest gubernacula rei publice transferuntur. Cuius difinitione in scolis Socratis ventilata, ait: Non, sed

¹⁰⁰ Pour plus de détails sur les extraits des *Glosae super Platonem* contenus dans ce manuscrit, cf. Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, éd. Jeauneau, pp. 321-22. On notera que l'extracteur du ms. Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398) savait que le *Wilhelmus* qui avait commenté le *Timée* était le même que l'auteur de la *Philosophia*.

iusticia est que plurimum prodest illi qui minimum potest. Qui enim plus posset se et sua sine omni iusticia conservaret, sed quia qui minimum minime. Et quia tam perfectam de ea dederat sententiam rogaverunt eum sui discipuli ut de ea tractatum conponeret. Quorum satisfaciens voluntati, de partibus ipsius iusticie, id est de positiva iusticia tractavit. (f. 74ra, lignes 1-13)

2°. Praha, SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626)

Ce deuxième manuscrit, lui aussi, nous est connu: c'est celui qui a été décrit plus haut sous le sigle B. Comme le précédent, il témoigne de la survivance, en plein xv^e siècle tchèque, d'une certaine tradition médiévale de la lecture de Platon, puisqu'à côté des traductions récentes de Leonardo Bruni il contient la vieille traduction calcidienne du *Timée*, elle-même précédée des premiers chapitres des *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches.

De même que la traduction calcidienne du *Timée* contenue dans ce manuscrit (ff. 1v-18v) avait échappé à la sagacité du savant éditeur de Calcidius, de même la présence d'extraits du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée* (f. 1r-v) m'avait échappé.¹⁰¹ En fait, seuls les six premiers chapitres des *Glosae super Platonem*—le prologue (cap. I) et l'*accessus* (cap. II-VI)—sont contenus dans le ms. Praha, SK ČSR IV.B.24. Mais cela suffit pour nous convaincre que l'exemplaire qui a servi de modèle à B n'était aucun des manuscrits que j'ai utilisés pour mon édition des *Glosae*. En effet, tous ces manuscrits omettent, au chapitre V, le tableau des sciences; or, le ms. SK ČSR IV.B.24 le possède, de façon incomplète, il est vrai. Par ailleurs, en plusieurs des manuscrits sur lesquels j'ai établi mon édition, le prologue fait défaut. Sa présence dans le manuscrit de Prague pourrait permettre d'améliorer ce texte d'autant plus intéressant que Guillaume y expose les motifs qui l'ont incité à commenter—ou, plus exactement, à gloser—le *Timée*. Je crois donc utile de relever ci-dessous les variantes du ms. SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626) par rapport au texte de mon édition. Pour la commodité, j'ai établi, au sein de chaque chapitre, une numérotation continue des lignes, numérotation que l'éditeur a refusé de porter sur le texte imprimé des *Glosae*. Le lecteur voudra bien y suppléer: je lui demande pardon pour cet inconvénient, indépendant de ma volonté. A gauche du crochet droit, je note les leçons de mon édition; à droite, les variantes du manuscrit de Prague.

Chapitre I

2. nec] non

4. nonnulli] nulli¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, éd. Jeuneau, pp. 31-48.

¹⁰² La leçon *nulli* est probablement meilleure que la variante *nonnulli* que j'avais retenue pour mon édition. En effet, Guillaume semble vouloir dire que si, dans les passages faciles, les glossateurs se montrent volontiers prolifiques (*superflui*), dans les passages difficiles, ils sont obscurs (*obscurissimi*), voire absolument muets (*uel nulli*).

- 10-11. maluimus ... minuere] *om.*
- 12. inueniatur] inuenitur
- 12-13. contineatur] continetur
- 13. tali enim] quia tali
- 13-14. fecimus] facimus
- 15. inde eligere] intelligere

Chapitre II

- 1. *inter* incipientibus *et* Thimeum *add.* in
- 2. illius] *om.*
- 2-3. et qua utilitate] *om.*
- 5. recte] *om.* iusticiam] *om.*
- 7. fuit eorum] eorum fuit illam] ipsam
- 7-8. diffiniuit] distinxit
- 9. illud] *om.* conseruationem] comendacionem
- 11. relata] uentilata immo] sed
- 12. plurimum²] plus
- 13. potest] posset
- 15. diffinitionem] sententiam

Chapitre III

- 2. est inuenta] inuenta est
- 3. non est ab homine inuenta] non ab homine inuenta est
- 5. tractatu] tractando transtulit] sustulit
- 6. nulla] nullo potuit] poterat
- 7-8. nouam confinxit iuxta ueterem Atheniensium] nouam ueterem confixit Atheniensium
- 10. hoc opus] opus hoc
- 12. *inter* possumus *et* dicere *add.* hoc quod] quia
- 12-13. materia huius libri est naturalis iusticia uel] naturalis iusticia est huius libri materia uel

Chapitre IV

- 2. mundi causam] causam mundi
- 3. coniunctionem] coniugationem
- 6. eiusdem] *om.*
- 7. *inter* materia *et* ut *add.* tali modo et] cum
- 9-10. uel hac ... cognitionem] *om.*
- 11. non uni tantum parti philosophie] non uni parti philosophie tantum
- 11-12. aliquid in eo] in eo aliquid
- 12. appareat] uideamus

Chapitre V

- 1. igitur] *om.*
- 4. species] *om.* instructione] institutione
- 5. dispensatiua] dispensatio unde] *om.*

7. id est] *om.*
9. sunt tres] tres sunt
10. ratio] *om.*
- 10-11. logos ratio] ratio enim est logos
11. dicta] *om.*
13. antonomasice] antonomastice scilicet] *om.*
14. aliis¹] ceteris
15. ista] istis quod] ut
16. figura] doctrina
- 16-17. sunt quatuor] quatuor sunt
17. arismetica] arithmetica
20. instrumentalis, mundana, humana] *om.*
21. *inter* instrumentalis *et* tres *add.* sunt sunt tres] III sunt
23. predictam] predicta
27. Eloquentia Sapientia] Philosophia Eloquentia
28. Grammatica, Rhetorica, Dialectica] Dia(lecti)ca, Retho(ri)ca, Gra(mmati)ca
31. Arismetica, Musica, Geometria, Astronomia] Musica, A(r)ich(meti)ca, Ast(r)o-(nomi)a, Geometria
- 32-34. *om.*

Chapitre VI

- 5-6. de phisica] phi(si)ce
- 7-8. dicitur ... discipulo Platonis] *om.*
8. mos enim fuit Platonis] Plato solebat
9. illis honorem] honorem discipulo
10. et] *om.*
11. est²] *om.*
- 12-13. alii dicunt ... liber iste] uel Thimeus ab animali
13. quia de magno animali, id est de mundo] quia de mundo, id est de mag(n)o animali tractat] agit

Il n'est pas sans intérêt d'observer que la plupart des leçons qui viennent d'être relevées se retrouvent dans les extraits des *Glosae super Platonem* du ms. Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398), y compris les plus rares, celles qui ne figurent dans aucun des manuscrits utilisés pour l'édition de ce texte. On peut donc, avec beaucoup de vraisemblance, supposer que Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398) et Praha, SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626) dépendent d'une source commune. Laquelle? De nouvelles recherches permettront peut-être de la découvrir un jour.

3°. Praha, Kapitula O.71 (1655)

Le troisième manuscrit qui témoigne de l'influence en territoire tchèque des *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches appartenait à la bibliothèque du Chapitre métropolitain de Prague: Praha, Kapitula O.71 (1655). Ce volume, qui comprend 195 folios de papier, de 150 sur 110 mm., contient des œuvres diverses,

parmi lesquelles on remarque des écrits de Jean Hus, des extraits des Pères de l'Eglise, et un recueil de sentences philosophiques—*Parui flores*—sur lequel nous aurons à revenir tantôt. Le manuscrit est daté de la première moitié du xv^e siècle.¹⁰³

Les extraits du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée* se trouvent aux folios 135v-136v. L'extracteur ne semble pas avoir connu l'auteur, puisqu'il l'appelle *Commentator quidam super Thimeum Platonis*. Les passages qu'il a recopiés ont trait aux facultés de connaissance; ils correspondent, avec quelques légères lacunes, aux chapitres XXXIV (lignes 7-41) et XV (lignes 4-35) de l'édition des *Glosae super Platonem*.¹⁰⁴ J'en reproduis ici le texte intégral.

(f. 135v) COMMEN(TA)TOR QUIDAM SVPER THI(M)EVM PLATONIS

Sensus est uis anime qua percipit homo figuram et colorem rei presentis. Que uis non operatur nisi in tempore (*sic*) presenti illius cuius est figura et color.

IMAGO VEL IMAGINACIO

Imago uero est uis anime qua percipit homo figuram rei absentis. Hec habet p(rincipi)um a s(en)su, quia quod imaginamur uelud uidimus uel ad si(mi)li(tudi)nem alterius rei iam uise imaginamur.

RACIO

Racio uero est uis anime qua diiudicat homo proprietates corporum et differentias que insunt illis. Hec habet princi(p)i)um ab ymaginacione et sensu: de hiis enim que sentimus uel imaginantur (*sic*) discernimus.

INTELLECTVS

Intellectus est quedam uis anime qua percipit homo incorporea cum certa ratione quasi (*sic*) ita sint. Hec habet principium a ratione. Cum enim homo percipit proprietates corporum, ratione cognoscit corpus huma(n)um a ratione graue esse, grauedinemque motui repugnare. Vnde, cum humanum corpus moueri uideret, hoc ex alio cognouit. Inquirendo ergo cognouit in eo spiritum esse qui motum ei conferret; et sic, ducente ratione, ad int(ell)ectum incorporeorum peruenit. Sed, ut ca(usalite)r se precedunt, sic et in tempore. Primum enim habet sensum ut in infancia, deinde imagi(nation)em, post rationem, deinde intellectum si deus illum concedat, quia, ut ait Plato, intellectus solius dei est et admodum [id est ualde, *addit idem scriba super lineam*] paucorum hominum.

(f. 136r) Preter has uirtutes, sunt alie, rationi et intellectui subuenientes, ut ingenium, memoria, opinio. Ingenium est naturalis uis cum est aliquid cito intelligendum; et dicitur ingenium quasi intus genitum. Memoria est uis retinendi firmiter cognita. Opinio est perceptio rei cum dubitatione, que, si de corporibus confirmata sit, ratio fit, si de incorporeis, intellectus est.

Sapientia igitur diuina uolens in homine esse sapientiam qua bonum a malo discerneret, irascibilitatem contra malum, concupiscentiam circa bonum, unicuique de

¹⁰³ A. Podlaha, *Soupis* 2.545-48. Cf. O. Weijers, *De disciplina*, p. 89.

¹⁰⁴ Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, éd. Jeaneau, pp. 100-102 et 74-75.

illis proprietatibus tribus propriam in corpore hominis sedem attribuit. Vt igitur sapientia dignior est, digniori parti eiusdem, id est capiti, eam assignauit.

CONDICIONES QVE FACIUNT SAPIENTEM

Vnde tria sunt que faciunt perfecte sapientem: uis cito intelligendi, uis discernendi, uis intellecta retinendi in memoria. In capite hominis sunt tres uentriculi: in prora unus, in puppe alius, in medio tercius. In primo horum est uis intelligendi, unde est calidus et siccus ut melius formas rerum et colores [calores, *Cod.*] attrahat. In medio est uis discernendi: quia est ca(lidus) et hu(midus), ut melius possit discernere inter res est temperatus. Tercius est fri(gidus) et siccus et astringilis ut melius possit sibi tradita retinere. Cum igitur anima iudicat de aliquo, ad primam cellulam formas et colores attrahit, deinde illos eosdem [easdem, *Cod.*] ad mediam cellulam, ut ibi discernat, traducit, deinde ad posteriorem transmittit, et quasi in thesauro recludit, donec anima uelit uel aliud illuc transmittere, uel aliquid inde reuocare: tunc enim aperitur.

SEDES SAPIENTIE

Quia ergo i(s)ta tria que fa(ciu)nt perfecte sapientem habent sedem in capite, in eo merito sedes sapientie esse dicitur. Sub capite uero est cor, quedam [qui, *Cod.*] su(bstanti)a, ca(lida) et sic(ca) deprauata [*sic in Codice*] constringeret, ex quo ira est in homine. Sub quo corde sunt renes, in quibus est sedes concupiscentie. Ad hanc similitudinem uoluit Socrates (f. 136v) ciuitatis in arce esse senatum, ut in arce capitis est sapientia; sub istis esse milites, uel(ud) in corde animositatem; sub quibus sunt cupidenarii, ut in lumbis concupiscentiam. Et ut pedes in inferiori parte calcant terram, ita agricole et pastores extra muros terram exercent. HEC IBI.

Ainsi se terminent les extraits du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée*. Ils sont suivis de deux pièces de vers, hexamètres ou pentamètres, d'une métrique approximative. La première de ces pièces se compose de quatre vers: elle résume assez bien le dernier paragraphe des extraits cités, celui qui répond au titre de *Sedes sapientie*. En voici le texte:

Elegit capitis sapientia tres sibi sedes:
Fantasia sedet in prima, sed uis rationis
In media, terna uim memorantis habet.
Prima capit, media discernit, terna retentat.

La deuxième pièce résume en dix vers les doctrines de Démocrite, Leucippe, Pythagore, Platon, Anaxagore, Empédocle, Diogène, Héraclite. Elle est suivie, toujours au folio 136v, par un tableau succinct, dans lequel sont distinguées les âmes végétative, sensitive et rationnelle. Chacun des membres de cette division est commenté par quelques mots en ancienne langue tchèque.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ M^{me} le Dr. Marie Kostílková m'a aimablement aidé à lire ces mots, qui sont la traduction, en ancien tchèque, de la terminologie latine: je l'en remercie vivement. Ces mots avaient été signalés dans le catalogue des manuscrits du Chapitre de Prague: '136^b in textu occurrunt uocabula bohémica' (A. Podlaha, *Soupis* 2.547).

- Anima — Vegetatiua qua a(u)mentum recipi(m)us. *dussye mosszye*.
 — Sensitiua qua sentimus. *czytedlna dussye*.
 — Rationalis qua intelligimus. *rozumna dussye*.

Les extraits du commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée*, tels qu'on les trouve dans le ms. Praha, Kapitula O.71 (1655), figurent également dans le ms. Praha, SK ČSR III.A.13 (398), f. 74rb-va [= *Glosae super Platonem* XV.4-35] et f. 74va-vb [= ibid. XXXIV.7-41]. On pourrait donc se demander si la source de Kapitula 1655 n'est pas précisément SK ČSR 398. Il n'en est rien. En effet, on lit, dans le premier manuscrit, un membre de phrase qui fait défaut dans le second: 'incorporeorum peruenit. Sed, ut causaliter se precedunt, sic et in tempore. Primum enim habet sensum ut in infancia, deinde imaginationem, post rationem, deinde intellectum' [= ibid. XXXIV.31-34]. Ces mots qui, en raison sans doute d'une homéotéleutie (*intellectum*), ont été sautés par le copiste du ms. SK ČSR 398 (f. 74va, ligne 66), se trouvent en bonne et due place dans le ms. Kapitula 1655 (f. 135v). Il est donc impossible que celui-ci ait été copié sur celui-là. Mais il est vraisemblable que les deux dépendent d'une source commune, la même, peut-être, qui a servi au copiste du folio 1r-v du ms. SK ČSR IV.B.24 (626).¹⁰⁶

III

LES 'PARVI FLORES', LE 'DE VITA ET MORIBVS PHILOSOPHORVM'

Si intéressants que soient, pour l'histoire du platonisme en Bohême, les manuscrits mentionnés ci-dessus, ils ne peuvent suffire à expliquer toutes les allusions à la vie et à l'enseignement de Platon, ni rendre raison de toutes les citations, vraies ou supposées, littérales ou approximatives, qui sont faites de ses œuvres par les maîtres tchèques du xv^e siècle. On le sait—mais on ne le redira jamais assez—la connaissance des auteurs anciens, qu'il s'agisse des Pères de l'Eglise ou des auteurs profanes, des philosophes ou des poètes, dérive souvent de florilèges et de compilations de seconde main.

En ce qui concerne la fortune de Platon en Bohême, deux livres ont joué un rôle appréciable: une anthologie anonyme intitulée *Parui flores* d'une part, le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley de l'autre. Il s'agit de deux œuvres bien différentes. Les *Parui flores* sont une collection de sentences—parfois défigurées et,

¹⁰⁶ M. Hugues Shooner a eu l'obligeance de me signaler un *accessus* au *Timée*, contenu dans le ms. Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 575, f. 43r: *Questiones communes super Timeo Platonis et Boecium de Consolatione*. Ce texte fait partie d'une collection d'*accessus* qui se présente comme un manuel destiné à faciliter aux étudiants la préparation des examens: ms. cité, ff. 39ra-44ra. Un manuel semblable, mais non de tout point identique, avait été repéré par Mgr Grabmann dans le ms. Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón Ripoll 109, ff. 134r-158v: M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben. Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik* 2 (München, 1936), pp. 183-99.

de toute façon, privées du contexte qui permettrait de les interpréter avec finesse, mais généralement authentiques—glanées dans les écrits philosophiques dont pouvait disposer une bonne bibliothèque du xiv^e siècle. Le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley est un recueil d'anecdotes sur la vie des philosophes—anecdotes dont l'authenticité est parfois douteuse et où la tendance moralisatrice prédomine—empruntées le plus souvent, même quand elles dérivent d'auteurs anciens dignes de foi, à des encyclopédies médiévales. Mais ces deux œuvres ont un point commun: leur immense succès, attesté par le nombre considérable des manuscrits qui nous en ont conservé le texte. Je me propose de consigner ici quelques notes prises au cours de mon séjour à Prague et qui, si je ne m'abuse, permettent d'illustrer la fortune de ces deux œuvres en territoire tchèque.

(a) *Les 'Parui flores'*

Quiconque parcourt les catalogues des grandes bibliothèques pragoises en vue d'y repérer les textes philosophiques, ne peut manquer d'y rencontrer une anthologie qui, d'ailleurs, est abondamment représentée dans les bibliothèques médiévales en général et que l'on désigne sous des titres divers: *Flores librorum philosophiae naturalis et moralis*, *Notabilia excerpta*, *Auctoritates Aristotelis et aliorum philosophorum*, etc.¹⁰⁷ Le titre que je retiendrai est celui que donne un manuscrit pragois de la première moitié du xv^e siècle:¹⁰⁸ Praha, Kapitula M.23 (1376). Au folio 190v de ce manuscrit, l'auteur du florilège (où le copiste qui en a transcrit le texte), après s'être excusé des omissions possibles, déclare que le titre qui convient à ce recueil de morceaux choisis est celui de *Parui flores*:

De obmissis peto ueniam, de inuentis uero grates multas. Nota quod in hoc est finis auctoritatum communium et breuiorum et, ut puto, pro parte utiliorum quam plurimorum librorum philosophie et logice, scilicet Aris(toti)lis principis philosophorum, necnon et aliorum quorundam, uidelicet (f. 191r) Plathonis, Boecii, Senece, Porphirii ac Apulei compendiose in unam (*sic*) collectarum. In quibus quanta sit utilitas mentis et iocunditas, ipsemet, si diligenter inspecte fuerint, declarabunt. Vnde earum declaratio et utilitas occasionem dat eis (*sic*) uocandi flores et, quia quantitatis sunt non magne, participant nomine paruorum. Dicuntur ergo auctoritates hic scripte, si placet, PARUI FLORES, etc.

Immédiatement après cette déclaration, se trouve la liste des différentes œuvres (f. 191r-v) qui ont servi à la confection du florilège. Aristote y a la part du lion: c'est

¹⁰⁷ J. Hamesse, *Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège médiéval. Etude historique et édition critique* (Philosophes médiévaux 17; Louvain-Paris, 1974), p. 12. M^{lle} Jacqueline Hamesse a publié aussi une concordance des termes utilisés dans ce recueil: J. Hamesse, *Auctoritates Aristotelis I. Concordance* (Louvain, 1972). Cf. L. Bataillon, 'Bulletin d'histoire des doctrines médiévales', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 61 (1977) 271-73.

¹⁰⁸ A. Podlaha, *Soupis* 2.281-82.

pour cette raison, probablement, que le recueil est souvent appelé *Auctoritates Aristotelis*. Concernant les traductions des œuvres d'Aristote, précisément, le ms. Kapitula M.23 contient plusieurs remarques que je crois utile de signaler en passant. A propos de la *Métaphysique*:

Ista scientia, in quantum haberi potest per inuestigacionem humanam, tradita est nobis ab Aristotele in libro *Metha(phisi)ce*. Qui liber habet quatuordecim libros translatos. Plures autem si habet, illi adhuc non sunt translati de greco in latinum. In quantum hec scientia habetur per infusionem et per inspiracionem Spiritus sancti, si est tradita in diuersis libris theologie et sanctis doctoribus, quorum tanta est diuersitas quod ad presens ipsos enumerare non possum... (f. 137r)

Au sujet de la *Poétique*, nous lisons (f. 135v):

Et notandum quod, sicut dicit translator Aristotelis, sicut *Rethorica* Tullii adminiculatur *Rethorice* Aristotelis sic et *Poetica* Oracii adminiculatur *Poetice* Aristotelis. Nec moueat aliquem quod rethoricam et poeticam sub logica collocaui, quia, sicut dicit (f. 136r) Albertus, primo *Posteriorum*, logica generaliter dicta comprehendit rethoricam et poeticam. Item, translator *Poetice* Aristotelis, in prologo super ipsam *Poeticam*, dicit: Suscipiant ergo, si placet, huius edicionis *Poetice* translacionem uiri studiosi. Et gaudeant se cum hac adeptos esse logice negocii Aristotelis complementum... . Ecce qualiter expresse patet ex intentione Aristotelis, Alberti et translatoris *Poetice* quod tam rethorica quam poetica sunt partes logice.

Un peu plus loin, une autre remarque sur les traductions: '... in libro *de nutrimento et nutribili*, qui adhuc non est translatus' (f. 138r).¹⁰⁹

M^{lle} Jacqueline Hamesse qui, depuis plusieurs années, défriche patiemment ce terrain broussailleux, a justement souligné l'importance que de tels florilèges ont eue dans l'histoire de la philosophie occidentale: 'Il est certain que la plupart des étudiants et même des maîtres se sont bornés à exploiter ces recueils, lorsqu'ils désiraient se livrer à l'étude d'un problème déterminé. Et lorsque, dans leurs écrits, les auteurs médiévaux accumulaient de très nombreuses citations, la plupart d'entre eux les puisaient dans les recueils établis à cet effet et ne lisaient pas les œuvres des auteurs qu'ils citaient'.¹¹⁰ Une telle remarque s'applique parfaitement, me semble-t-il, aux maîtres tchèques et à leurs disciples. M^{lle} Hamesse, qui nous a donné une édition des *Parui flores* établie sur les incunables, a dressé aussi, dans la préface de son édition, une imposante liste de 153 manuscrits.¹¹¹ Sur ces 153 manuscrits, il en est dix qui sont actuellement conservés dans des bibliothèques tchèques. Mon séjour

¹⁰⁹ Pour les traductions de la *Métaphysique*, cf. G. Diem, 'Les traductions gréco-latines de la Métaphysique au moyen âge. Le problème de la *Metaphysica Vetus*', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 49 (1967) 7-71. Pour les traductions de la *Poétique*, cf. *Aristoteles Latinus* 33: *De arte poetica*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, 2^e édition (Bruxelles-Paris, 1968). Pour les extraits d'Aristote cités dans les *Parui flores*, cf. L. Bataillon, 'Bulletin d'histoire', 264-71.

¹¹⁰ J. Hamesse, *Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, p. 10.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 24-37.

en Tchécoslovaquie et le concours généreux du Dr. František Šmahel m'ont permis d'en repérer quelques autres que, pour répondre à un vœu exprimé par M^{lle} Hamesse, je me permets de mentionner ici.¹¹² On peut dès maintenant proposer, pour les *Parui flores* conservés dans des bibliothèques de Bohême, une liste de dix-huit manuscrits.¹¹³ Nul doute que ce chiffre ne soit dépassé un jour.

Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 505, ff. 1r-12v	(texte incomplet)
Praha, Kapitula D.35 (600), ff. 85r-112v	(xv ¹)
Praha, Kapitula F.76 (931), ff. 135r-140r	(xv ¹)
Praha, Kapitula H.8 (1062), ff. 107r-110v	(xiv ²)
Praha, Kapitula H.14 (1069), ff. 55r-83r	(xv ¹)
Praha, Kapitula M.23 (1376), ff. 133r-191v	(xv ¹)
Praha, Kapitula M.33 (1386), ff. 49r-80r	(xiv ² ; années 1388-89)
Praha, Kapitula M.115 (1475), ff. 20r-34v	(xiv ¹)
Praha, Kapitula N.25 (1549), ff. 1r-37r	(xv ¹)
Praha, Kapitula N.31 (1555), ff. 38r-60r	(xiv ²)
Praha, Kapitula O.56 (1640), ff. 3r-53r	(xv ¹ ; année 1422) ¹¹⁴
Praha, Kapitula O.71 (1655), ff. 147r-170r	(xv ¹)
Praha, SK ČSR III.C.15 (446), ff. 79v-85v	(xv)
Praha, SK ČSR IV.C.27 (654), ff. 13r-29v	(xiv-xv)
Praha, SK ČSR VII.G.1 (1347), ff. 66r-148v	(xv) ¹¹⁵
Praha, SK ČSR XIII.E.7 (2326), ff. 1r-29v	(xiv-xv)
Praha, SK ČSR XIII.F.19 (2357), ff. 220r-234r	(xiv ²)
Praha, SK ČSR adlig. 40.C.12 (2786), ff. 1r-17r	(xv; année 1477). ¹¹⁶

¹¹² 'Nous remercions d'avance ceux qui pourraient nous donner des suppléments d'information' (ibid., p. 24). Le ms. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Lat. class. XIV, 33 (4483)—cf. J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Mercurii Venetiarum* (Venetiis, 1868-73), 4.90—contient aussi les *Parui flores*: les extraits du *Timée* se trouvent aux folios 147v-148v.

¹¹³ Pour la description des manuscrits, je prie le lecteur de bien vouloir se reporter aux catalogues: J. Bistrický - M. Boháček - F. Čáda, *Seznam rukopisů Metropolitní Kapituly v Olomouci* (cf. ci-dessus n. 17); A. Patera - A. Podlaha, *Soupis* (cf. ci-dessus n. 36); J. Truhlář, *Catalogus* (cf. ci-dessus n. 4). Je cite, d'après J. Hamesse, *Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, les manuscrits suivants, que je n'ai pas eu l'occasion d'examiner moi-même: Praha, Kapitula H.14 (1069) et M.33 (1386); SK ČSR III.C.15 (446), IV.C.27 (654), XIII.E.7 (2326), XIII.F.19 (2357). Je n'ai pas étudié, non plus, les mss. Praha, Kapitula F.76 (931) et H.8 (1062), dont les cotes m'ont été aimablement communiquées par le Dr. František Šmahel. J'ai examiné tous les autres.

¹¹⁴ Dans ce manuscrit, les *Auctoritates philosophorum* sont expressément datées: 'Expliciunt auctoritates Anno Domini M^oCCCC^oXXII^o, in die undecim milia virginum, uel quarta feria post festum Galli, per manus diuersorum scoliarium' (ms. Praha, Kapitula O.56, f. 53r).

¹¹⁵ Les deux derniers cahiers du ms. Praha, SK ČSR VII.G.1 (1347) se présentent dans un état chaotique. Pour obtenir un texte cohérent, il faut lire dans l'ordre suivant: folios 137, 144-146, 138-143, 147, 148, etc.

¹¹⁶ Au folio 17r du ms. Praha, SK ČSR adlig. 40.C.12 (2786), on lit: 'Expliciunt auctoritates Aris(totelis) et aliorum philosophorum per me Crucem de Telecz, anno Domini M^oCCCC^oLXXVII^o, in Sobieslauia, in uigilia sancti Andree pro pre(dica)tore existente'. Je remercie M. le professeur Jerzy B. Korolec qui a eu l'obligeance de me signaler la présence des *Parui flores* dans ce manuscrit.

Les *Parui flores*, on l'a déjà dit, font à Aristote la part du lion: les œuvres du Stagyrite ont fourni la plus grosse part des textes cités. Selon toute vraisemblance, d'ailleurs, le florilège a été élaboré dans un milieu aristotélisant.¹¹⁷ Un tel recueil a donc contribué d'abord à alimenter le courant aristotélécien. Toutefois, comme il contient des extraits d'œuvres appartenant à des traditions philosophiques diverses, un lecteur curieux pouvait y glaner aussi des citations de Sénèque (*Lettres à Lucilius*, *De beneficiis*), de Boèce (*De consolazione philosophiae*), du pseudo-Boèce (*De disciplina scoliarum*), d'Apulée (*De deo Socratis*), de Platon lui-même (*Timée*). Bien que le *De consolazione* de Boèce et le *De deo Socratis* d'Apulée intéressent la tradition platonicienne, c'est aux seuls extraits du *Timée* que je voudrais m'intéresser ici. En effet, avant les traductions des humanistes italiens (Leonardo Bruni, Marsile Ficin) qui, on l'a vu, arrivèrent assez tôt en Bohême, le seul dialogue platonicien qui fût pratiquement accessible aux lecteurs latins—car ni le *Phédon* ni le *Ménon*, traduits vers le milieu du xii^e siècle par Henri Aristippe, ne trouvèrent une large audience—était le *Timée*, dans la traduction de Calcidius. Certes, plusieurs manuscrits de cette traduction existaient en pays tchèque—on en a décrit quelques uns ci-dessus—, mais tous ceux qui citaient ce dialogue ne l'avaient pas nécessairement lu dans un exemplaire complet de la traduction calcidienne. Bon nombre d'entre eux, sans doute, ne connaissaient le *Timée* qu'à travers les extraits des *Parui flores*. Il n'est donc pas inutile, pour qui s'intéresse à la fortune de Platon en Bohême, d'avoir présent à l'esprit le paragraphe des *Parui flores* qui est composé d'extraits du *Timée*.¹¹⁸ C'est dans ce but que j'en propose ici une édition: elle n'a pas la prétention d'être critique, elle voudrait seulement faciliter le repérage des citations de Platon chez les maîtres tchèques.

Pour établir le texte de ces extraits du *Timée*, j'ai consulté sept manuscrits pragois:

- a: Kapitula M.23 (1376) f. 181r-v
- b: Kapitula M.115 (1475), f. 34vb
- c: Kapitula N.25 (1549), f. 31r
- d: Kapitula N.31 (1555), ff. 57v-58r

¹¹⁷ M^{lle} J. Hamesse (*Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, p. 38) pense que les *Parui flores* ont pu être compilés entre 1267 et 1325, et que le compilateur pourrait être Marsile de Padoue: 'Il semble donc que nous soyons en droit d'avancer qu'aucun argument sérieux ne nous empêche d'attribuer la paternité du florilège à Marsile de Padoue. En l'absence d'autres renseignements, nous proposons par conséquent le nom de ce philosophe comme auteur probable du recueil' (ibid., p. 43).

¹¹⁸ Ce paragraphe est édité dans J. Hamesse, ibid., pp. 296-97. Dans cette édition, les extraits du *Timée* sont précédés d'une introduction—*Platonis, ut ait Helinandus ... in Epistulis*—qui ne figure dans aucun manuscrit des *Parui flores* que j'ai eu l'occasion d'examiner. Walter Burley, dont le nom se trouve d'ailleurs cité, a fourni les principaux éléments de cette introduction: *Gualteri Burlaei Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, éd. H. Knust (cf. ci-dessous n. 133), p. 232, p. 214 et (de nouveau) p. 232. On notera que l'introduction aux *Parui flores* fait descendre Platon non de Solon, mais de Salomon!

- e: Kapitula O.56 (1640), ff. 43v-44r
 f: Kapitula O.71 (1655), f. 160r
 g: SK ČSR VII.G.1 (1347), f. 146v et f. 138r.¹¹⁹

Il m'a paru commode de répartir ces extraits du *Timée* en une série de sentences et d'attribuer à chacune d'elles un chiffre romain. On obtient ainsi une collection de vingt sentences, numérotées de I à XX.¹²⁰ A la suite de chaque sentence, j'ai indiqué, chaque fois que la chose a été possible, la référence au *Timée* de Platon: le premier chiffre se rapporte aux divisions de l'édition Estienne, les autres chiffres renvoient aux pages et aux lignes de la traduction de Calcidius dans l'édition Waszink.¹²¹ Ces sentences sont rarement des citations littérales: tantôt le texte de Platon est résumé, tantôt il est paraphrasé. Pour la sentence XIX, j'ai été incapable d'indiquer une quelconque référence au *Timée*. Concernant la sentence XIV, on remarquera que les manuscrits sont divisés. Trois d'entre eux (cdg) donnent un texte long (*Timée* 41A-B; p. 35⁹⁻¹⁷), les quatre autres (abef) donnent un texte plus court (*Timée* 41A; p. 35⁹⁻¹¹). Mais, dans tous les manuscrits, cette même sentence (XIV) est suivie d'un *Nota* qui introduit une glose et non une citation du *Timée*. Dans la mesure du possible, j'ai relevé toutes les variantes, même celles qui, de toute évidence, sont de grossières bévues. En réalité ce sont de telles variantes qui peuvent nous aider à déterminer si tel auteur cite Platon directement ou à travers un exemplaire des *Parui flores*, voire nous permettre d'expliquer les contresens qu'il commet en le citant. Cependant, je n'ai pas cru nécessaire de relever systématiquement toutes les inversions de mots. Le titre donné à ces extraits varie avec les manuscrits: *Liber Platonis* [Plathonis] in *Thimeo* [Thymeo] (ac), *Flores Thimei Platonis* (b), *Plato in Timeo* [Thymeo] (dg), *Auctoritates Platonis* (e), *Auctoritates primi libri in Thimeo uenerabilis Platonis* (f). Voici ces extraits:

I

In omnibus, siue maximis siue minimis, diuinum auxilium debet implorari [27C; p. 20⁷⁻⁸].¹²²

I. siue ... siue] tum ... tum b // rebus post minimis add. g // implorare d // implorari debet auxilium transp. aef.

¹¹⁹ En raison d'une anomalie signalée ci-dessus (n. 115), les extraits du *Timée* sont répartis sur deux folios distincts et séparés l'un de l'autre: f. 146v d'une part [Sententiae I-XIV^a], f. 138r d'autre part [Sententiae XIV^b-XX]. La sentence XVII [= II de l'édition Hamesse] se lit deux fois, et sous une forme légèrement différente, dans le manuscrit g: 'Nichil est ortum cuius causa legitima non precessit' (f. 146v, ligne 12); 'Nichil est cuius ortum causa legitima non precessit et racio' (f. 138r, ligne 12).

¹²⁰ Il va sans dire qu'une telle division comporte une part d'arbitraire. L'édition Hamesse (*Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, pp. 296-97) ne comporte que seize sentences. Par ailleurs, elle groupe en une seule phrase les sentences VIII et IX, ce qui se justifie parfaitement.

¹²¹ *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus* (cf. ci-dessus n. 3).

¹²² La première sentence pourrait tout aussi bien dériver de Boèce, *De consolazione philosophiae* 3.9 § 32 (PL 63.757A-B; éd. L. Bieler, p. 51, lignes 86-88). Cette proposition se retrouve, dans les *Parui flores* mêmes, parmi les extraits de Boèce (Sentence XLIV): J. Hamesse, *Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, p. 289.

II

In omni tractatu fieri debet ut inter inicia consideretur quid sit illud de quo agatur [28B; p. 21⁵⁻⁶].

III

Genitorem uniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire quam inuentum impossibile digne prophari [28C; p. 21¹¹⁻¹³].

IV

Operi formam dat opifex suus [28A; p. 20²³].

V

Mundus a deo factus est [28B; p. 21⁶⁻⁷].

VI

Deus auctor maximus est [29A; p. 21²¹⁻²²].

VII

In rebus sublimibus mediocrem explanacionem habere cuiusdam magni onus laboris est [29D; p. 22¹³⁻¹⁴].

VIII

Optimus est mundi auctor [29E; p. 22¹⁸].

IX

Ab optimo longe est inuidia relegata [29E; p. 22¹⁸⁻¹⁹].

X

Bonitas dei causa fuit factionis mundi et originis omnium rerum [29E-30A; p. 22²⁰⁻²³⁸ (*ad sensum*)].

XI

Vnus tantum est mundus [31A; p. 23²⁰⁻²¹ (*ad sensum*)].

XII

Non decet rem antiquiorem a postgenita regi [34C; p. 27²⁻³].

XIII

Tempora maxime distinguuntur per motum solis [38B-C; p. 30¹⁵⁻²² (*ad sensum*)].

II. debet] decet *a* // fieri *d*. *u*. *i*. *i*. consideretur] debet considerari *c* // librorum *post* inicia *add. f* // agitur *bd*.

III. uel diuersitatis *post* uniuersitatis *add. c* // tam *om. d* // est *post* impossibile *add. d* // prefari *d*.

IV. operibus *abcefg* // suis *abcd*.

V. factus] creatus *g*.

VII. sublimis *b* // explanacionem] exploracionem *d* // laboris onus *transp. a* // onus *om g*.

VIII. mundi auctor est *transp. g*.

IX. ab optimo] ab *op̄ne b*: ab ipso *c*: a quo *g* // longe] lege *d*: lex *g* // est *om. bd*.

XII. rem antiquiorem] rei acquiretorem *d* // a postgenita] a primogenitis *c*: apud genita *de*: a progenitis *g*.

XIII. maxime *om g*.

XIV

O dii deorum, quorum opifex idemque pater ego, opera quidem uos mea, natura dissolubilia, mea tamen uoluntate indissolubilia. Omne quidem quod natura iunctum est dissolubile est, sed quod bona modulacione compactum est soluere uelle dei est. Quapropter quia facti estis immortales, nequaquam nec tamen umquam mortis necessitatem subibitis, quia uoluntas mea efficacior est nexus ad uestre eternitatis custodiam quam nexus nature uestre [41A-B; p. 35⁹⁻¹⁷]. *Et nota quod per deos deorum dat intelligere intelligencias et corpora celestia que de se sunt mortalia sed sola dei uoluntate perpetuantur.*

XV

Ad hoc anima coniuncta est corpori ut feneretur scientias et uirtutes. Si autem cum magno fenore uenerit, benigne recipietur a suo creatore. Sin autem, relegabitur ad inferna [41D; p. 36¹⁰⁻¹³ (*ad sensum*)].

XVI

Nichil maius philosophia umquam ad humanum genus a diuina munificentia uenit [47A-B; p. 44¹¹⁻¹³].

XVII

Nichil est cuius ortum legitima causa et ratio non precesserit [28A; p. 20²¹⁻²²].

XVIII

Propter hoc datus est nobis sermo ut presto forent mutue uoluntatis indicia [47C; p. 44²⁵⁻²⁶].

XIX

Deus est summum bonum supra omnem substantiam omnemque naturam, quem cuncta appetunt, cum ipse sit plene perfectionis et nullius societatis indiguus.

XIV. opifex i. p. ego] opifex ego sum b: opifex ego sum, sum et pater c: opifex ego sum idemque pater g // opera quidem u. m. n. d. m. t. uoluntate indissolubilia] opera quidem uos natura dissolubilia, mea tamen uoluntate indissolubilia aef: Vestra quidem natura estis cor(ru)p(tibilia), mea autem uoluntate stabilita b: opera quidem uos mea dissolubilia id est natura dissolubilia, mea tamen uoluntate indissolubilia c: opera quidem uos mea dissolubilia d: uos quidem opera mea dissolubilia, natura tamen mea indissolubilis g // Omne quidem ... nature uestre om. abef // est ante sed om. cg // nec tamen] nec cum uultis c: nec cum d // umquam om. c // mortis] mortales g // subibitis] substantias c // uoluntas mea] uoluntas nostra c // est ante nexus om. c // et ante nexus add. d // ad uestre] ad inuicem c // nature uestre] nunc mo(do) c: uestre nature d // deos] deus c // sunt om. c // mortalia] immortalia g // dei] de g // et ideo Plato loquitur in persona dei post perpetuantur add. b.

XV. coniuncta] addita g // feneretur] ueneretur uel feneraretur c: fenerentur e // uirtutes] ueritates d // recipietur] accipietur d // sin] si d // post ante relegabitur add. d // religabitur b: religatur e // inferna] infernum a: inferiora e // perpetuo carceri inferorum crucianda tradetur post inferna add. f.

XVI. maius] magis cde // nisi post genus add. d // a] ad c: in g // diuina] dei d.

XVII. et ratio om. acf // precesserit] precessit cdg: precedat e.

XVIII. propter] ob f // forent] fiant fg // per eum ante mutue add. d // in nobis ante inicia add. f.

XIX. bonum om. d // supra] super ceg // omnemque] omniaque d // naturam] creaturam c // quem] quam ce: que d: quod f // cuncta] cuncte c: omnia f // appetunt] expetunt bg: expectunt (sic) c: expediunt d // ipse] ipsa d // indiguus] indignus b: indigens f: indiget g.

XX

Opinionis recte omnis uir est particeps, intellectus uero dei proprius est et ualde paucorum hominum [51E; p. 50⁹⁻¹⁰].

Grâce à cette collection de sentences, maîtres et étudiants avaient sous la main une petite provision de citations prêtes à utiliser. Les extraits sont bien choisis: ils expriment quelques unes des idées maîtresses du *Timée*. De ce point de vue, on ne peut nier que les *Parui flores* aient contribué à la 'continuité de la tradition platonicienne'. Mais le latin de Calcidius est assez déroutant: la lecture de sa version du *Timée*, même dans le texte continu, ne va pas toujours sans difficulté. A plus forte raison, ces sentences, arrachées à leur contexte, devaient-elles dérouter les copistes du xv^e siècle, les inciter à 'amender' le texte. De là, toute sorte de confusions, voire de contresens, qui rendent la pensée de Platon absolument méconnaissable en plusieurs endroits: les variantes des sentences XII et XV en fournissent des exemples. De toute façon, on peut dire de ce genre de recueils à la fois qu'ils ont rendu service à la culture et qu'ils lui ont rendu de mauvais services. Mais faut-il encore parler de culture? 'Culture en miettes, ou si l'on veut, en comprimés, c'est-à-dire négation de la culture active'.¹²³ Ce jugement, porté sur certaines anthologies du vii^e siècle, peut s'appliquer à d'autres époques. S'il s'agissait d'une trouvaille dont on dût se vanter, notre époque ne pourrait se prévaloir d'avoir inventé le *digest*.

(b) *Le 'De uita et moribus philosophorum'*

A la différence des *Parui flores*, l'auteur du *De uita et moribus philosophorum* nous est connu. Il s'appelait Walter Burley (ou Walter de Burley). Né en Angleterre vers 1274/75, probablement dans le Yorkshire, Burley étudia d'abord à Oxford: on le trouve mentionné, en 1301, comme fellow à Merton College.¹²⁴ Après un long séjour à Paris, une vingtaine d'années peut-être, il revient dans sa terre natale (vers

XX. recte] communis f // omnis om. c // uir] homo f // intellectus u. d. p. e. e. u. p. hominum] intellectus dei proprius est, paucorum uero ualde hominum etc. a // electorum post ualde add. cg.

¹²³ J. Jolivet, 'La philosophie médiévale en Occident' dans *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade. Histoire de la philosophie* 1: *Orient, Antiquité, Moyen Age* (Paris, 1969), pp. 1232-33.

¹²⁴ Pour la vie et les œuvres de Walter Burley, cf. C. Martin, 'Walter Burley' dans *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus* (Oxford Historical Society, N.S. 16; Oxford, 1964), pp. 194-230; J. A. Weisheipl, 'Ockham and Some Mertonians', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968) 174-88 [163-213] et 'Repertorium Mertonense', *ibid.* 31 (1969) 185-208 [174-224]; L. Bataillon, 'Bulletin d'histoire des doctrines médiévales. La première moitié du xiv^e siècle', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 58 (1974) 490-91 [487-506].

1326). Jusqu'à sa mort,¹²⁵ il sera chargé de missions officielles, pour le compte du roi d'Angleterre, auprès de la cour pontificale d'Avignon. Walter Burley a laissé une œuvre volumineuse, dont la plus grande partie est consacrée, sous forme de commentaires ou sous forme de *quaestiones*, aux œuvres d'Aristote: il a commenté, en particulier, la *Métaphysique*, l'*Ethique*, la *Politique*. Son *De uita et moribus philosophorum* est d'un genre différent. Il vise à satisfaire un goût encyclopédique—dont le xiv^e siècle offre d'ailleurs plus d'un exemple—qui porte les clercs latins à s'intéresser à l'antiquité classique, avec le souci d'en extraire des histoires édifiantes, des exemples moralisateurs.¹²⁶

On ne peut dire avec certitude ni quand ni où Walter Burley écrivit son *De uita*. L'examen de la tradition manuscrite, toutefois, invite à penser qu'il composa cette œuvre vers la fin de sa vie, sur le continent plutôt qu'en Angleterre, plus précisément dans le sud de la France ou dans le nord de l'Italie.¹²⁷ Le grand nombre de manuscrits et d'éditions anciennes montre que l'ouvrage de Walter Burley a rencontré un immense succès, succès qui, malgré les mutations diverses de cette période, a su se maintenir pendant un siècle et demi, de 1350 à 1500, et même au-delà. Sans doute serait-il exagéré de dire que le livre atteignit ce que, de nos jours, nous appelons un 'large public', mais il est certain que son influence s'exerça bien au-delà des cercles universitaires. La diffusion de cette œuvre a été particulièrement importante dans les terres du Saint-Empire, spécialement en Bohême. John Stigall, qui a étudié la tradition manuscrite du *De uita et moribus philosophorum*, a mis ce fait en évidence.¹²⁸ De son côté, M^{me} Anežka Vidmanová-Schmidtová, qui a consacré à la fortune de Burley des études minutieuses et approfondies, a remarqué qu'en pays tchèque le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* se présente sous deux formes: l'une originale, l'autre remaniée (généralement abrégée, mais avec des interpolations ici ou là).¹²⁹ Cette deuxième rédaction voisine souvent, dans les manuscrits tchèques, avec le *Breuioliquium de uirtutibus* de Jean de Galles (Johannes Guallensis, John of Wales).¹³⁰ Par ailleurs, traduite plusieurs fois en langue tchèque, l'œuvre de Walter Burley pouvait atteindre l'audience des laïcs

¹²⁵ Le dernier document qui fasse mention de Walter Burley est daté du 19 juin 1344: C. Martin, *ibid.*, p. 230. Le *Dictionary of National Biography* (3.376) reculait jusqu'en 1346 la dernière trace d'activité de Burley: cf. J. O. Stigall, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the *De uita et moribus philosophorum* of Walter Burley', *Medievalia et humanistica* 11 (1957) 44 [44-57].

¹²⁶ J. O. Stigall, *ibid.*, 44.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 44-45; C. Martin, 'Walter Burley', p. 228.

¹²⁸ J. O. Stigall, *ibid.*, 48, 55.

¹²⁹ A. Vidmanová-Schmidtová, *Burleyovy Životy starých filosofů a jejich České překlady* [Rozpravy Československé akademie věd. Řada společenských věd, Ročník 72 - Sešit 7] (Prague, 1962), 116 pages (résumés en latin et en russe: pp. 109-14).

¹³⁰ A. Vidmanová, 'Středolatinšská beletrie a Čechy' dans *Classica atque mediaevalia Jaroslao Ludvikovský octogenario oblata* (Brno, 1975), pp. 235-46 (résumé en latin: pp. 245-46).

cultivés.¹³¹ Je n'ai pas la prétention d'ajouter quoi que ce soit aux conclusions convergentes de John Stigall et d'Anežka Vidmanová. Tout juste pourrai-je signaler un manuscrit que j'ai repéré au cours de mon séjour à Prague et qui, si je ne m'abuse, n'avait pas été recensé jusqu'ici dans les listes de manuscrits du *De uita et moribus philosophorum*. Ce manuscrit est conservé à la bibliothèque de l'ancien couvent de Strahov: Praha, Strahovská knihovna, Památník Národního Pisemnictví DB.V.52 (n° 10 du catalogue en préparation). C'est un volume de 316 pages en papier, de 215 sur 155 mm., d'une écriture du xv^e siècle: le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* occupe les pages 128-316.¹³²

Comme les *Parui flores*, le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* a vu le jour dans un milieu aristotélisant: Walter Burley, on le sait, a consacré la plus grande partie de sa vie à étudier et à commenter Aristote. En dépit de cela, cette œuvre intéresse la fortune de Platon—et, à cause de sa diffusion en pays tchèque, la fortune de Platon en Bohême—puisque, parmi les notices des philosophes, il en est une qui concerne Platon.¹³³ Il va sans dire qu'une telle notice n'est pas faite de première main. Les renseignements qu'on y trouve, et qui parfois dérivent d'auteurs anciens—Cicéron, Valère Maxime, Macrobe, Jérôme, Augustin, etc.—ont leur source prochaine chez Jean de Galles ou Vincent de Beauvais. Ce dernier est largement tributaire d'Hélinand de Froidmont. C'est sous l'autorité d'Hélinand, précisément, que Walter Burley place l'information suivante:

Fuit autem consuetudo Platonis, ut ait Helinandus, libros suos intitulare [intutelare *ed.*] nominibus magistrorum suorum uel eorum qui magistros suos docuerant, ut maiorem ex eorum nominibus auctoritatem uerbis et rationibus suis acquirerent. Hinc sunt libri eius appellati: Thimeus, Phedron, Gorgias, Pythagoras, etc.¹³⁴

Les *Glosae super Platonem* de Guillaume de Conches disent, au contraire, que Platon donnait à ses œuvres les noms de ses disciples.¹³⁵ Mais on sait les métamorphoses que peuvent subir les textes quand ils passent dans les florilèges et les encyclopédies. Hélinand de Froidmont a largement puisé chez Guillaume de Conches. Il ne serait ni impossible ni invraisemblable que Vincent de Beauvais—que Walter Burley exploite manifestement ici—ait cru citer Hélinand, alors

¹³¹ A. Vidmanová, *Burleyovy Životy*, p. 111.

¹³² A. Vidmanová, 'Středolatská', 238 n. 12.

¹³³ *Gualteri Burlaei Liber de uita et moribus philosophorum*, mit einer altspanischen Übersetzung der Eskurialbibliothek, herausgegeben von Hermann Knust (Tübingen, 1886), pp. 214-34 (la notice sur Platon constitue le chapitre 52).

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, cap. 52, p. 232.

¹³⁵ 'Mos enim fuit Platonis intitulare uolumina a nominibus discipulorum ut conferret illis honorem, uel ut uitaret arrogantiam, uel [et *éd.*] ut subtraheret emulis occasionem reprehendendi' (Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, cap. VI, éd. Jeuneau, p. 62).

qu'il utilisait un texte que le cistercien de Froidmont aurait emprunté, en le remaniant, au commentaire de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée*.¹³⁶

Quoi qu'il en soit, Walter Burley lui-même ne cite pas le moindre passage du *Timée*—le seul dialogue platonicien qu'avec le *Phédon* et le *Ménon* il eût pu lire en latin—dans sa notice sur Platon.¹³⁷ Au demeurant, s'il a glané, toujours de seconde main, quelques sentences dérivées des œuvres authentiques de Platon, son intérêt majeur n'est pas là. Il est dans les traits édifiants, actions ou paroles, qui font de Platon un modèle de toutes les vertus. Grâce à Burley, le philosophe athénien pouvait être proposé en exemple au peuple fidèle, à côté des saints du christianisme. Les prédicateurs ne se priveront pas d'utiliser à cette fin le *De uita et moribus philosophorum*.

Voici un prédicateur fameux: Jean Hus.¹³⁸ Dans les sermons que le réformateur prononçait à Prague, dans la Chapelle de Bethléem—sermons qui, nous dit-on, pouvaient attirer jusqu'à quatre mille auditeurs¹³⁹—on remarque quelques références à Platon. Dans le *Sermon 104*, Jean Hus suggère à ses fidèles de suivre le conseil donné par Platon: considérer souvent son visage dans un miroir. Si l'on se trouve beau, on sera dissuadé d'enlaidir par le péché une si belle chose; si l'on se trouve laid, pourquoi ajouter à sa laideur la turpitude du péché?

Et hinc Plato, magister Aristotelis, precepit cuilibet ut habeat speculum et inspiciat se: quod si pulcer est, ut per peccata sua pulcritudinem non deformet; si uero deformis, intueatur deformitatem suam, et non addat maiorem per peccatum.¹⁴⁰

Dans le *Sermon 163*, le même conseil est donné:

¹³⁶ Ainsi qu'on l'a observé ci-dessus (n. 78), il arrive que Vincent de Beauvais attribue à Hélinand de Froidmont des idées que ce dernier a lui-même empruntées à Guillaume de Conches. Dans le cas présent, Vincent de Beauvais est à peu près certainement la source de Walter Burley: 'Helinandus: Fuit autem consuetudo Platonis libros suos intitulare nominibus magistrorum suorum, uel eorum qui magistros docuerant, ut maiorem ex eorum nominibus auctoritatem uerbis et rationibus suis acquireret. Hinc sunt libri eius appellati Tymaeus, Phaedon, Gorgias, Pythagoras, quorum primum et ultimum transtulit Cicero' (Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 3.77 (Douai, 1624), p. 111B; et non *Speculum historiale* 4.77, comme le prétend H. Knust, *Gualteri Burlaei Liber*, p. 232).

¹³⁷ Dans la notice qu'il a consacrée à Isocrate, Walter Burley cite quelques lignes extraites de la préface de Calcidius: *Tymaeus a Calcidio translatus*, éd. Waszink, p. 5, lignes 1-5; *Gualteri Burlaei Liber*, p. 100.

¹³⁸ F. M. Bartoš - P. Spunar, *Catalogus fontium M. Iohannis Hus et M. Hieronymi Pragensis opera exhibentium. Soupis Pramenů k literární činnosti M. Jana Husa a M. Jeronýma Pražského* (Prague, 1965); A. Vidmanová, 'Hus als Prediger', *Communio Viatorum. Theological Quarterly* 19 (1976) 65-81.

¹³⁹ O. Odložilík, 'The Chapel of Bethlehem in Prague' dans *Studien zur ältesten Geschichte Osteuropas* 1 (Graz-Köln, 1956), pp. 125-41.

¹⁴⁰ Jean Hus, *Sermones in Capella Bethlehem*, éd. Václav Flajšhans, dans *Věstník Královské české Společnosti nauk - Philos.-Hist.-Philol.* (Prague, 1938-47). Le *Sermon 104* se trouve dans le volume 3, aux pages 131-32; le passage cité se trouve à la page 131. L'éditeur date ce sermon du 21.III.1411.

Et hinc Plato cuilibet homini speculum ut habeat licite consulebat. Quod si deformis est et sic se conspicit, non superaddat deformitatem peccati; si uero pulcher est, ut per peccata se non deformet.¹⁴¹

On ne saurait dire si le succès de la recette est garanti, mais on peut affirmer que la source en est le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley.¹⁴² Par ailleurs, Jean Hus connaissait les extraits du *Timée* que véhiculaient les *Parui flores*. Dans le *Sermon 227*, donné lui aussi à la Chapelle de Bethléem, nous lisons:

Nam dicit Plato: 'Ad hoc enim datus est nobis sermo ut presto fiant indicia mutue uoluntatis'. Nam nullus noscit cor alterius nisi illud sibi exprimat per sermonem.¹⁴³

On a reconnu la sentence XVIII des *Parui flores*, éditée ci-dessus, et qui correspond à la page 47C du *Timée* (éd. J. H. Waszink, p. 44²⁵⁻²⁶). C'est encore aux *Parui flores* que Jean Hus emprunte les citations d'Apulée et de Platon que l'on trouve dans le passage suivant de son *Commentaire sur les Sentences*:

Vtrum angeli habeant corpora sibi unita naturaliter? Et uidetur quod sic per Augustinum, 2^o per Platonem in Timeo et per Apulegium qui dicunt quod demones sunt animalia, mente racionalia, corpore aerea, animo passiuu, et tempore eterna. Vnde Plato alloquens in persona summi Dei ipsos angelos dicit: 'Dii deorum, quorum ego pater opifexque sum, opera quidem uos mea, natura dissolubilia, me autem uolente indissolubilia'. In oppositum est magister in littera... —Sic demones sunt 'animalia', id est uiuencia, 'racionalia mente', id est intellectu, 'corpore aerea' scilicet dum assumunt corpora, 'animo passiuu' quia tristicie susceptiuu, 'tempore eterna', id est perpetua. Ad dictum Platonis dicit Glossator in Timeo quod locutio esset ad orbes celestes qui, secundum naturam propriam, dissoluerentur si non uoluntate primi opificis indissolubiliter seruarentur. Et eodem modo potest dici de angelis, quorum Deus est pater et opifex per creacionem.¹⁴⁴

La définition des *daemones*, attribuée conjointement à Platon et à Apulée, est, en réalité, une citation de ce dernier (*De deo Socratis* 13; éd. P. Thomas [Leipzig, 1921], p. 21¹¹⁻¹³) empruntée aux *Parui flores*;¹⁴⁵ le même texte est placé sous la seule autorité de Platon, par Jean Hus lui-même, à la fois dans son *Commentaire sur les*

¹⁴¹ ibid. 4.82. L'éditeur date le *Sermon 163* du 26.IV.1411.

¹⁴² 'Item dicebat hominem debere in speculo sepe suam faciem intueri quoniam, si uiderit eam decoram, indigne feret agere turpe opus, si uero turpem censuerit, uerebitur utique simul duo turpia sibi aggregare' (Walter Burley, *De uita et moribus philosophorum*, cap. 52, éd. Knust, p. 228).

¹⁴³ Jean Hus, *Sermones* 5.10.

¹⁴⁴ Jean Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum*, éd. Wenzel Flajšhans - Marie Komínková (Prague, 1904). Le passage cité est le suivant: lib. II, dist. 8^a, n° 3 (éd. cit., pp. 229-30).

¹⁴⁵ C'est la sentence VII des extraits d'Apulée dans les *Parui flores*: J. Hamesse, *Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, p. 298.

*Sentences*¹⁴⁶ et dans son *Quodlibet*.¹⁴⁷ Quant à la citation du *Timée* (41A; éd. J. H. Waszink, p. 35⁹⁻¹¹), elle est effectivement empruntée au discours que, dans ce dialogue, le démiurge adresse aux dieux inférieurs; elle correspond à la version brève de la sentence XIV des extraits de Platon dans les *Parui flores*.

Un autre prédicateur et théologien célèbre, Nicolas de Dresde, utilise lui aussi les *Parui flores* pour citer Platon. Allemand par sa naissance et par sa mort—il fut brûlé vif à Meissen, en Saxe, en 1417—Nicolas séjourna longtemps à Prague: ce fut un fidèle partisan de Jean Hus.¹⁴⁸ Or, dans son sermon *Quaerite primum regnum Dei*, Nicolas de Dresde écrit:

Boecius, *De consolacione*, prosa 9^a libri 3ⁱⁱ in fine, inquit: 'Inuocandum, inquam, rerum omnium patrem, quo pretermisso, nullum rite fundatur exordium'. Et Plato in Thimeo: 'In omnibus enim, siue maximis siue minimis, diuinum debet inplorari auxilium'. Recurramus ergo ad 'summum bonum, omnem uirtutem, omnem substantiam et naturam excedens, quod cuncta expectant, cum ipsum sit plene perfectionis et nullius egens', dicentes unanimiter: *Pater noster*.¹⁴⁹

La citation du *De consolatione philosophiae* (3, prosa 9, § 33; éd. L. Bieler, p. 51) correspond à la sentence XLV des extraits de Boèce dans les *Parui flores*,¹⁵⁰ celle du *Timée* (29D; éd. J. H. Waszink, p. 22¹³⁻¹⁴) à la sentence VII des extraits de Platon dans le même recueil: Nicolas de Dresde a eu l'ingéniosité de rapprocher les deux sentences. La suite du texte s'inspire de la sentence XIX qui, en dépit des *Parui flores*, ne se trouve pas dans le *Timée*.

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples de l'influence exercée en Bohême, au début du xv^e siècle, par le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley et par les

¹⁴⁶ 'Sed hoc dicitur secundum opinionem Platonis, qui dixit demones habere corpora aerea, supra Libro 2^o, distincione 8^a' (Jean Hus, *Super IV Sententiarum*, lib. IV, dist. 44^a, n^o 1; éd. cit., p. 709).

¹⁴⁷ 'Et idem patet per Platonem in Thimeo dicentem quod dii, id est intelligencie, sunt corpore aerea, anima passiuia, et tempore eterna' (Jean Hus, *Disputationis de Quolibet Pragae in Facultate Artium mense ianuario Anni 1411 habitae enchiridion* edidit Bohumil Ryba [Pragae, 1948], p. 178).

¹⁴⁸ J. Th. Müller, 'Magister Nikolaus von Dresden', *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* 9 (1915) 80 sqq.; H. Kaminsky, 'Master Nicholas of Dresden: The Old Color and the New', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* N.S. 55.1 (1965) 93 pages; J. Nechutová, 'Misto Mikuláše z Drážďan v raném reformačním myšlení' dans *Rozpravy ČSAV. Řada společenských věd*. 77.16 (Prague, 1967); P. De Vooght, 'Le dialogue *De purgatorio* (1415) de Nicolas de Dresde', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 42 (1975) 132-223 et 'Le traité *De usuris* de Nicolas de Dresde', *ibid.* 44 (1977) 150-210 (à suivre); *Nicola della Rosa nera detto da Dresda (1380?-1416?)*. *De reliquiis et de ueneratione sanctorum, de purgatorio*. Edizione critica a cura di Romolo Cegna (Mediaevalia philosophica Polonorum 23; Wrocław-Varsovie-Cracovie-Gdańsk, 1977). Cf. A. Vidmanová, 'K středolatinšské textové kritice', *Listy filologické* 94 (1971) 184-92.

¹⁴⁹ Nicolaus de Dresda, *Querite primum regnum Dei* edidit Jana Nechutová (Opera Vniuersitatis Purkynianae Brunensis - Facultas philosophica 119; Brno, 1967), p. 30. J'ai contrôlé le texte de cette édition sur le manuscrit suivant: Praha, Kapitula O.73 (1657), fol. 101r.

¹⁵⁰ J. Hamesse, *Les 'Auctoritates Aristotelis'. Un florilège*, p. 290.

Parui flores. Même en se limitant aux citations qui concernent Platon—ce qui était mon propos ici—je suis persuadé qu'une enquête plus large pourrait en fournir beaucoup d'autres, et de plus significatifs sans doute. Un intéressant témoin, dans la littérature de langue tchèque, est un ouvrage anonyme du début du xv^e siècle (1400 c.) intitulé *Tkadleček*.¹⁵¹ M^{me} Anežka Vidmanová, qui a eu l'obligeance de relever à mon intention les principales mentions de Platon qu'on rencontre en cet ouvrage, et de m'en fournir une traduction française, pense que, sur ce point, *Tkadleček* dépend de la deuxième version (remaniée) du *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley.¹⁵²

Resterait à s'interroger—et je tiens à préciser qu'un tel projet dépasse mes ambitions—sur les raisons qui ont poussé les lettrés tchèques de la fin du xiv^e ou du début du xv^e siècle à s'intéresser à Platon. Elles sont multiples, sans doute. Le courant humaniste qui, venu d'Italie, apportait en Bohême les traductions de Platon dues à Leonardo Bruni et à Marsile Ficin, peut avoir favorisé une recrudescence d'intérêt pour les vieux textes qui avaient alimenté le platonisme du haut Moyen Age, notamment la version calcidienne du *Timée* et la *Consolation* de Boèce.¹⁵³ Mais les traductions de Bruni et de Ficin ne sont arrivées—et pour cause—que dans la deuxième moitié du xv^e siècle: elles ne peuvent rendre raison des références platoniciennes que l'on rencontre chez Jean Hus et chez Nicolas de Dresde. Jean Hus, il est vrai, ne cite Platon que de seconde main.¹⁵⁴ Et pourtant, on croit bien

¹⁵¹ Grâce à la générosité de M^{me} Anežka Vidmanová, je citerai deux éditions: *Tkadleček. Hádka milence s Neštěstím, které ho připravilo o jeho milenku. Staročeský text novodobým pravopisem vydal dr. František Šimek* (Prague, 1940): *Tkadleček. K vydání upravili Hynek Hrubý a František Šimek* (Sbírka pramenův ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku, skupina první, řada I, číslo 11; Prague, 1923). Le titre de cette œuvre peut se traduire ainsi: 'La querelle d'un amant avec le Malheur, lequel l'a privé de son amante'.

¹⁵² Les passages de *Tkadleček* cités dans cette note sont désignés par un chiffre romain (indiquant le chapitre), suivi, entre parenthèses, de deux chiffres arabes: le premier précise la pagination de l'édition Šimek (1940), le second celle de l'édition Hrubý-Šimek (1923). Les lettres WB désignent le *De uita et moribus philosophorum* de Walter Burley dans l'édition H. Knust.

Voici donc quelques passages de *Tkadleček* dans lesquels Platon est mentionné et pour lesquels j'ai essayé—sans toujours y réussir—d'indiquer la référence au passage correspondant de Walter Burley: VII (42, 22) = WB p. 228⁵⁻⁸; VIII (58, 33) = WB p. 228²³⁻²⁴; VIII (58-59, 33-34) = WB p. 230⁸⁻¹⁰ et p. 222²⁰⁻²² (?); X (78, 48) = WB p. 224⁹⁻¹⁰; X (79, 48) = (?); X (95, 61) = WB p. 220²⁻¹⁶ (?); XII (126, 87) = WB p. 224¹⁰⁻¹³; XII (127, 87) = WB p. 222²⁰⁻²²; XII (128, 88) = WB p. 224¹⁻³. Les correspondances indiquées ne peuvent être qu'approximatives, puisque *Tkadleček* dépend de la deuxième version du *De uita et moribus philosophorum*, et que l'édition de Knust ne donne que la première. Je tiens à exprimer ici ma très vive reconnaissance à M^{me} Anežka Vidmanová, de qui je tiens toutes les informations données ici sur *Tkadleček*.

¹⁵³ Pour les débuts de l'humanisme en Bohême, sous le règne de Georges Podiebrad (1458-68), cf. F. Šmahel, 'Počátky humanismu na pražské universitě v době poděbradské' dans *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 1 (1960) 55-90 et *Humanismus v době poděbradské* (Rozpravy ČSAV 73.6; Prague, 1963). Cf. J. Macek, *Jean Hus et les traditions hussites (xv^e-xix^e siècles)* (Paris, 1973), pp. 289-301.

¹⁵⁴ 'Les hussites ne s'attachèrent pas profondément à l'Antiquité et ne la comprirent même pas. Si

percevoir chez lui, pour ce Platon qu'il ne connaît qu'à travers les maigres extraits des *Parui flores* ou les anecdotes recueillies par Walter Burley, une sympathie réelle. Dans son *Quodlibet* de l'année 1411, le nom de Platon est mentionné plusieurs fois.¹⁵⁵ Par ailleurs, les maîtres qui argumentent au cours de ce *Quodlibet* sont supposés tenir la place d'un philosophe célèbre: *M(agister) Petrus de Policz uelud Plato* (éd. B. Ryba, pp. 34-39), *M(agister) Martinus de Praga uelud Zeno* (pp. 128-33), etc. Parmi ces maîtres, il en est un que nous avons déjà rencontré comme possesseur d'un intéressant manuscrit (Praha, SK ČSR III.A.3): Procope de Pilsen. Procope jouera le rôle d'Apulée: *M(agister) Procopius de Plzna uelud Apuleyus* (pp. 154-59). Or, le patronage d'Apulée est attribué à Procope de Pilsen, précisément parce qu'Apulée est un philosophe platonicien:

Huius philosophi uicem tenebit uenerandus Magister noster, Magister Procopius de P(lzna), qui tamquam alter Apulegius, Platonis discipulus, alte et subtiliter, ut audietis, multitudinem ydearum, que sunt rationes pulcerrime rerum creatarum, more Platonis diuinissimi, quasi eius repetitor precipuus, declarabit. Vnde proponitur sibi questio sub hac forma: Vtrum simpliciter necessario multitudo ydearum prerequitur ad multitudinem productorum. (éd. B. Ryba, p. 155)

On est tout naturellement enclin à penser, en lisant ces lignes, au *De ideis* de John Wyclif. On peut même se demander si la sympathie de Jean Hus et des hussites pour l'auteur du *De ideis*, jointe à la haute estime en laquelle ils tenaient les écrits de saint Augustin, ne les incitait pas à 'revenir', par delà l'aristotélisme officiel, à un certain platonisme. Précisément, dans le manuscrit qui vient d'être mentionné (Praha, SK ČSR III.A.3) et qui appartenait à Procope de Pilsen, les noms d'Augustin et de Wyclif sont introduits conjointement (f. 75va, lignes 41-42) au sein d'un extrait des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur le *Timée* de Platon.¹⁵⁶ Un passage des *Polemica* de Jean Hus va dans le même sens. Prenant la défense des

la pensée hussite touche aux structures intellectuelles antiques, si les écrivains hussites ornent leurs textes de citations empruntées aux classiques romains et grecs, ils le font soit à l'aide des manuels et des recueils médiévaux de citations, soit par respect pour les auteurs chrétiens primitifs' (J. Macek, *ibid.*, p. 291).

¹⁵⁵ 'PROBLEUMA: Quare, ut ait Plato in libro de immortalitate anime, lumine presente, quandocumque oculos claudimus, apparencia luminis nobis inest?' (*Magistri Iohannis Hus Quodlibet*, éd. B. Ryba, p. 129); 'PROBLEUMA: Quare, ut dicit Calcidius in Thimeo Platonis, inhabilis redditur sciencie et uirtutum qui feminarum negociis studet implicari?' (*ibid.*, p. 147); 'Empedocles, Plato et eorum multi sequaces...' (*ibid.*, p. 194). Sur les disputes quodlibétiques à Prague, cf. J. Kejř, *Kvůli libetní disputace na pražské univerzitě* (Prague, 1971) (résumé en français: pp. 201-206). A propos des *problemata*, le Dr. Jiří Kejř fait observer: 'Afin que les discussions sérieuses ne fatiguent pas l'attention intense des auditeurs, des questions plaisantes, appelées *problemata*, étaient insérées, et chacun des participants devait, par une réponse frappante et spirituelle, divertir le public qui avait été réuni' (p. 202).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. ci-dessus pp. 190-91 et Guillaume de Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, éd. Jeauneau, p. 321.

écrits de Wyclif—en l'occurrence du *De increata, benedicta et ueneranda Trinitate*—le réformateur tchèque démontre que l'autorité ecclésiastique a eu tort de brûler ce livre. Même si le traité incriminé contenait des hérésies—ce que Jean Hus conteste—on ne serait pas autorisé pour autant à le brûler. Car, s'il fallait brûler tous les livres qui contiennent des hérésies, ne devrait-on pas jeter au feu ceux d'Aristote qui nient que l'univers ait été créé par Dieu? Pourquoi les responsables de l'autodafé n'ont-ils pas brûlé la *Physique* du Stagyrte?

Cur librum Physicorum eius non conbusserunt, in quo derisorie de Platone catholice de creacione mundi sciencie, post multas raciones quas adduxit sophisticas, dicit: 'Solut Plato generat ipsum', scilicet mundum, id est, dicit esse factum.¹⁵⁷

Les mots par lesquels Jean Hus commente la citation d'Aristote—*id est dicit esse factum*—s'inspirent peut-être de la sentence V (*Timée* 28B; éd. J. H. Waszink, p. 21⁶⁻⁷) des extraits recueillis dans les *Parui flores*.¹⁵⁸ Quoi qu'il en soit, Jean Hus estime que, sur la question de la genèse du monde, Platon est plus orthodoxe, plus 'catholique' qu'Aristote.¹⁵⁹ De son côté, Jérôme de Prague, disciple de Jean Hus, et, comme lui, brûlé vif à Constance en 1416, appelle Platon: *Rex philosophorum, fidelis doctor, nobilis philosophus, Plato diuinissimus*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Jean Hus, *Defensio libri de Trinitate* dans *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica* edidit Jaroslav Eršil (*Magistri Iohannis Hus Opera omnia* 22; Pragae, 1966), p. 54¹⁻⁵.

¹⁵⁸ 'Mundus a deo factus est' (*Parui flores*, extraits du *Timée*, V). Cf. ci-dessus p. 202.

¹⁵⁹ Sur le problème de la création, Jean Hus semble avoir préféré l'opinion de Platon (même s'il fait des réserves quant à l'éternité de la matière) à celle d'Aristote. C'est du moins ce qui ressort des textes suivants, légèrement antérieurs à la *Defensio libri de Trinitate* (1410): 'Opinio Platonis de faccione mundi corporei est physice sustinenda....: sed dicit aliquis: In scolis Aristotelis Aristotelem reprehendis. Certe teneo cum Aristotele dicente primo *Ethicorum*: "Amicus Plato, amica ueritas". Vtriusque autem amicis existentibus, sanctum est prehonore ueritatem' (S. H. Thomson, 'Four Unpublished *Questiones* of John Hus', *Medievalia et humanistica* 7 [1952] 81); 'Quidam uero philosophorum dixerunt mundum non factum, ut Aristoteles cum sequacibus; quidam factum esse a Deo, sed materiam, ex qua factus esset, dixerunt Deo esse coeternam, ut Platoni inpingitur' (Jean Hus, *Lectionarium bipartitum*, édition préparée par M^{me} Anežka Vidmanová, d'après le *Codex Plagensis* 71 [Schlägel, Stiftsbibliothek], fol. 13r). M^{me} Vidmanová, de qui je tiens cette dernière référence, préfère le titre de *Lectionarium bipartitum* à celui de *Postilla de tempore*, précédemment donné à cette œuvre: A. Vidmanová, 'Husova tzv. *Postilla De tempore* (1408/9)', *Listy filologické* 94 (1971) 7-22. Mon attention sur la première référence a été attirée par le Dr. František Šmahel: je l'en remercie vivement.

¹⁶⁰ F. Šmahel, 'Pramen Jeronýmovy Chvály svobodných umění', *Strahovská knihovna. Sborník Památníku národního písemnictví* 5-7 (1970-71) 179 n. 36 [169-80]. La formule *Plato diuinissimus* est assez courante. Bohumil Ryba en a donné plusieurs exemples dans son édition déjà citée (cf. ci-dessus n. 147) du *Quodlibet* de 1411: pp. xviii, xxiv, 32, 34-35, 155. Un maître pragois, partisan de Wyclif, Etienne de Palecz, professe à la fois une grande admiration pour Platon (*diuinissimus philosophorum*) et une certaine méfiance envers Aristote: 'Corollarium primum, quod opinio prima de uniuersali in re, quae ascribitur Platoni, est falsa, immo in toto irrationabiliter, patet ex conclusione et eius probatione. Sed mihi apparet quod male ascribitur Platoni quia, cum Plato fuit diuinissimus philosophorum, non est conueniens quod dixisset unum dictum ita fatuum quod non est solum apud sapientes, uerum etiam apud modicum eleuatos in lumine naturali, dignum risu. Sed ipse intellexit hoc de ideis, de quibus dictum est in primo articulo. Ideo uerisimile est quod Aristoteles, propter logicam

Je laisse à de plus compétents que moi le soin de déterminer l'importance et la signification de l'influence exercée par les œuvres de Wyclif, par son *De ideis* en particulier, en terre tchèque.¹⁶¹ En toute hypothèse, si le *De ideis* a pu créer, en Bohême, un climat favorable à l'éclosion ou à l'épanouissement d'une certaine renaissance platonicienne, celle-ci est restée discrète.¹⁶² Les maîtres tchèques de la première moitié du xv^e siècle citent plus volontiers Aristote que Platon.¹⁶³ Par ailleurs, certaines attitudes hostiles à Platon et au platonisme sont à enregistrer. Il est vrai que, dans la mesure où il s'agit de réactions à des positions réelles et réellement tenues, de telles attitudes témoignent de l'existence d'un courant platonicien.¹⁶⁴ Mais il suffit parfois d'un léger mouvement de sympathie ou de curiosité pour changer le goût du public, l'orienter vers des textes nouveaux ou le ramener vers des textes trop longtemps négligés. La volonté de s'opposer à un certain type d'aristotélisme officiel et la séduction—que les condamnations devaient accroître—du *De ideis* de Wyclif ont pu favoriser ce mouvement de sympathie et de curiosité pour une 'tradition platonicienne' dont la continuité, certes, n'avait jamais été complètement rompue mais dont la vigueur et l'attrait, au cours des xiii^e et xiv^e siècles, s'étaient singulièrement émoussés. En attendant qu'arrivent les traductions de Leonardo Bruni et de Marsile Ficini, il fallait bien, pour répondre à cette

proprium in qua se exacerbavit ad Platonem, non capit sensum Platonis, sed aequiuocat solum in uerbis, sicut etiam saepe facit aliis philosophis antiquis' (R. Palacz, 'La "Positio de uniuersalibus" d'Etienne de Palecz', *Mediaevalia philosophica Polonorum* 14 [1970] 124). Je remercie le Dr. František Šmahel qui a attiré mon attention sur ce texte.

¹⁶¹ J. Loserth, *Huss und Wiclif. Zur Genesis der hussitischen Lehre* (Munich-Berlin, 1925); A. Vidmanová-Schmidtová, 'Hus a Viklef', *Listy filologické* 79 (1956) 219-27; J. A. Robson, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools* (Cambridge, 1966); P. De Vooght, *Hussiana* (Louvain, 1960) et *L'hérésie de Jean Huss*, 2^e édition (Louvain, 1975), pp. 877-94 (*Jean Huss et la philosophie*); F. Šmahel, 'Wyclif's Fortune in Hussite Bohemia', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 43 (1970) 16-34 et 'Polonica. Ausserhalb des Verzeichnisses der Quellen zum Prager Universalienstreit (1348-1500)', *Studia mediewistyczne* 17 (1977) 159-82.

¹⁶² Jean Hus lui-même semble s'être intéressé plutôt à l'ecclésiologie de Wyclif qu'aux aspects strictement spéculatifs de sa doctrine: J. Macek, *Jean Hus*, p. 59. Pour un jugement d'ensemble sur les récentes recherches concernant Jean Hus et le hussitisme, cf. P. De Vooght, 'Jean Huss et ses juges' dans *Das Konzil von Konstanz. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Theologie* herausgegeben von August Franzen und Wolfgang Müller (Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1964), pp. 152-73.

¹⁶³ Ainsi, dans les traités de Jacobellus de Stříbro édités par Paul De Vooght, Aristote est cité, mais non point Platon: P. De Vooght, *Jacobellus de Stříbro (†1429) premier théologien du hussitisme* (Louvain, 1972).

¹⁶⁴ Il arrive aussi que Platon et Aristote soient associés dans une même réprobation. Ainsi la peinture de Janíček Zmílelý de Písek (fin du xv^e, début du xvi^e siècle), dans le Codex d'Iéna, inclut-elle dans la représentation de la Cité de l'Antéchrist les portraits d'Aristote, Virgile, Platon, Ovide, Empédocle, Horace, Cicéron et Origène (ms. Praha, Národní muzeum IV.B.24, f. 10v): cf. Z. Drobáň, *The Jena Codex. Hussite Pictorial Satire from the End of the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1970), p. 26. Selon certains, la lecture de Platon et d'Aristote serait la cause principale des guerres hussites: J. Bidlo, 'Čeští emigranti v Polsku v době husitské a mnich Jeroným Pražský', *Časopis Musea Království českého* 59 (1895) 441 n. 98.

sympathie et à cette curiosité nouvelles, recourir aux vieux textes qui avaient alimenté le platonisme du haut Moyen Age: le *Timée* et la *Consolation de la philosophie*, l'un et l'autre glosés par un maître du xii^e siècle, Guillaume de Conches.¹⁶⁵ Quoi qu'il en soit d'une telle interprétation—qui ne prétend d'ailleurs pas être exclusive—la fortune de Platon en Bohême est un fait qui ne peut laisser aucun historien indifférent.

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¹⁶⁵ On peut noter, dans le même sens, l'intérêt manifesté par Pavel Kravar (†1433) pour un auteur auquel Guillaume de Conches accordait un grand crédit, Constantin l'Africain: L. Moonan, 'Pavel Kravar and Some Writings Once Attributed to Him', *The Innes Review* 27 (1976) 3-23.

THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LANGUEDOCIAN CATHARISM

Richard Abels and Ellen Harrison

THE prominence of women in Languedocian Catharism has often been assumed, though never proved. Writers who have treated feminine participation in this heresy as an unusual phenomenon requiring special explanations have implicitly assumed a disproportionate number of female Cathars. This, in fact, has become somewhat of an historical commonplace. Thus a recent popular historian, Mme Oldenbourg, has asserted without hesitation that 'among the *perfecti*, then, there were fewer women than men—but not markedly fewer.... Among the ordinary *credentes*, on the other hand, there seems to have been a greater number of women than men.'¹ Even so competent a scholar as Professor Walter Wakefield felt no need to document a similar statement in his 1974 work, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France*: 'It was often remarked by medieval observers that women were particularly susceptible to heretical teaching. This was surely true in Languedoc.'²

Although a number of historians had made similar observations in passing,³ no coherent theory was developed upon this point until the publication of Gottfried

¹ Zoé Oldenbourg, *Massacre at Montségur*, trans. P. Green (New York, 1961), p. 61.

² W. L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (Berkeley, 1974), p. 74.

³ See especially P. Alphanéry, *Les idées morales chez les hétérodoxes latins au début du XIII^e siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études. Sciences religieuses 16; Paris, 1903), p. 71 and passim; Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 12; Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 181-82; M. Dmitrevsky, 'Notes sur le catharisme et l'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France', *Annales du Midi* 36 (1924) 294-311. Of the above, only Dmitrevsky treats the *Frauenfrage* in detail. One should also be aware of the brief but judicious account of female participation that appears in J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge* (Paris, 1935), 1.226-28. It is also significant that the *Frauenfrage* seems to have been virtually ignored by historians of the heresy until the question was taken up first by H. Grundmann and later by the East German historians, G. Koch and E. Werner. While this is quite understandable for those whose primary interest is either the institutional history of the Inquisition (e.g., A. S. Turberville, G. Coulton, C. Douais, A. Dondaine, and Y. Dossat) or Cathar theology (among others, C. Thouzelier and R. Manselli), it is a rather curious omission from the works of social historians such as J. B. Russell and A. P. Evans.

Koch's *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter* in 1962.⁴ The East German historian based his theoretical system upon Engels' statement that, since religion was the dominant mode of expression in the Middle Ages and the Church the greatest power, socio-economic discontents were inevitably expressed in religious terms.⁵ The initial exegesis upon this text had been conducted by Karl Kautsky, who had attempted to analyze the growth of Catharism in the context of the class struggle.⁶ Koch followed Kautsky's lead; for him the heresy represented a perfect example of the process whereby separate classes sought expression of their differing interests and grievances through religious dissent.

Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter found its focus in the specific problem of feminine discontent and its religious expression. The twelfth-century European phenomenon of increased female piety and participation in religious life had already been noted by Herbert Grundmann. While acknowledging the importance of social causation, Grundmann insisted that simple religious enthusiasm which imbued all social levels was the root cause of those movements he had studied (largely limited to the beguines of northern France and the Low Countries).⁷ Gottfried Koch began by explicitly rejecting that explanation as insufficient. As a Marxist, he considered women, despite their economic differences, as a single aggrieved 'class':

This especially oppressed social situation for women was in our opinion the true underlying reason why women sought refuge in the heresy; thus they expressed their opposition to the existing class situation. For them the Cathar teaching of the rejection of the evil world signified their exploitation and oppression. At the same time, it offered the way to salvation and knowledge from this situation. Thus for the poor weaver woman the salvation motif was of foremost importance; for the upper-class adherent it played a much inferior role.⁸

According to Koch, women of the minor landholding nobility figured very prominently in the heresy, at least in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. He attributed this to a socio-economic crisis faced by the old patrician families. Since Languedoc did not observe primogeniture, the division of land among all heirs, male and female, progressively impoverished the landowning class. The southern French practice of *pariage*—the administration of estates in common by multiple heirs who divided the profits—did not solve the problem. Therefore, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, females were excluded from the inheritance of

⁴ G. Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter* (Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 9; Berlin, 1962).

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 14; Friedrich Engels, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (Berlin, 1951), p. 57.

⁶ K. Kautsky, *Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1947), 1.201; Koch, *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷ H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Historische Studien 267; Berlin, 1935, rpt. with additions, Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 396 ff.

⁸ Koch, *Frauenfrage*, p. 20.

land (except in default of male heirs). Daughters and widows received only a sum of money in dower, often insufficient to assure their independence. Because of poverty, the minor nobility turned to heretical convents to place their unmarried daughters and widowed female relations.⁹

Koch also identified female members of the artisan class, especially weavers, as playing an increasingly important role as the thirteenth century progressed. He attributed their participation to such socio-economic concerns as the power struggle in municipal government, the relatively unprotected position of the artisan class, and the general exploitation of women in a patriarchal society.¹⁰ These lower-class women, who could not gain admission into the convents of the gentry, remained in loose and scattered organizations in the separate towns. Many women simply wandered from place to place, earning a living by their hands.¹¹

Koch's conclusions have been controversial. Despite a measure of popular acceptance,¹² the analyses and basic assumptions of *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter* have been vigorously challenged. Jeffrey Burton Russell has dismissed the dichotomy between upper- and lower-class *perfectae* as unproven.¹³ This objection is not without merit. Although Koch did cite a number of examples of *perfectae* from upper-class backgrounds living in heretical hospices, and did discover cases of female involvement in Catharism among the guild families of the Languedocian towns, his source material precluded any statistical analysis of the class origins and activities of heretical women. The impressionistic approach which he understandably adopted simply does not provide sufficient evidence to support his conclusions.

Although the most complete theoretical framework was developed by Marxists,¹⁴ certain historians of other philosophical persuasions have felt a similar need to explain the abnormal attraction that Languedocian Catharism is assumed to have held for women. Arno Borst, J. R. Strayer, and Walter Wakefield,¹⁵ among others,

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 23-28. See also R. Aubenas, 'La famille dans l'ancienne Provence', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 8 (1936) 523-41. Both Marxist and non-Marxist historians have taken the unusual inheritance pattern of the Midi as a starting point in their discussions of the spread of heresy.

¹⁰ J. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050-1230* (New York, 1954), pp. 78 ff., cited by Koch, *ibid.*, p. 23. Mundy, however, does not mention women in his argument.

¹¹ Koch, *ibid.*, p. 63.

¹² e.g., S. Harsen, *Women in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1961), p. 38; C. Ennesch, *Les Cathares dans la cité* (Paris, 1969), pp. 83-84; J. L. Nelson, 'Society, Theodicy and the Origins of Heresy: Towards a Reassessment of the Medieval Evidence' in *Studies in Church History* 9 (Cambridge, 1972), p. 74; and B. Bolton, 'Mulieres sanctae' in *Studies in Church History* 10 (Oxford, 1973), p. 86.

¹³ J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1965), p. 232.

¹⁴ In addition to Koch, *Frauenfrage*, see E. Werner, 'Die Stellung der Katharer zur Frau', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 2 (1961) 300.

¹⁵ Borst, *Katharer*, pp. 181 ff.; J. R. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusade* (New York, 1971), p. 32; Wakefield, *Heresy*, p. 72; also Oldenbourg, *Massacre*, pp. 40, 60-62 and Koch, *Frauenfrage*, p. 52.

have contended that women preferred Catharism because the elevated role of the *perfecta* was superior to any offered in contemporary Catholicism. The argument runs thus: women, alienated by the virulent misogyny of medieval Catholicism, were drawn to the more sympathetic attitudes of the Cathar heresy. Although it is true that the sect condemned females in their biological role at least as severely as did the Church,¹⁶ nevertheless it also enabled them to transcend their sexuality.

The Church offered monasticism, in which women could pursue a pious life of chastity and asceticism; the Cathars allowed women to be among the 'perfected'. The difference is instructive. Although those who managed to gain entry into the convents of Languedoc, especially the Fontevrist houses near Toulouse,¹⁷ did achieve positions of authority and respect within the Church, such establishments were in short supply during the early thirteenth century.¹⁸ Moreover, the role allowed these religious was severely circumscribed by their sex: they were barred from performing sacerdotal functions and, consequently, from rising in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Catharism, on the other hand, allowed women its sole sacrament of ordination, the *consolamentum*, on the same basis as male members of the sect. Once the postulant had been baptized in the Spirit through the imposition of hands, her soul, which had been imprisoned in matter, was reunited with the Holy Spirit, and she became a wholly new creature. Since sexual differences were, logically enough,

¹⁶ Thus Borst speaks of a theoretical Cathar 'radical hatred of women' (*radikaler Frauenhass*), asserting 'For them, woman was to be avoided like evil itself' (ibid., pp. 181-82). This attitude arose from the Cathar condemnation of procreation. According to Guiraud, a *perfecta* once advised a pregnant believer 'to ask God to free her from the demon which she carried inside her' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Collection de Languedoc [Doat], vol. 25, fol. 14, cited in *Histoire* 1.95). A witness before the Inquisitor Bernard Gui stated that if a pregnant woman were to die, the *consolamentum* could not be performed, and she could not be saved (J. I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters* [Munich, 1890; rpt. New York, 1960], 2.33, 35, 320). This virulent condemnation of pregnancy alienated a number of women. Airmerssens, the wife of Willelmus Vicarius de Cambiac, for example, left the heresy after *perfectae* publicly berated her for carrying a demon in her womb, much to the amusement of her neighbors: 'Et dicte heretice dixerunt ipsi testi, coram omnibus, quia erat pregnans adolescentula, quod demonium portabat in ventre et alii ceperunt ridere. Inde ... ipsa testis noluit diligere [hereticos] postquam dixerunt sibi heretice quod pregnans erat de demonio' (ms. 609 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Toulouse, fol. 239v). See also the testimony of Na Pagana of Maurens (ms. 609, fol. 117v).

¹⁷ Most notably Lespinasse (founded in 1114). See E. Delaruelle, 'L'idéal de pauvreté à Toulouse au XII^e siècle', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 2 (1966) 68.

¹⁸ E. W. McDonnell, *Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1954), chap. 2. McDonnell argues that the decrease in monastic opportunities open to women within the Catholic Church was of major significance for the rise of non-normative movements such as the Beguines of northern Europe. See also Bolton, 'Mulieres sanctae'. The relative paucity of monasteries for women in Languedoc (and especially in the Lauragais) is reflected in R. P. Dom J.-M. Besse's *Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France 4: Provinces ecclésiastiques d'Alby, de Narbonne et de Toulouse* (Paris, 1911).

considered to be based upon matter, they had no part in the life of the spirit; thus a *perfecta*'s physical femininity was no bar to her exalted religious status.¹⁹ Furthermore, since anyone who had received the *consolamentum* could confer it upon others, a woman could theoretically perform the sacrament.²⁰ In this respect, a *perfecta* was the equal of a *perfectus*.

The status of a *perfecta* was thus in theory higher than that of a nun. Those authors who have claimed this as the basis for Catharism's feminine appeal have assumed the equivalence of theory and practice. This paper will contend, however, that the *perfectae* rarely, if ever, performed the functions that were theoretically theirs, and that their role in practice differed little from that of their Catholic counterparts.

A third theory of attraction has been expressed by both popular and professional historians. Mme Oldenbourg has remarked:

The importance of the part played by women in the Cathar communities has frequently been emphasized. There is nothing surprising about it, however. To begin with, it is a generally accepted fact that on the appearance of any new religion some great preacher will infallibly turn up and unleash a wave of mass enthusiasm—to which women are more prone by nature than men.²¹

Obviously this has less to do with historical analysis than with a rather special view of the feminine psyche. As such, we feel that we can pass it by without extended comment.

Although, as we have seen, theories have been developed to explain the unusual popularity that Catharism is assumed to have enjoyed among women, no attempt has yet been made to quantify the degree of that attraction. If a statistical analysis reveals only a level of feminine participation in the heresy proportionate to the female share of the general population (assumed here to have been approximately 50%), separate theories to account for the Cathar *Frauenfrage* may in fact be unnecessary.

We shall attempt to draw such a statistical portrait, using data culled from the available inquisitorial sources. The followers of the heresy fell into two discrete groups. The first, the perfects, received the *consolamentum* as a vocation, electing its prescribed ascetic regimen and functioning as heretical ministers. The mass of believers (*credentes*), on the other hand, while often receiving this sacrament on

¹⁹ Döllinger, *Beiträge* 2.209: '... dicebat tamen de mulieribus, quod animae hominum et mulierum inter se differentiam non habebant, sed in carnibus hominum et mulierum Sathanas dominus istius mundi fecerat differentiam, ...'

²⁰ Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, trans. W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1969), p. 331.

²¹ Oldenbourg, *Massacre*, p. 60. See also Dmitrevsky, 'Notes', 294-303 and Ennesch, *Les Cathares*, p. 84.

their deathbeds, had lifestyles essentially similar to those of their Catholic neighbors.²² We shall treat the perfects in section II, the believers in section III. Concerning the *perfectae* we sought to determine (1) their percentage of the whole perfect class and (2) their relative activity as measured by the ratio of their public appearances to those of their male counterparts. We dealt with female believers in a similar fashion, deriving their relative numerical position from the proportion of women to men admitting heretical involvement in depositions given before the Inquisition, as well as from the female-male ratio found in the various books of sentences. In order to determine how active the body of female believers was, relative to males of the sect, we compared how frequently they were reported by witnesses as having participated in heretical assemblies and other such heterodox activities. It is our hope that such data might cast a new light upon the old question of female participation in Catharism.

I

The most important source material for our analysis of Cathar membership in thirteenth-century Languedoc is ms. 609 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Toulouse.²³ This is a collection of depositions received by the Inquisitors Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre in 1245 and 1246 (with a few dated to 1247 and two given before 'Magister S.' and Raymond Resplandi in 1253), comprising 254 folios. These depositions, representing the testimony of 5604 witnesses,²⁴ are arranged by parish, the vast majority of which lie in the Lauragais. Fortunately for our purposes, the Lauragais, the region between Toulouse and Carcassonne, was a notorious stronghold of Cathar adherence throughout the thirteenth century.²⁵

The extant manuscript can be dated to approximately 1260. An annotation made after the transcription but before the fourteenth century explains that the manuscript is a copy of two registers of Bernard de Caux, executed by order of Guillaume Bernard and Renaud de Chartres. Since Guillaume Bernard served as inquisitor in Toulouse from 1257 to 1263, and the last act in the manuscript is dated 28 October

²² Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975), pp. 255-56 and 539-42.

²³ A photocopy and a transcription of this ms., prepared under the direction of the late Austin P. Evans and now housed in Professor John H. Mundy's office in Columbia University, have been made available to us. We also wish to thank Professor Mundy for suggesting the topic as worthy of investigation and for providing both help and encouragement.

²⁴ Our total differs slightly from those obtained by Yves Dossat (5, 471: *Les crises de l'Inquisition toulousaine au XIII^e siècle, 1233-1273* [Bordeaux, 1959], p. 232) and Msgr. C. Douais (5, 600: *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1900], 1.153).

²⁵ E. Griffe, 'Le Catharisme dans le diocèse de Carcassonne et le Lauragais au XII^e siècle', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3 (1968) 215-32; Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.266-70.

1258,²⁶ one can date ms. 609 to the period 1258-63. Moreover, we are dealing here, as Yves Dossat has shown, with a reasonably faithful rescript of the two original registers, which reproduces them in content, if not in format and presentation. Thus we can accord it the same value that we would have attributed to the originals.²⁷

The great inquest of 1245-46 was designed to reach all males over fourteen years and all females over twelve.²⁸ In actuality, we can be fairly certain that this goal was not fully realized. Only 31.8% of witnesses deposing were female.²⁹ This discrepancy is mystifying, since the inquisitors apparently made every effort to reach the majority of the citizens of the Lauragais. For example, William Arnald, Bernard de Caux's predecessor as inquisitor of Toulouse, sent his colleague, Stephan de Saint-Thibéry, to Montesquieu to hear the confessions of the 'pregnant women and the infirm'.³⁰ Similarly, illness did not seem to excuse women from testifying before Bernard and Jean.³¹ It is thus difficult to account for the lower number of female witnesses in ms. 609. Whatever the reason may have been, and the manuscript simply does not provide enough evidence for any constructive speculation, the deficiency sheds some doubt upon Dossat's claim that this register is a more or less complete record of heretical activity in the Lauragais during the first half of the thirteenth century.³² We must accept this as a possible source of bias in our data and find a means of minimizing the resultant error in our statistical analysis.³³

The questions and responses in ms. 609 are stereotyped notarial phrases, which somewhat limits their usefulness. The inquisitors were only interested in the witness' participation in or observation of overt heretical acts; consequently we learn little of the dogma or ritual of the heresy. Fortunately, these limitations offer no serious handicap to our enterprise.

A more pertinent problem in the use of the register is the questionable reliability of the testimony given. Although such factors as hostility toward the Inquisition,

²⁶ Ms. 609 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Toulouse (henceforth cited as ms. 609), fol. 127r-v (deposition of Poncius Garriga de Exilio).

²⁷ Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 56-70.

²⁸ A. Tardif, 'Documents pour l'histoire du *Processus per Inquisitionem* et de l'*Inquisitio heretice pravitatis*', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 7 (1883) 671; see also Dossat, *ibid.*, pp. 233-34.

²⁹ Assuming a 50% female general population, the difference between the population and the sample proportion is significant at the .001 level, the test statistic *Z* equalling -34.129. It is thus unlikely that the small percentage of women in ms. 609 is due purely to chance.

³⁰ Deposition of Domina Blanca (ms. 609, fol. 108v).

³¹ A female leper (see the testimony of Guillelma de Cucmers, ms. 609, fol. 143r) and a woman in the advanced stages of pregnancy (in the testimony of Na Marquesia de Monte Esquivo, ms. 609, fol. 108v) appeared before the inquisitors. See Dossat, *Crises*, p. 234.

³² Dossat, *ibid.*, p. 244.

³³ See below, pp. 225-26.

unwillingness to incriminate oneself, and fear of reprisal from implicated neighbors³⁴ may have tended to limit the cooperation of the witnesses, other considerations seem to have counterbalanced these tendencies. It was to the witness' advantage to come forward voluntarily and testify fully during the period of grace (usually the first week following the initiation of proceedings). By doing so, he or she could hope for more lenient treatment. Furthermore, failure to come forward was itself a punishable offense: one count against a woman sentenced to life imprisonment on 29 September 1247 was that 'she did not come before the other inquisitors during the period of grace for the purpose of making her confession of heresy'.³⁵

This inquest, moreover, was the third to be conducted in the region.³⁶ Fear of exposure through testimony previously given by others before the inquisitors may have diminished the impulse to conceal. Since the penalty for perjury could be severe, a witness might well have hesitated to run the risk. Esclarmonde Bret, for example, was sentenced to life imprisonment on 13 May 1246 because she 'saw and adored heretics and denied the truth to the other inquisitors, and afterwards denied the truth in our presence while under oath'.³⁷

Citizens of several Lauragais communities had formed conspiracies of silence at the time of the first inquests of 1241/42.³⁸ A number of these, however, crumbled in the face of repeated inquisitorial inquiries, their existence being freely revealed and disavowed by witnesses in ms. 609.³⁹ Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande and Les Cassès, two towns in which such conspiracies occurred, show substantial levels of cooperation with the 1245/46 inquest, indicating the failure of the pacts.⁴⁰ It

³⁴ Ms. 609, fols. 2v, 8v, 161v, 166v, 234r-v.

³⁵ Douais, *Documents* 2.61: 'non venit tempore gratie coram aliis inquisitoribus pro confessione de heresia facienda'; and 2.22: 'Bernardus de Rocovilla ... negavit tempore gratie inquisitoribus veritatem' (life sentence).

³⁶ The Inquisitors William Arnald and Stephan de Saint-Thibéry, following the instructions of Archbishop Jean de Bernin, made a circuit of the Lauragais from October 1241 to 28 May 1242, when they were assassinated at Avignonet. Brother Ferrarius and his collaborators, the inquisitors at Carcassonne, also took depositions in the diocese of Toulouse during the period 1243-44.

³⁷ Douais, *Documents* 2.12: 'vidit hereticos, adoravit ... et negavit veritatem aliis inquisitoribus, et postmodum coram nobis contra proprium juramentum.'

³⁸ Auriac (ms. 609, fols. 88v and 94r), Barelles (ms. 609, fols. 49r, 49v, and 50r), Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande (ms. 609, fols. 33r, 33v, and 38r), Les Cassès (ms. 609, fol. 222v), Montferrand (ms. 609, fol. 144v), among others.

³⁹ e.g., ms. 609, fol. 49r (Auriac): 'Et dolet et penitet, quia non dixit veritatem, quando super hoc fuit requisita.'

⁴⁰ At Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande (ms. 609, fols. 30r-41r, 186r-189r) thirty-six individuals of a total 253 admitted involvement in heresy. Almost half (seven) of Les Cassès' sixteen witnesses (ms. 609, fols. 222r-227r) confessed to having been *credentes*. Moreover, even in towns in which the pacts appear to have been maintained by the majority of believers, the testimonies of those who did confess fully were quite productive. Thus while only two of Barelles' twenty-eight witnesses admitted

should be noted, however, that the compact may have held firm at Auriac; although the conspiracy was exposed by two witnesses,⁴¹ only 3.4% of the town's deponents (10 of 297) admitted to ever having been personally involved in heresy. On the whole, however, such attempts to frustrate the effectiveness of the inquests seem to have failed.

This is not at all surprising; the inquisitors were well aware of the problem posed by such recalcitrance, and, through a judicious mixture of mercy and threats, they seem to have dealt adequately with it. While those who betrayed the pacts could expect lenient treatment, the obdurate, if caught in their lie, could anticipate only the harshest penalties. Thus Peter Babou was sentenced to life imprisonment on 28 May 1246 because he, among his other offenses, 'had conspired to conceal heresy, and denied the truth from the other inquisitors against his own sworn oath.'⁴² In essence, pressure to give true testimony gradually built up as exposure grew more probable, penalties more certain, and the Inquisition itself was perceived more as an entrenched institution than a single, unrepeatable ordeal.⁴³

Two other collections enable us to extend our study into the 1250's. Ms. 124 of the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Toulouse⁴⁴ is a fragment of a register for the period 1254 through 1256. It contains the confessions of six former perfects, four males and two females. Although the manuscript is only five double leaves, and the confessions are incomplete, it provides information of the utmost importance, allowing us to draw comparisons between the lifestyles of *perfecti* and *perfectae*.

The *Registre du notaire ou greffier de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne* (Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale et Universitaire ms. 160) covers the period 1250-58.⁴⁵ Although it provides invaluable information on the everyday workings of the tribunal,⁴⁶ its narrow scope limits its usefulness for our purposes. Much smaller

involvement, others were implicated on seventy-one occasions and perfects were mentioned on an additional thirty-nine occasions.

⁴¹ ms. 609, fols. 88v and 94r.

⁴² Douais, *Documents* 2.22-23: 'fecit conductum de non revelando heresim, negavit scienter coram nobis veritatem, et eandem celavit aliis inquisitoribus contra proprium juramentum.'

⁴³ When asked why he had taken part in the murder of the inquisitors at Avignonet, Bertrandus de Quiders replied that he believed, along with others, that such an action would free the land of the Inquisition: 'Requisitus quare voluit interesse neci dictorum Inquisitorum, respondit quod credebatur et dicebatur ab aliis quod negotium inquisitionis esset extinctum, et tota terra esset liberata, et non fieret de cetero inquisitio' (ms. 609, fol. 140v).

⁴⁴ The late Mr. Evans' photocopy and transcription, housed in Professor John H. Mundy's office. Cf. C. Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle* (Toulouse, 1880), pp. 237-57; Y. Dossat, 'Reconstitution d'un registre d'Inquisition', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3 (1968) 277-80.

⁴⁵ Douais, *Documents* 2.115-301.

⁴⁶ Dossat, *Crises*, p. 45.

than ms. 609, it includes only forty-two witnesses. The same sorts of caveats apply to its use.

A second type of inquisitorial source has been utilized in this work: registers of sentences. Unlike the collections of depositions, these state only the sentences of condemned heretics, along with stereotyped descriptions of their offenses. The kinds of information we can derive from them are somewhat limited. Few, if any, *credentes* are implicated, and fewer *perfecti* and *perfectae* are mentioned, although occasionally the condemned person's offense will be described in such terms as 'he adored Peter Auterius, the heretic'. Since the categories of information differ for these two types of registers, we shall use caution in our comparisons.⁴⁷

Some serious problems arise in the use of the registers of sentences. Can we assume, for example, that those tried at any one tribunal at any one time formed a representative sample of the Cathar community? ⁴⁸ For that matter, is it even certain that the unfortunates convicted were necessarily Cathars? To answer the latter affirmatively would be to consider the accusations justified, and the accuracy and trustworthiness of inquisitorial condemnations are arguable.⁴⁹ Given these partially insoluble problems, it would surely be impossible to obtain exact data, but fortunately that is not necessary. If we speak of proportions rather than of exact figures, if we take as our unit of measurement the total number of sentences rendered by an inquisitor for several towns over an extended period of time rather than the condemnations of each *sermo generalis*, then our results will probably still be valid. An anomalous case of an innocent person condemned, or even of an entire *sermo* atypically composed of only *perfecti* or *perfectae*, would not totally vitiate our final results. Given a large enough sample (assumed to be random), we can assume

⁴⁷ We have examined the following: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 9992, *The Register of Sentences of Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre at Toulouse, 1245-48*, ed. Douais, *Documents* 2.1-89; Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 11847, *Register of the Inquisition at Albi, 1299-1300*, ed. Georgene Webber Davis (New York, 1948), which is of little use to our present inquiry, since this particular inquisition was directed against the leading citizens of the town for political reasons and, as a result, no women were accused and no information concerning them was sought; and Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 11848, *The Book of Sentences of Bernard Gui, 1307-1321*, ed. P. van Limborch (Amsterdam, 1692). Of these, the last is both the largest (containing 932 sentences) and the most useful.

⁴⁸ Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences* probably does present a representative sample, since Peter Auterius, the architect of the fourteenth-century revival, was himself apprehended and induced to confess before his execution. His confession, in all probability, implicated the majority of those involved.

⁴⁹ Although the leniency of Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre seems to have compared favorably with that of their secular contemporaries. Thus the testimony of Na Nomais of Scopont (ms. 609, fol. 246r): 'dixit quod numquam vidit hereticos nisi captos, nec adoravit, nec aliquid dedit nec misit, nec eorum predicationem audivit. Dixit tamen quod Bertrandus Amblart, baillivus de Vauro, cepit eam pro facto heresis; et dum ipsa testis capta, dixit, coacta et invita propter timorem, quod adoravit duos hereticos, quod non fuit verum. Sed propter timorem dixit sicut dictum est.'

that such anomalies would balance each other and thus would not substantially alter the overall proportion of men to women. Granting that our figures will only be approximations, nevertheless we believe that they can serve to indicate the extent of female participation in Languedocian Catharism.

II

Of the 719 heretical ministers⁵⁰ named in ms. 609, 318, or slightly less than 45 %, were women. Although the difference in representation between the sexes is statistically significant at the .05 level,⁵¹ this figure of 45 % is still high—certainly a larger percentage of female religious than one would expect to find in medieval Catholic society. Without straying too far afield, one may remark that the number of nuns in any given period would hardly have equaled the total number of priests, monks, friars, and clerks.

Despite their large numbers, however, *perfectae* were observed by witnesses far less often than *perfecti*. Thus while women formed, as we have said, 45 % of all active perfects in ms. 609, they were mentioned in testimonies less than a third as many times as males. To be exact, they constitute only 22.9 % of all sightings of perfects.⁵² This figure, it must be understood, does not represent the total number of individuals, since a single *perfectus* or *perfecta* might have been sighted dozens of times. Rather, it furnishes a guide to the relative activity (or at least, visibility) of male and female perfects.

As previously stated,⁵³ our data group may possibly be biased since only 31.8 % of the witnesses in ms. 609 were women. Indeed, a difference of proportions test shows that women tended to notice⁵⁴ and, consequently, to testify against female heretics more often than male witnesses did.⁵⁵ When men looked at the Cathar

⁵⁰ The term minister refers only to those who received the *consolamentum* during their lifetime, as opposed to deathbed heretics. The inquisitorial registers label the former *heretici* or *hereticae* and the latter *hereticati* or *hereticatae*. (This second group will be discussed with the Cathar believers in section III below.) In this paper, the terms minister, perfect, and heretic are used interchangeably.

⁵¹ Our null hypothesis is that half of the perfect class was female.

⁵² *Perfectae* were observed by witnesses 1435 times out of 6259 sightings of perfects. This figure excludes observations of 'hereticos stantes'. Although the phrase indicates male gender, it is probable that it was used as a general expression for all heretics regardless of sex. On one occasion in ms. 609 (fol. 109v) a pair of perfects, one female and one male, are referred to as 'heretici'. If we do include 'hereticos stantes', the level of female activity drops to 19.26 %.

⁵³ See above, p. 221.

⁵⁴ The description of the 'sociabilité féminine' rendered by Le Roy Ladurie suggests that such bias is a very real possibility. For Montaillou at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Le Roy Ladurie has convincingly demonstrated that females did indeed come into more frequent contact with others of their own sex than they did with males (see *Montaillou*, pp. 377-89). Le Roy Ladurie's work gives a useful account of the position and role of women in the medieval Midi.

⁵⁵ Having numbered separately all male and female depositions, we drew two independent random

ministry, they appear to have thought that females constituted about a fifth of all perfects. Female witnesses, on the other hand, seem to have been convinced that no less than a third were of their own sex. Although the bias of each sex is evident, this does not invalidate our conclusion, for even when we consider only the testimony given by women, they saw twice as many male perfects as they did female ones. Given the proportions of the random samples used in the test, even if ms. 609 had included an equal number of male and female witnesses, the ratio between sightings of *perfecti* and *perfectae* would still have been about three to one.

Clearly, then, *perfectae* were far less active than their male counterparts. A partial explanation may lie in the nature of their respective activities. While the *perfecti*, especially the bishops and deacons (positions filled only by men⁵⁶), traveled extensively, preaching and administering the *consolamentum*, female perfects, as we shall see, by and large, did not.

Even though, as the Inquisitor Raynier Sacchoni maintained, the *consolamentum* could be administered 'not only by their prelates, but by those under them, even, in case of need, by Cathar women',⁵⁷ the office normally belonged to the male hierarchy:

It is the duty of the bishop always to take the first place in everything they do, namely, in the imposition of the hand [i.e., the *consolamentum*]. ... In the absence of the bishop, the elder son presides, and in the absence of the bishop and the elder son, the younger son does so. Moreover, these two sons, together or separately, go about visiting all the Cathar men and women who are in the bishop's charge. ... the deacons preside and perform all functions, each among his charges, in the absence of the bishop and the sons.⁵⁸

samples, the first consisting of 200 females and the second of 200 males, assuring randomness through a random numbers chart (The RAND Corp., *A Million Random Digits* [Glencoe, Ill., 1955], pp. 1-3; rpt. in H. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics* [New York, 1972], pp. 554-57). We then formulated the null hypothesis that the two samples would report the same proportion of *perfecti* and *perfectae*. If we use a one-tailed test (having previously predicted male bias) and a .05 significance level, any value of the test statistic $Z \leq -1.65$ will indicate that the results are so improbable under the given assumptions that the null hypothesis may be rejected.

21.9% of perfects mentioned in the male sample were women (69 of 315), while for the sample of female witnesses the percentage was 33% (52 of 157). We thus obtain $Z = -2.25$. Since the probability of obtaining a result as small as this if the null hypothesis is true is only .012, we may reject the null hypothesis at the .05 level. Thus it seems that witnesses did testify more against perfects of their own sex.

⁵⁶ Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.227-28.

⁵⁷ Sacchoni, *Summa*, trans. Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies*, p. 331.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 335; A. Dondaine, ed., *Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII^e siècle: le Liber de duobus principiis, suivi d'un fragment de rituel cathare* (Rome, 1931), pp. 68-69: 'Officium episcopi est tenere semper prioratum in omnibus quae faciunt, scilicet in impositione manus.... Idem servat filius maior absente episcopo; similiter facit filius minor absente episcopo et filio maiore. Praeterea isti duo filii simul vel separatim discurrunt visitando Catharos et Catharas omnes qui sunt sub episcopo. ... in omnibus servant et faciunt diacones unusquisque in suis subditis absentibus episcopi et filii.'

Only in the absence of all of the above would a *perfecta* have had the opportunity to perform the Cathar sacrament. Since the diocese of Toulouse had around fifty deacons in its heyday,⁵⁹ such occasions must have been rare. It is true that the advent of the Albigensian Crusade (1209) and the establishment of the Inquisition in the 1230's and 40's forced a partial shift of the sacramental burden downward (ms. 609 yields several examples of ordinary *perfecti* consoling believers⁶⁰), but this trend appears to have excluded women. Although witnesses testified to over 150 observed heretications, not once does a woman perform the sacrament.⁶¹ On one occasion, in fact, a woman living in a heretical convent at Laurac sought heretication from a visiting *perfectus* rather than from the *perfectae* who had trained her.⁶² The detailed confessions of three *perfectae* in the collection Doat⁶³ and ms. 124 of the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne⁶⁴ confirm this observation. Thus we may safely conclude that the activities of female Cathars did not ordinarily include sacerdotal functions.

Instances of *perfectae* known to have preached or debated publicly are extremely rare, and are understandably largely limited to upper-class women in the pre-Crusade period. Esclarmonde de Foix, the widowed sister of Count Raymond-Roger of Foix, is the most celebrated example. This *perfecta*, an elderly lady with six children, has become something of a legend. One overly romantic historian, in fact, declared her to be 'the visible inspiration of Cathar mysticism and the heart of the resistance',⁶⁵ a rather strong characterization of someone about whom we know so little. Esclarmonde did, however, take a prominent role in the public debate at Pamiers in 1207. According to William de Puylaurens, her presence so disturbed the Cistercian envoy that he dismissed her, saying, 'Go to your distaff, madam. It is

⁵⁹ Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.212-24.

⁶⁰ Raymundus Jaule (Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande, 1238: fol. 39v); Petrus Alric and Arnaldus de Villa Picta (Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande, 1229: fol. 39v); Petrus Boerius and Bernardus Colum (Renneville, 1244: fol. 51r); Petrus Raymundus de Villa Nova (Issel, 1235: fol. 127r); Bernardus Natalis (Issel, 1237: fol. 126v); Raymundus Regaut (Fanjeaux, between 1229 and 1240: fols. 150r, 159v, 162v, 166r); among others.

⁶¹ Professor Walter Wakefield has kindly brought to our attention two examples from the collection Doat of female perfects performing the *consolamentum*. The perfect Marquesia and her companions hereticated a dying matron, Taysseiras de Auca, around 1225 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Collection de Languedoc [Doat], vol. 22, fol. 77r-v). Guillelma den Poncii Durant and her companions received a dying woman into the heresy at Toulouse, sometime around 1230 (Doat, vol. 23, fol. 300). For a third possible instance, see Doat, vol. 23, fol. 23r.

⁶² Testimony of Raymunda Jotglar (ms. 609, fol. 41r).

⁶³ Doat, vol. 23, fols. 1r-49v; ms. 609, fols. 202r-204v; confessions of Arnalda de la Mota.

⁶⁴ ms. 124 (formerly in the *fonds des Dominicains*, H28), fols. 1-2r (confession of Saurina Rigauda), and fol. 7 (fragmentary confession of an unknown *perfecta*).

⁶⁵ Napoléon Peyrat, *Esclarmonde de Foix, princesse cathare* (Toulouse, 1956), p. 147 (cited by Koch, *Frauenfrage*, p. 50). See also J. M. Vidal, 'Esclarmonde de Foix dans l'histoire et le roman', *Revue de Gascogne* 52 [N.S. 11] (1911) 53-79.

not proper that you should speak at such a gathering.⁶⁶ Perhaps the Cistercian's insult may have been prompted by the lady's effectiveness, for according to the *Chanson de la croisade*, Bishop Foulques of Toulouse held Esclarmonde responsible for numerous conversions at Pamiers.⁶⁷

However, a member of a comital family such as Esclarmonde was in a more favorable position than the majority of *perfectae*. One should therefore be careful of generalizing from her example. In ms. 609, despite 1435 observations of *perfectae* by witnesses, women were reported preaching on only twelve occasions.⁶⁸ To put it another way, of the 318 *perfectae* named in the manuscript, only eleven are definitely known to have preached.⁶⁹ Significantly, the converted heretic Arnalda de la Mota, who gave detailed confessions to both Ferrarius and Bernard de Caux, mentioned having preached only during her three-week stay at Massac with Poncius Hugo. This was over the span of twenty-three years as a *perfecta*.⁷⁰ In direct contrast, it is most unusual to find a *perfectus* who did not preach regularly.

An obvious question now arises: if the *perfecta* was neither a priest nor a preacher, then exactly what role did she play? Gottfried Koch has suggested that Cathar women commonly lived in heretical hospices bearing an analogous relationship to Catholic convents.⁷¹ A careful analysis of ms. 609, while generally supporting the monastic thesis, reveals a far more complex situation than Koch would have it.

Before the advent of the Inquisition, many *perfectae* lived publicly in houses set aside for them. According to witnesses in ms. 609, there were six such houses for men and women in Montesquieu around 1209,⁷² while Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande boasted ten at that time.⁷³ Similar establishments were reported in Le-Mas-Saintes-

⁶⁶ William of Puylaurens, *Chronica*, ed. J. Beyssier (Paris, 1904), p. 435: "Ite domina," inquit, "filiat colum vestram, non interest vestra loqui in hujusmodi concione."

⁶⁷ *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot (Paris, 1957), 2.48-49.

⁶⁸ (1) Fabrisa *et socia* at Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande, 1240 (fol. 41r); (2) Willelma de Campo Longo, at Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande, 1233 (fol. 35v); (3) Domina Bruna, sister of Willelmus de Insula, *et socia*, with the deacon Bertrandus Marti, Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande 1234 (fol. 35v); (4) four unknown *perfectae* with two *perfecti*, Laurac, 1242 (fol. 72v); (5) Raymunda Borda, Laurac, 1238 (fol. 76v); (6) Tholosana *et tres sociae*, Gaja-la-Selve, 1240 (fols. 123v and 196r); (7) Domina Belengueira de Seguevilla, Avignonet, 1233 (fol. 137v); (8) Blancha *et sociae*, Castelnaudary, c. 1205 (fol. 184v); (9) Domina Bruna and Rixenda, Laurac, 1235 (fols. 192v-193r); (10) Willelma Sicharda and Arnalda, Odars, 1241 (fol. 204r); (11) Willelma de Deime, Lanta, 1231 (fol. 201r); (12) unknown *perfecta*, Cambiac, 1227 (fol. 239v).

⁶⁹ See above, n. 68.

⁷⁰ Doat, vol. 23, fol. 10r. See also *ibid.*, fols. 1r-49v and ms. 609, fols. 202r-203v.

⁷¹ Koch, *Frauenfrage*, pp. 49-70.

⁷² Testimony of Arnaldus Picoc, fol. 103r (*mansiones tam hereticorum quam hereticarum*).

⁷³ Testimony of Bernardus Mir (fol. 30r).

Puelles,⁷⁴ Laurac,⁷⁵ Vitrac,⁷⁶ Villeneuve-la-Comptal,⁷⁷ and Cabaret.⁷⁸ Koch, relying largely on the collection Doat and conveniently translating the terms *domus* and *mansiones* as *Frauenkonvente*, dotted the whole Lauragais with convents for heretical women. Thus he asserts that the small *castrum* of Mirepoix contained numerous *Frauenkonvente* at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹

The resemblance of the larger houses to Catholic convents also struck contemporaries. In describing the *domus hereticarum de Linars*, Arnalda de la Mota used terms usually reserved for orthodox monasteries. Thus when her mother fell ill, she and her sister agreed that they should all go to Linars, 'where *hereticae* lived under the habit of nuns' ('ubi stabant hereticae sub habitu monialium'), to seek entry into the heretical convent there. This establishment, according to Arnalda, consisted of sixteen *perfectae* ruled by a prioress (*priorissa de Linars*). Significantly, the prioress did not hereticate them herself, but simply allowed them to remain at the hospice until Bernard de la Mota, the deacon assigned to the area, could send *perfecti* to fetch the would-be heretics to him at Lavaur. There, in the house of a *credens*, they finally received the *consolamentum*.⁸⁰

Certainly the higher nobility founded and endowed houses for the *perfectae* of their families. Koch has described several communities limited to noblewomen, most notably the count of Foix's foundations at Dun, Pamiers, and Mirepoix. As in the orthodox *Eigenklöster*, the superiors of these convents were generally drawn from the family of the founder. Thus Raymond-Roger of Foix appointed his wife Philippa abbess of Dun and his sister Esclarmonde abbess of Pamiers.⁸¹ However, Koch, adhering to his hypothesis of class dichotomy, may have overstressed the importance of these Cathar monasteries.⁸² There were other types of foundations. The Inquisitor James Capelli asserted that Cathar deacons maintained hospices for the perfected from the donations of believers.⁸³ Corroborating evidence may be found in a deposition from Montesquieu, in which a witness specifically stated that

⁷⁴ Testimony of Bernardus del Mas, jr. (fol. 16v).

⁷⁵ Testimony of Raymunda Jotglar (fol. 41r); there were at least two houses for women at Laurac in 1240, but they dissolved around 1242, when their *perfectae* fled to Montségur.

⁷⁶ Testimony of Willemus Raymundi (fols. 66v-67r).

⁷⁷ Testimony of Bernarda Veziana (fol. 143v), who stayed as a youth in a heretical hospice with her aunt, Bernarda Recorda.

⁷⁸ Testimony of Maurina, widow of B. Bosquet, *miles* (fol. 180v); when she was a child of seven she stayed with her aunt, Carcassona Martina, in a *domus hereticarum*.

⁷⁹ Koch, *Frauenfrage*, p. 55, citing the testimony of P. G. Darvinha in Doat, vol. 24, fols. 240r-241v: 'In Mirepoix waren die Frauenkonvente seit dem Anfang des Jh. nicht weniger zahlreich.' The original says simply that there were around fifty houses in which *perfecti* and *perfectae* lived. Here, as elsewhere, Koch fails to distinguish between true *Frauenkonvente* and private homes.

⁸⁰ Doat, vol. 23, fol. 7v.

⁸¹ Koch, *Frauenfrage*, pp. 51-53; Peter des Vaux de Cernay, *Historia Albigensis*, part II, pp. 198-200.

⁸² Koch, *Frauenfrage*, pp. 54-57.

⁸³ James Capelli, *Summa contra hereticos*, trans. Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies*, pp. 303-304.

the heretics were purchasing houses in that town to serve as heretical hospices.⁸⁴ Likewise, certain wealthy *credentes*⁸⁵ gave or loaned their homes for the use of perfects living in or traveling through their *castra*, a practice which had its orthodox parallel in the private hospitals and hospices of Toulouse.⁸⁶

It is quite possible that large-scale establishments were not even the dominant form of the *domus hereticarum*. Although we cannot meaningfully quantify upon this point,⁸⁷ ms. 609 suggests that a large number of *perfectae* lived with their assigned *sociae* (most usually one other woman) in either their own homes or those of their relations. References to such arrangements, especially among upper-class women, are commonplace in the testimonies.⁸⁸ At Le-Mas-Saintes-Puelles, for example, Na Garsen, mother of the town's six lords, and her heretic daughter lived together publicly in their own home for a number of years before the Crusade began, and then from about 1220 through 1225.⁸⁹ Raymundus de Peirelha, the seignior of Montségur, allowed both his perfected mother and mother-in-law to live in his house for some thirty years.⁹⁰ In another instance, interesting also for the light it sheds on local Cathar-Catholic relations, a Catholic sister, Dulcia de Bosqueto, left her cloister to be a *perfecta* in the home of her son, the knight Guillabertus de Bosqueto.⁹¹ Among other examples of this sort are the cases of Adelasia de Cuc, lady of Villeneuve-la-Comptal, and Ava de Varanha, *domina castri de Vasega*.⁹²

Koch's failure to distinguish between monasteries proper and individual homes⁹³ resulted in an overly simplified analysis of the situation. Although further work is needed upon this topic, it would seem that the orthodox parallel to these modest

⁸⁴ ms. 609, fol. 103v.

⁸⁵ e.g., Braida, the perfected aunt of Petrus de Mazerolis, lord of Gaja-la-Selve, lived in a house provided by the Roquevilles (ms. 609, fol. 124r).

⁸⁶ For which see John H. Mundy, 'Charity and Social Work in Toulouse, 1100-1215', *Traditio* 22 (1966) 203-87.

⁸⁷ In the vast majority of cases, no place of permanent or extended residence is given for the *perfectae* sighted. They are simply said to have been seen in a believer's house. For those *perfectae* about whom we have information concerning residence, less than twenty were in convents, while thirty-seven were living in their own or their relations' homes.

⁸⁸ e.g., fols. 16v, 29v, 44r, 61r, 65r, 118r, 124r, 143v, 171v, 180r, 213r, 231v, 232r.

⁸⁹ ms. 609, fols. 16v and 29v.

⁹⁰ ms. 609, fols. 59r and 180r.

⁹¹ ms. 609, 213r. We have found two other examples of Catholic nuns adhering to heresy: Agnes de Bello Podio, sister of Brie (cant. Saverdun), who was hereticated upon her deathbed (ms. 609, fol. 177r); and Joanna de Turre, nun of Lespinasse, sentenced to perpetual incarceration by Bernard de Caux (Douais, *Documents* 2.31).

⁹² ms. 609, fols. 143v and 58r-61r, *passim*.

⁹³ For a discussion of the implications of the term *domus* and the crucial role of the household in the social structure of the medieval Midi, see Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, pp. 51-87, and especially pp. 53-59 for the importance of the *domus* in the propagation and maintenance of heresy in Montaillou.

establishments should be sought not in the larger monasteries for women or men but instead in the contemporary *reclusania* and Humiliati and the later Beguines. Although the settlements of these groups sometimes developed into monasteries or cohesively blocked settlements, as Dayton Phillips has shown for the Beguines of Strassburg,⁹⁴ the majority lived in individual houses. Cathar monasticism in the early thirteenth century thus seems to have reflected all the strains evident in contemporary Catholic monasticism.

Within the Cathar 'convent', whether private home or not, all *perfectae* followed the regimen required of those who had received the *consolamentum*: rigorous fasts three times a year, permanent abstention from meat, milk, and all other products of procreation, chastity, poverty, and the mortification of the flesh. Specified sequences of prayer—usually seven repetitions of the Lord's Prayer—were followed. Two converted *perfectae* described their former duties in remarkably similar terms:

... eating [according to the prescribed diet], praying, fasting, blessing bread from meal to meal, confessing [the *apparellamentum*], adoring heretics [*hereticos adorando*], and doing all other things which *perfecti* and *perfectae* are accustomed to do⁹⁵

and:

... praying, fasting, adoring heretics, hearing their [Isarn de Castres' and his *socius*'] preaching, and doing other things which heretics do and understand must be observed.⁹⁶

Although *perfectae* and orthodox religious women differed in significant respects, notably ordination, on the whole their observances seem to have been similar.

Cathar hospices not only housed *perfectae* but apparently served as seminaries for novices. Although our knowledge of their training is slight, we do know that an extended probationary period was required, so that they could 'be instructed in the mores of the heretics and undergo three fasts, each lasting forty days.'⁹⁷ Before the Albigensian Crusade, girls were known to have received the *consolamentum* at as early an age as nine years,⁹⁸ sometimes at the insistence of their parents and in spite

⁹⁴ D. Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life* (Ann Arbor, 1941).

⁹⁵ Doat, vol. 23, fol. 5r-v: '... comedendo, orando, jejunando, panem benedicendo de mensa in mensem, apparellando, hereticos adorando et omnia alia faciendo, quae heretici et hereticae facere consueverunt.'

⁹⁶ MS. 609, fol. 184r: '... orando, iejunando, hereticos adorando, predicationes eorum audiendo, et alia faciendo, quae heretici faciunt et percipiunt observari.'

⁹⁷ Testimony of Raymunda Jotglar (MS. 609, fol. 41r): 'sed dicti heretici noluerunt ipsam testem hereticare donec bene esset instructa secundum mores hereticorum et fecisset primo tres quadragenas.'

⁹⁸ MS. 609, fol. 20v: testimony of Na Comdors; fol. 161v: testimony of Covinens de Fanjeaux; fol. 144r: testimony of Saura Boneta.

of their own manifest reluctance.⁹⁹ A number of these young girls stayed *perfectae* for only a few years, eventually leaving the ministry and marrying.¹⁰⁰ The extreme youth and, in many instances, the gentle birth of the catechumens suggest that Cathar convents occasionally functioned as seminaries for the daughters of the rural nobility.¹⁰¹ This at least was the interpretation placed upon it by Jordan of Saxony, Dominic's successor as Master General of the Order of Preachers. In discussing the foundation of Prouille, he described its prospective nuns as 'certain noblewomen, whose parents, beset by poverty, sent them to the heretics for their maintenance and instruction.'¹⁰² Once again the model of Catholic practice suggests itself.

Although Cathar houses were led by women, these 'abbesses' were not solely responsible for the spiritual welfare of the monastic community. The convents were visited at regular intervals by the deacons of the district, who, it appears, performed a role similar to Catholic chaplains, preaching and hearing confessions. Thus the well-known Cathar house ruled by Blanche of Laurac was visited by the deacon Isarn de Castres. During his stay there, he heard the confessions of the *perfectae* (the *apparellamentum*), presided over the various rituals and liturgies, and preached sermons attended by the pious *credentes* of the town.¹⁰³ We thus conclude with Guiraud¹⁰⁴ that even the 'most perfected of *perfectae*' were still subordinate to the male hierarchy and that no parity can be established between the superiors of Cathar houses and the deacons.

Data drawn from ms. 609 indicate shifts in both the total number of *perfectae* and the level of their activity (measured by the number of sightings) between 1200 and 1246. Although extreme caution must be used in analyzing dating figures,¹⁰⁵ we

⁹⁹ Arnalda de Fremiac, for example, was forced by her uncle to become a perfect. She remained one for six years (ms. 609, fol. 160v). Similarly, Na Comdors was forcibly made a *perfecta* when she was only nine. After nine months she left the house in which she had been placed (fol. 20v).

¹⁰⁰ e.g., Segura, wife of Willelmus Vitalis (ms. 609, fol. 20v); Willelma d'En Bernardus Raymundi (fol. 114v); Audiardis Ebrarda (fol. 184r).

¹⁰¹ Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.150; H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1887; rpt. 1955), 1.250.

¹⁰² 'De principio ordinis Praedicatorum', 1.21 (cited by Guiraud, *ibid.*, p. 150): 'ad susceptionem autem quarundam mulierum nobilium, quas parentes earum ratione paupertatis erudiendas et nutriendas tradebant haereticis, quoddam instituit monasterium situm inter Fanum Jovis et Montem Regalem, et nomen loci eiusdam Prulianum' (*Acta sanctorum*, 4 August, col. 548).

¹⁰³ Guiraud, *ibid.*, p. 228; Koch, *Frauenfrage*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁴ Guiraud, *ibid.*, p. 228.

¹⁰⁵ The variations in the figures for the number of perfected and the number of times they were sighted over time can be partially explained by the manner in which this information was compiled. It would seem reasonable that witnesses would report more fully concerning recent events. This in itself may explain why the number of reported sightings increases as we approach 1240. Moreover, although the decline in numbers after 1240 may represent, as we argue, an actual weakening of the heresy, it may also reflect the reluctance of the witnesses to talk about involvement in the sect after the earlier periods of grace and after their previous confessions.

Furthermore, witnesses had a tendency to date by approximation. Thus the years most frequently

believe such variations reflect stresses upon, and the resultant changes in, the lifestyle of the *perfecta*. Of the 177 individual perfects sighted in the Lauragais before 1217, ninety-one, or 51.4%, were female. These women were seen by witnesses 174 times, thus yielding a 2:1 ratio between the number of sightings and the size of the sample population. This proportion, which we believe measures the average activity level of the *perfectae*, should be contrasted with that of the male Cathars: 10:3 for this same period. Between these early years and the half-decade spanning Simon de Montfort's unsuccessful siege of Toulouse (1217) and the death of Raymond VI (1222), the average activity levels for both sexes remain relatively unchanged, although the number of perfects declined sharply (see Table 1 and Figure 1).

We can draw only the most general conclusions from the data for the early thirteenth century. Even granting the limited number of witnesses old enough to testify about events occurring before 1222, even granting that a great number of remote incidents would have been forgotten, it would still appear that during this period the individual *perfecta* was less visible than her male counterpart. This may be due to the relative seclusion of *perfectae*. Although many ordinary *perfecti* may have practised the contemplative life (there are numerous references to *domus hereticorum* in the manuscript), their movement, on the whole, was not as restricted as that of the *perfectae*. As well as the bishops and deacons, whose duties forced them to travel, the majority of known *perfecti* preferred the wandering life to settled, communal living. A greater percentage of *perfectae* were cloistered, whether in convents or alone with their *socia* in their own homes. It is thus not surprising that they came into contact with *credentes* less often than did male perfects.

With the establishment of the Inquisition in the 1230's and 1240's, settled monastic life became more difficult.¹⁰⁶ It was obviously no longer safe to live publicly in the towns, and consequently *perfectae* sought safer refuges. With the increasing efficacy of the Inquisition and the resulting threat to property, many *perfectae* came under family pressure to abandon heresy. Bernarda Roberta, a *perfecta*, was begged by her daughter to convert. She refused; three days later she was captured and burnt.¹⁰⁷ Two *perfectae* of the noble family of del Mas were

mentioned were 5, 10, 12, 20, and 30 years ago. The situation is not quite as serious for more recent events, although there are still some problems. In Le-Mas-Saintes-Puelles, for example, Willermus de Canast, Bru, and Raymundus de Na Amielh (fols. 8r and 6v) confessed to having attended the same assembly (the members of the congregation, the perfects present, and the place at which it was held were identical in both confessions); the former, however, claimed that it occurred eight years ago, while the latter placed it some ten years prior to his confession.

Although such problems prevent exact calculations, nevertheless they do not invalidate the value of our conclusions for a comparative study of male and female Cathars.

¹⁰⁶ We generally follow the argument advanced by Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.146 and Koch, *Frauenfrage*, pp. 64-78.

¹⁰⁷ MS. 609, fol. 94r.

removed bodily from their home at Montségur by their relatives, two of whom are known to have once been ardent *credentes*.¹⁰⁸ This was far from an isolated case;¹⁰⁹ increasingly, believers found it prudent to sever contact with their perfected female relations. After having been sheltered by her son for five years, Dulcia de Gozensc and her *socia* were expelled from his house. They crept back at night and were captured there in the morning.¹¹⁰ Willelma Sabateira, who escaped prison around 1242, fled to her relatives for aid. All refused to take her in; two of her brothers-in-

Table 1
Number of Individual Perfects Sighted by Witnesses in ms. 609

Years	No. perfects			Total
	New	Remaining from previous period	Lost from previous period	
Males				
Before 1217	86	0	0	86
1217-22	21	36	50	57
1223-28	56	37	20	93
1229-34	53	62	31	115
1235-40	70	69	46	139
1241-46	55	65	74	120
Females				
Before 1217	91	0	0	91
1217-22	21	22	69	43
1223-28	44	23	20	67
1229-34	42	24	43	66
1235-40	55	23	43	78
1241-46	40	24	55	64

Note. These figures are only approximate. To measure the duration of the ministries of the individual perfects, we have relied upon the earliest and latest sightings by witnesses.

¹⁰⁸ MS. 609, fol. 16v.

¹⁰⁹ In addition to the examples given in the text, see the testimonies of Johannes Ugole de Sancto Martino, fol. 33r (concerning his mother-in-law Willelma Fabrisa) and of Willelmus Graile des Cassers, fol. 226r (about his sister Rixendis).

¹¹⁰ MS. 609, fol. 37v.

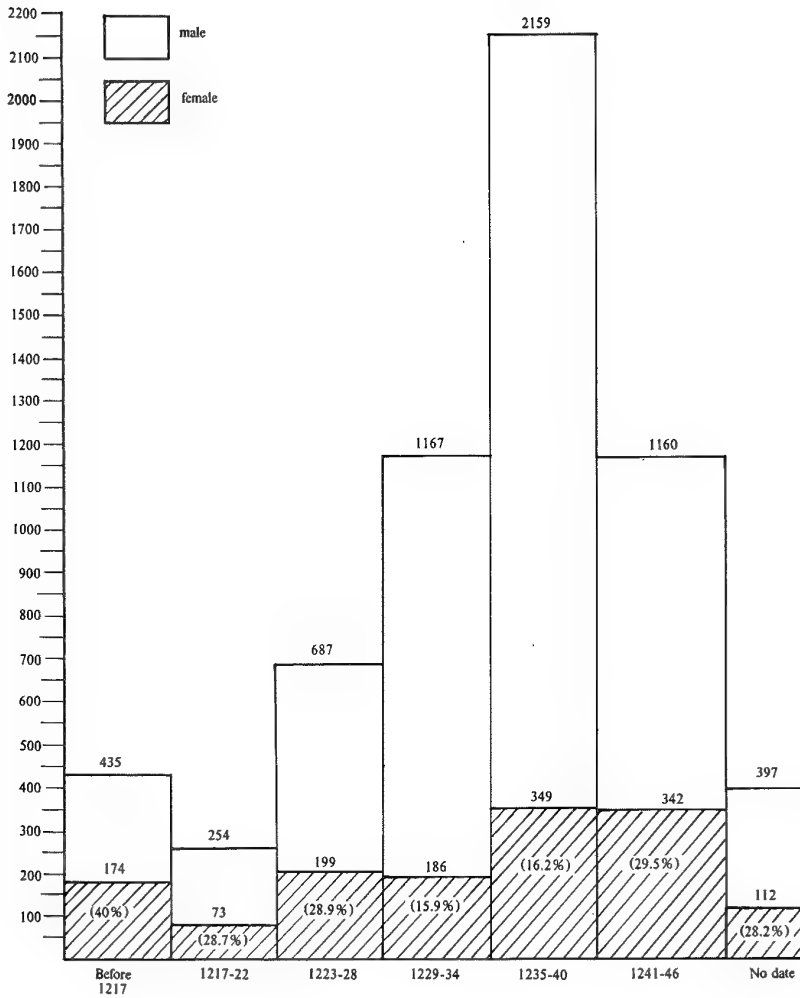


Figure 1. Activity of the Perfects:
 Number of Individual Sightings by Year in ms. 609

law and several neighbors finally returned her to the custody of the bishop of Toulouse. Faced with no alternative but death, she chose conversion.¹¹¹ Even such notorious defenders of heresy as the Niort brothers judiciously abandoned both their beliefs and their perfected relatives when their property was placed in direct jeopardy and opposition to the Inquisition seemed hopeless.¹¹²

When the *perfectae* were forced to abandon their settled communal lifestyle, and when their pleas for aid were rebuffed by their frightened relatives, they sought refuge elsewhere. We know of *perfectae* who fled to Montségur¹¹³ and to Lombardy,¹¹⁴ but apparently most chose to remain in the Lauragais, tailoring their lives to the new circumstances. From the mid-1230's on, female Cathars increasingly took to the forests; testimony about heretics encountered in *cabana in nemore* or *barta*, once primarily referring to men, now came to include more and more women. Many preferred the imagined safety of the road to seclusion and, relying upon the hospitality of the devout, traveled from town to town, never lingering too long in any one locality.¹¹⁵ These tendencies are illustrated by the career of Arnalda de la Mota, one of the few *perfectae* for whom we can construct a more or less complete *iter*. Between her childhood heretication in 1209 and 1233 she resided in turn in a number of heretical hospices (1209-12), with her parents in Montauban (c. 1218-23), and with believers in Lavaur, Toulouse, and Lanta. During this phase of her career her sojourns in some twenty-nine residences lasted an average of 31.4 weeks. In marked contrast, she visited forty-three places in the Haute-Garonne between 1234 and her capture in the woods near Sancta Fide in 1243, including huts in the forests, farms, and the homes of believers in Lanta and Odars. These stays averaged only seven weeks; the median was twenty-one days.

Both the female attempt to adopt the peripatetic life and its eventual failure are reflected in our statistics for the period 1223-46. A table of average activity levels for the perfects divided by half decade reveals a steady increase in female activity:

¹¹¹ ms. 609, fols. 58v-59r, 60v.

¹¹² W. L. Wakefield, 'The Family of Niort in the Albigensian Crusade and before the Inquisition', *Names* 18 (1970) 97-117, 286-303.

¹¹³ Testimony of Raymunda Jotglar (ms. 609, fol. 41r).

¹¹⁴ ms. 124 of the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, testimony of Guillelmus Carriera (fol. 3v). The incident refers to the early 1250's.

¹¹⁵ The female retreat to the countryside leads us to the fringes of the town-countryside discussion. Unfortunately, the narrow focus of the present effort prevents us from dealing with its full economic and social implications. The interested reader should consult C. Violante, 'Hérésies urbaines et hérésies rurales en Italie du 11^e au 13^e siècle' in *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle 11^e-18^e siècles*, ed. J. Le Goff (Paris, 1968), pp. 171-95. Cf. P. Wolff, 'Villes et campagnes dans l'hérésie cathare', *ibid.*, pp. 203-207.

Table 2

Average Activity Levels of the Perfects as Measured by the Ratio
of the Number of Sightings to the Number of Individuals Named in ms. 609

Years	Sex	
	<i>Perfecti</i>	<i>Perfectae</i>
1223-28	5.3:1	3.0:1
1229-34	8.5:1	2.8:1
1235-40	13.0:1	4.5:1
1241-46	6.8:1	5.3:1

We believe that this rise reflects the increased mobility of the *perfectae* and is partially due to the breakdown of the monastic system. From the time of the Crusade, women had been forced from their communes. Even with the resurgence of heresy in the late 1220's and early 1230's under the benign eyes of the rural seigniors and the attendant reestablishment of Cathar hospices in the Lauragais,¹¹⁶ a number of *perfectae* such as Arnalda de la Mota and Willelma de Campo Longo chose to remain on the road, alternating between the homes of believers and the woods, where *credentes* from the neighboring towns would supply them with necessities.

Choice, however, was removed toward the end of the 1230's. The inquests made it too dangerous to remain in an area for any length of time. Consequently, the *perfectae* were forced to become more mobile and, as a result, more visible. The ratio between the number of sightings of *perfectae* and their population increased a little less than 20% between 1235 and 1246; this is to be contrasted with the accompanying decline in the *perfecti*'s activity by 48%. While male Cathars now had to temper the fervor of their ministry with discretion, replacing at this time their characteristic black robes with a cord worn underneath their clothes, and thus became less visible to the inhabitants of the Lauragais, females were forced from their seclusion. Our statistics for 1241-46 would suggest in fact that the lifestyles of the ordinary male and female perfect may have grown quite similar.

Significantly, in spite of women's increased mobility, their numbers still declined dramatically in the 1240's. As Table 1 shows, the population of *perfectae* in the Lauragais thrived in the later 1230's. This period of prosperity was brought to an end, however, with the inquest of the Inquisitor William Arnald in 1241. The success of the inquest is reflected both in the hostility it evoked (resulting in the

¹¹⁶ E. Griffe, *Le languedoc cathare au temps de la croisade, 1209-1229* (Paris, 1973), pp. 200-203.

'massacre of Avignonet') and the effect it had upon the perfected: their numbers plummeted. While there had been 139 *perfecti* between 1235 and 1240, we can identify 120 individuals for the period 1241-46,¹¹⁷ a drop of approximately 13.7%. The female population was hurt even more; their numbers fell from seventy-eight *perfectae* to sixty-four, a net loss of 18%.

Thus, even though their own way of life had been destroyed, the *perfectae* apparently could not successfully emulate the masculine model of wandering ministers and preachers (with a few exceptions, most notably Willelma de Campo Longo, who both traveled and preached in the 1240's).¹¹⁷ The reason seems clear: while the appearance of men traveling might have excited little attention or suspicion (and we must remember that the perfects of this period had discarded their distinctive robes), it would have been otherwise with women. Certainly, some women (nobles as well as Koch's weaver women¹¹⁸) had chosen the peripatetic life before it became necessary, but as more women were forced on the road and the number of *credentes* willing to serve as armed guards (*ductores*) declined, the danger of capture increased. There can be little doubt that women were more vulnerable to capture than men. In the post-Meaux period (1229-46) thirty-nine *perfectae* are known to have been captured; of these, ten, we are told, recanted and nineteen were burnt. In spite of their superior numbers, less than twenty *perfecti* are reported in ms. 609 as having been captured; of these, one is known to have recanted and thirteen to have been burnt. Furthermore, as Table 1 shows, only 31% of *perfectae* sighted during the period 1235-40 managed to survive into the 1240's as compared to 47% of *perfecti*.

A few *perfectae* attempted to ease the situation by traveling with male companions. Ramunda Davezac, for example, appears to have had a *socius*, the perfect Ramundus Taissoineiras.¹¹⁹ Similarly, both Arnalda Trobada¹²⁰ and Aurencha Aimerica traveled briefly with *perfecti* (the latter with her brother, Sicre¹²¹); both were subsequently captured when they returned to the more normal pattern of segregated wandering.¹²² Despite the fact that *perfecti-perfectae* traveling arrangements were clearly safer for the female, they were extremely rare.¹²³ Cathar taboos against the mingling of the sexes (especially the prohibition against males

¹¹⁷ ms. 609, fols. 35v, 38v, 72r, 174r, 186v, 188r.

¹¹⁸ e.g., Adelasia de Cuc (fols. 143v, 134r, 66r, 79v); Adelasia de Monte Ferrando (fol. 80r).

¹¹⁹ ms. 609, fol. 76r.

¹²⁰ ms. 609, fol. 197r.

¹²¹ ms. 609, fol. 223r.

¹²² ms. 609, fols. 41r (for Arnalda Trobada), 225r (for Aurencha Aimerica).

¹²³ Guiraud notes that the Cathars of Ax in 1321 traveled with women, to whom they pretended to be married, in order to divert suspicion. The ruse failed because of their reluctance to touch one another physically (Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.95; Döllinger, *Beiträge* 2.149).

and females touching) probably accounts for this; such arrangements must have been excessively awkward.

The onset of the Inquisition and the resulting attack upon the property of the heretics and their supporters thus seem to have caused greater disruption and disorientation among the *perfectae* than the *perfecti*. The downward trend in their numbers that we noted for the 1240's continued during the 1250's. Ms. 124 of the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne names 111 separate perfects for the period 1240-56, the vast majority of whom appear in the late 1240's and early 1250's. Of these, twenty-eight, or 25.2%, were female. This is to be compared to 34.4%, the female percentage of perfects in ms. 609 for 1241-46.

There are no references to Cathar convents in the Midi in ms. 124.¹²⁴ On the whole, in fact, the lifestyle of the male and female perfects deposing are rather similar, both being peripatetic. The differences, however, are instructive. Saurina Rigauda, whose confession is given in fols. 1r-2r, testified to having lived for short periods of time (ranging from two days to one month) in the homes of ten believers during her two-year sojourn as a *perfecta* (1251-53). Although the length of her stays was generally greater, the other female deponent, an unknown *perfecta* whose fragmentary confession survives in fol. 7,¹²⁵ also preferred living in towns. Only once do we find her dwelling in a *cabana in nemore*. The remainder of her time was spent in either her own home (one year) or those of various *credentes*. Both she and Saurina Rigauda traveled within a limited radius; the former restricted her movements to the diocese of Pamiers, primarily alternating between Ravat and Verdun, while the latter never strayed far from the Bram-Fanjeaux region (Aude).

Of the twenty places in which Sichard de Ambricio dwelled during the two years described in his testimony (c. 1249-51; fol. 6), only seven were the homes of *credentes*. For the most part, he seems to have avoided the *castra* in favor of the forests (e.g., *nemus de Laramiera in territorio de Toellis*) and fields (e.g., *locus vocatus Lagairuda in Ambricio*). The travels of Guillelmus Carriera (fols. 3r-4v) follow a similar pattern. Neither man spent much time in any one locality; there is no evidence of prolonged residences such as we find in the testimony of 'the unknown *perfecta*'.

Interestingly, there are some indications that *perfectae* may have preached more during this period. Although only males preach in the testimony of Saurina Rigauda, 'the unknown *perfecta*' confessed to having done so herself twice during the late 1240's. Moreover, a year before her heretication, around 1245, she was present at a Cathar meeting at which both male and female ministers addressed the

¹²⁴ But two Cathar hospices in Lombardy owned by Languedocian *perfecti* (Bishop Mecer Vivent of Toulouse at Piacenza and Deacon Raymundus Mercerius at Pavia) received perfects fleeing the Midi: see the testimony of Guillelmus Furnerius (ms. 124, fol. 8).

¹²⁵ The beginning of this testimony is lost; consequently, we never learn the woman's name.

congregation ('audierunt predicationem et monitiones dictorum hereticorum et hereticarum'). In fact, half of the eight *perfectae* named in her confession are said to have preached. We should be careful, however, of overstating the case. In all, only four of the manuscript's twenty-eight *perfectae* played such a role. A woman such as Arsendis Borrela, who preached on at least three separate occasions, was still exceptional in the late 1240's and 1250's. Despite the tenuous nature of our evidence, one might justifiably argue, nevertheless, that the roles played by male and female heretics drew closer in the period of inquisitorial pressure.

The decreasing numerical importance of women in the perfect class is further displayed in the *Registre du notaire ou greffier de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne*, which covers the years 1250 to 1257. Its witnesses reported 133 sightings of heretical ministers, of which fifteen, or only 11.3%, involved *perfectae*. Only four of the twenty-six perfects named in the depositions were female; none of these women were described as having preached or performed the *consolamentum*.

By the time of Bernard Gui, *perfectae* no longer played any significant role in Catharism. The leadership of the early fourteenth-century revival was exclusively male, consisting of Peter Auterius, his brother, and his son. In fact, of the twenty-six perfects known from the register to have been active in Languedoc, only one was female, and she is mentioned far less frequently than her male counterparts. This *perfecta*, Auda Borrela de Limoso (who assumed the name Jacoba¹²⁶), spent most of her life in Lombardy, where she received the *consolamentum*. She returned to Languedoc in the company of a *perfectus*, Philipus de Talayraco de Constanciano,¹²⁷ and is known to have stayed and preached¹²⁸ in the homes of believers in Toulouse. Her sojourn, however, was brief; she soon fell ill (sometime around 1307), and, fearing capture by the Inquisition, placed herself in the *endura*.¹²⁹ Auda Borrela is the last *perfecta* named in our sources.

III

Ms. 609 is an invaluable source for analyzing female lay participation in Catharism during the first half of the thirteenth century. We must, however, be aware of certain problems arising from its use. For example, the number of witnesses admitting to personal belief in the heresy provides only a very rough guide to its popularity in the Lauragais. Only 466 witnesses out of a total 5604, or 8.3%,

¹²⁶ P. van Limborch, *Historia inquisitionis, cui subjungitur Liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae* (Amsterdam, 1692), 2.76 (fol. 33).

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 70 (fol. 30b).

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 76 (fol. 33). The *endura* was suicide by starvation to prevent the possible defilement of the *consolamentum*.

confessed to ever having held heretical beliefs. This figure, while not intrinsically implausible, does seem rather low for the 'hotbed of heresy'. In fact, if we compare the number of those implicated to those admitting involvement in a sample town, Villesiscle (ms. 609, fols. 180v-183v), we find that although witnesses implicated sixty-five persons (thirty-five males and thirty females), only two individuals, a man and a woman, were willing to confess to their own involvement. A similar situation prevailed at Auriac: ten admissions, representing five males and five females, compared to 129 individuals implicated by others (seventy-six males, fifty-three females). Such discrepancies most probably are to be attributed to those who either chanced lying to the inquisitors¹³⁰ or failed to appear before them, either because of flight or concealment.

Although the total undoubtedly underestimates the strength of the heresy in the Midi, we can still obtain a fairly accurate overall portrait of the relative involvement of male and female believers from their confessions. On this point, we find that, of the 466 self-declared former adherents of Catharism, only 125, or 26.8%, were women. This figure is significantly lower than the proportion of women in the total sample of witnesses: 31.8% (1,783 out of 5,604). Moreover, a smaller percentage of the female deponents (7%) confessed to belief than did male (9%).¹³¹ In regard to this, it should also be noted that the modest level of female participation indicated by ms. 609 is confirmed by the 'Sentences of Bernard de Caux' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 9992, fols. 151-162), in which only 43 of the 197 individuals sentenced, or 22%, were female. Thus our sources would suggest that, if female involvement in lay Cathar society was in any way disproportionate to their numbers in the Lauragais, it was disproportionately low.

There is also no indication that female believers during this period (1200-46) were any more active in the Cathar faith than their male counterparts. Although, as we have seen, in ms. 609 women constituted about 27% of those admitting belief, they were implicated on only 21% of those occasions when *credentes* were mentioned by witnesses (2,177 out of 10,323). While this may seem to argue for a *less* active body of female believers, one must take into account the possible bias of our data group. If female witnesses tended to come into contact with *credentes* of

¹³⁰ Because of the previous inquests in the area and the harsh penalties imposed upon those who lied, such behavior was perhaps less common than one might expect. Nevertheless, there are clear examples. Thus Willelma, wife of Bernardus Unaud de Lanta, testified that Willelmus Oliverii denied the accusation of two perfects that he had participated in the capture of heretics, maintaining that he was their friend and supporter, although he did deny being such whenever he was asked ('et dictus W. Oliverii excusabat se et dicebat quod ipse W. erat amicus hereticorum et sustentator eorum ... sed dissimulabat aliquando ne diceretur quod ipse erat amicus vel credens hereticorum'; ms. 609, fol. 95v). In his own testimony (fol. 96v) Willelmus Oliverii denied any complicity.

¹³¹ The chi-square test indicates that this tendency of men to admit involvement in the heresy is significantly greater than women's, $\chi^2 = 5.8567$, with one degree of freedom, $p < .05$.

their own sex more often than males did, then ms. 609, with its superior number of male deponents, would underestimate the true level of female activity. In fact, when we compare two random samples of depositions, one given exclusively by males and the other by females, we find that, although both sexes implicated more men than women, women testified against female believers twice as often as men did. Thus in the female sample there are 252 statements implicating others in various heretical activities (such as adoring or harboring perfects). Of these, ninety-two, or 36.5%, refer to other women. In contrast, an equal number of male deponents made 540 such statements, of which only ninety-eight, or 18.1%, were directed against women.¹³² If we combine the two samples, the level of female activity rises to about 24%. These results would suggest at least two conclusions: first, that the register does indeed underestimate the amount of female participation in heretical activities; second, that the average female *credens* may still have been less active than the male.

The roles of male and female believers grew increasingly divergent between 1200 and 1246. Before the establishment of the Inquisition, the heresy actually required little from its followers. There were few financial demands besides the legacies expected from deathbed heretics.¹³³ Instead of tithes, it asked only charity for its ministers in the form of food and lodging. Believers were also expected to perform the conventional gesture of respect—genuflecting three times before the perfected and asking their blessing—a ritual which they themselves referred to as the *melioramentum* and which the inquisitors termed *adoratio*. Pious *credentes*, although unwilling to take upon themselves the restricted life of the perfected, could hope to receive the *consolamentum* upon their deathbeds. In the meantime, they attended heretical assemblies and listened to the preaching of the ‘good men’.

During this early period, male and female adherents engaged in similar activities. Both adored heretics and heard their preaching; both participated in the Cathar rituals of the *apparellamentum* (self-correction), the symbolic repast (partaking of bread blessed by the perfects), and the *consolamentum*. Moreover, although assemblies were occasionally segregated by sex, more usually males and females attended together. In fact, the main difference between the roles played by each sex was in the incidental services performed for the perfects. For example, in the ‘Sentences of Bernard de Caux’ we discover one man who built a *cabana* for some

¹³² The random samples of witnesses consisted of 200 females and 200 males. When we test the difference between the two proportions obtained in our samples, we find it to be significant at the .001 level, $Z = 4.1178$.

¹³³ This varied according to the individual’s social status, ranging from the 500 shillings Melgueil (250 shillings of Toulouse) bestowed by Rotgerius de Turre, *miles* (ms. 609, fol. 71v) to the 4 shillings of Toulouse given by W. Guasberti (fol. 122r). Such gifts could also be rendered in kind, as with the *sextarium frumenti* left the heretics by Petrus Ysarnus de Lanta (fol. 78r), or could be borrowed from others (fol. 54r).

heretics;¹³⁴ in another section, we encounter a woman who baked bread for the perfects.¹³⁵ Interestingly, however, the most important such service, the receiving and holding of contributions, appears to have been shared proportionately by men and women. Thus in the 'Sentences', 8.3% of the women and 8.6% of the men against whom we have detailed charges served the heretics in this capacity.¹³⁶ The diminutive size of the sample, however, prevents us from pressing this argument.

During the 1230's and 1240's, the social and political climate grew increasingly unfavorable for Catharism. In this environment sex-determined roles developed among the *credentes*. As travel grew more hazardous, the perfects were forced to rely more upon those believers willing to serve as guides and armed guards (*ductores*). Likewise, the *nuncii hereticorum*, laymen who traveled with the heretics, arranging safe lodgings for them and announcing their presence to the local faithful, became essential. All these functions, as well as others that entailed mobility and possible violence (most notably the rescue of captured perfects),¹³⁷ were generally filled by men. This is dramatically revealed in the 'Sentences'. While almost half of the males about whom we have detailed information (a category that excludes those sentenced *in absentia*) were accused of being *ductores*,¹³⁸ no women fall into this class. It is true that occasionally females appear as such in ms. 609,¹³⁹ but these references are most rare and are insignificant compared to the numbers of male *ductores* mentioned. On the other hand, the average female *credens* was as likely to be a 'receiver of heretics' (*receptor*) as the male. Such at least was the case for those implicated in ms. 609 by witnesses from Auriac and Villesiscle.¹⁴⁰ There is even some indication that this understates the likelihood of women acting in such a capacity; in the 'Sentences of Bernard de Caux' 50% of the women sentenced¹⁴¹ were charged with harboring perfects in their homes as opposed to only 26% of the men.¹⁴²

To complete our sketch of the female *credentes* in the first half of the thirteenth century we must address ourselves to two further questions: how well informed were these women about Cathar doctrines, and what influence did family ties have upon their adherence to the heresy? As was the case with contemporary Catholics, the levels of theological understanding and the intensity of commitment varied widely

¹³⁴ Douais, *Documents* 2.32.

¹³⁵ *ibid.* 2.27, 81.

¹³⁶ 3 of 36 women and 10 of 116 men.

¹³⁷ Douais, *Documents* 2.33, 43, 67.

¹³⁸ 55 of 116 men.

¹³⁹ e.g., Raymunda, wife of Petrus de la Peira (ms. 609, fol. 183r).

¹⁴⁰ In Auriac, 24% of all female believers were *receptatores* (13 of 53), while 25% of the male believers were so implicated (19 of 76). Similarly, in Villesiscle, 36.7% of female believers and 37.1% of male believers harbored perfects in their homes.

¹⁴¹ 18 of 36. An additional seven were condemned *in absentia*.

¹⁴² 30 of 116. Again this excludes the thirty-eight men condemned *in absentia*.

among Cathar believers.¹⁴³ Before the establishment of the Inquisition, Catharism seems to have had its full share of perfunctory adherents. In ms. 609, some 346 of the 466 witnesses who confessed to having had faith in the heresy were questioned by the inquisitors about the teachings of the perfects. Apparently, the Friars Bernard and Jean were most interested in five major 'errors': the creation of the visible world by the devil; the impossibility of the resurrection of the flesh; and the inefficacy of baptism, the eucharist, and marriage. The results of this interrogation reveal an equal degree of theological ignorance among believers of both sexes. Thus only 53% of those questioned claimed acquaintance with one of the heresy's basic tenets, the evil god's creation of the material world. Furthermore, only 196, or 57%, were aware that Catharism disapproved of the Church's sacraments, while a full quarter professed their complete ignorance of all Cathar doctrine. A few claimed, ironically, that any knowledge they had of the sect's theological teachings came from the Catholic clergy's diatribes against the heresy.¹⁴⁴

In many cases, adherence was both shallow and confused. One dying woman received both extreme unction and the *consolamentum*.¹⁴⁵ Another abandoned her belief in Catharism after being advised by a perfect that the candle she intended to burn in church to the Virgin Mary would serve a far more useful function in her home.¹⁴⁶ A noblewoman confessed that she never believed *firmly* that the heretics were 'good men', but vacillated between belief and disbelief.¹⁴⁷ One man, Poncius Estiou of Baziège, remained a strong supporter of the heretics until he heard their preaching; horrified by their 'errors', he returned to the Church.¹⁴⁸ All this hints at the possibility that Catharism's appeal in the Midi owed more to the lifestyle adopted by its ministers than to its dogma. This was well understood by Jordan of Saxony, who, writing of the origins of the Dominicans, had the bishop of Osmal lecture his companions: 'See the heretics! It is by the appearance of sanctity, and by the spectacle of an evangelical poverty and austerity that they win over the

¹⁴³ For some discussion of orthodox religiosity in southern France during the first decades of the fourteenth century see Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, pp. 465-522.

¹⁴⁴ e.g., the testimony of Willelmus de Castilho, *miles* (ms. 609, fol. 110r). See also Arnaudus de Cletenx dels Cassers (ms. 609, fol. 222v).

¹⁴⁵ ms. 609, fol. 75v.

¹⁴⁶ ms. 609, fol. 108r.

¹⁴⁷ ms. 609, fol. 22r, the testimony of Domina Flors, wife of Gualhardus de Manso: 'dixit quod non creditur firmiter hereticos esse bonos homines, sed quotiens credebatur ipsos esse bonos et quotiens discredibat.' See also the testimony of Domina Helis (ms. 609, fol. 108r). Cf. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, p. 535: 'Nous n'oublierons pas non plus qu'entre les tenants du Catharisme et les croyants des dogmes romains, la frontière est floue, aisément franchie, dans les deux sens, par les mêmes personnes, qui n'hésitent point à *pêcher sur les deux rives*. Beaucoup dépend à ce propos du réseau changeant des relations professionnelles ou amicales, qu'entretient chaque individu avec autrui.'

¹⁴⁸ ms. 609, fol. 58v.

simple.¹⁴⁹ One deponent even explained his heretical affiliations in such terms: 'he never believed that the heretics were "good men"; he believed, however, that their works were good, even if their faith was bad.'¹⁵⁰

When we can identify the family connections of female adherents in ms. 609, they are usually rife with heresy. This phenomenon, first noted by Molinier and discussed in more detail by Dmitrevsky,¹⁵¹ is perhaps most clearly seen in an exception. When the younger Willelmus del Mas accompanied his mother to a heretical meeting at Laurac, he deliberately refrained from adoring the perfects present. Annoyed by this, the heretics berated him soundly for his coolness, complaining quite accurately that he alone of his family refused to support the heresy.¹⁵² What was true of the del Mas was equally true of those families related to them through marriage; it is the rare Roqueville, de Quiders, or de Segreville who did not at some time participate in the religion. The extent to which heresy was rampant among the noble families of the Lauragais is, in fact, quite remarkable.¹⁵³ One need only consider the lords of Villèle, of Fanjeaux, and of Saint-Martin-de-la-Lande to see how common the situation of the del Mas was in the early thirteenth century. Even those who remained personally orthodox, moreover, were drawn into heresy by their family ties. Thus Willelmus Garsias, a knight of Fanjeaux, attempted to justify his support of the heretics by declaring that his filial duty demanded it.¹⁵⁴ The historian William de Puylaurens relates a similar anecdote: when Bishop Foulques asked the Catholic knight Pons d'Adhémar de Rodelle why he tolerated heresy in his lands, the knight responded that he could not expel them, since he, like so many other Catholic nobles, had been raised among them, was related to them, and saw them living pure and honest lives.¹⁵⁵ As Molinier observed, heresy was a family heritage for many believers.¹⁵⁶

We can roughly quantify from ms. 609 the degree to which family ties were related to individual religious preferences. In Auriac, for example, of the fifty-three female *credentes* implicated, thirty-eight, or 72%, had one or more relatives also engaged in heresy. In fact, twenty-six of them appear at the assemblies accompanied by their husbands. A similar situation is found in Villesiscle, where twenty-one of

¹⁴⁹ *Acta sanctorum*, 4 August, col. 544: 'En haeretici dum speciem praeferunt pietatis, dum euangelicae parsimoniae et austeritatis mentiuntur exempla, persuadent simplicibus vias suas'; cf. Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.349-50.

¹⁵⁰ ms. 609, fol. 157v: 'credebat quod heretici numquam fuerunt boni homines; opera tamen eorum credebat esse bona et fidem malam.'

¹⁵¹ Molinier, *L'Inquisition* (see above, n. 44), p. 90; Dmitrevsky, 'Notes', 303-11.

¹⁵² ms. 609, fol. 17v; also cited by Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.285.

¹⁵³ Guiraud, *Histoire* 1, chaps. 10 and 11.

¹⁵⁴ ms. 609, fol. 164v.

¹⁵⁵ William of Puylaurens, *Chronique 1203-1275*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Sources d'histoire médiévale 8; Paris, 1976), pp. 48-49.

¹⁵⁶ Molinier, *L'Inquisition*, p. 90.

the thirty women partaking in heretical activities, some 70 %, were related by either blood or marriage to other believers.

We believe that the explanation of our findings on the quality of faith and the influence of family ties upon the *credentes* should be sought in the status that Catharism had in the pre-Inquisition Midi. By the mid-thirteenth century, Catharism had been an established church in Languedoc for at least three generations. It is more than possible that the Cathars of the 1240's had been born into the religion, and had followed it simply as the faith of their parents, without ever having made a conscious choice. The perfects' diatribes against procreation and marriage have perhaps disguised the essentially social nature of the heresy from some historians.¹⁵⁷ Ironically, the strength of the sect lay largely in the family bonds that united its congregation.

With the coming of the Inquisition, *credentes* could no longer accept indifferently the traditional faith of their families. Difficult choices were demanded of many. As we have seen, the *perfectae*, no longer sheltered by their kin, disappeared as a class under this pressure. Many witnesses denied their former beliefs, and in many cases sacrificed their relatives to their own safety. The shallow, perfunctory members of the sect fell away, as Catharism became more and more a hunted 'heresy' instead of an alternative church. The *credentes* who remained firm displayed, unsurprisingly, a higher level of commitment.

Female believers showed a higher level of involvement in heresy as our period progressed. The Inquisition at Carcassonne recorded the depositions of forty-two witnesses, covering 1250-57, with the following results:

	women	men	total	% women
witnesses:	14	28	42	31.9
witnesses admitting involvement:	5	11	16	31.2
<i>credentes</i> implicated:	58	92	150	38.7
perfects implicated:	15	118	133	11.0
total number of individual perfects:	4	22	26	15.4
deathbed heretications:	5	3	8	62.5

Similar results, moreover, are obtained from an analysis of the contemporary ms. 124 of the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, wherein four former

¹⁵⁷ Guiraud, *Histoire* 1.99; E. Vacandard, *The Inquisition: A Critical and Historical Study of the Coercive Power of the Church*, trans. B. L. Conway (New York, 1908), pp. 90-94; A. S. Turberville, *Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition* (London, 1920), pp. 22-32. But cf. Oldenbourg, *Massacre*, pp. 66-67.

perfecti and two former *perfectae* testified against believers 1,119 times. On about 30 % of these occasions women were implicated. Females may have been even more active than this percentage would indicate, for once again we must account for a biased sample group. While male perfects appear to have encountered three times as many male believers as female ones, the *perfectae* of ms. 124 implicated men and women equally.

Clearly then, the role of women within the heresy had changed somewhat between the 1240's and the 1250's. In both the Carcassonne register and ms. 609, women formed only about 30 % of the sample group. But while women had been implicated at a lesser rate than their proportion of the sample would warrant in ms. 609, in the Carcassonne register they were implicated at a greater rate. It would seem from this that female believers participated more fully in the sect after the introduction of the Inquisition.

How should we explain this? As we have already seen, the number of the *perfectae* declined markedly during the 1250's.¹⁵⁸ A parallel increase in the proportion of women receiving the *consolamentum* on their deathbeds may also be observed. In ms. 609, thirty-four of the 134 reported deathbed heretications were of women, representing about 25 %. In the Carcassonne register, on the other hand, 62.5 % were of women. This change may be due partially to the decline of the *perfectae* class during this period. As Gottfried Koch noted, pious women who would formerly have become perfects found that position unavailable and were consequently compelled to wait until the end of their lives to receive the *consolamentum*.¹⁵⁹ This situation, moreover, was peculiar to women, for men were still being hereticated during their lifetimes.

The *Liber sententiarum* of Bernard Gui, covering the period 1307-23, reveals that this trend also characterized the Peter Auterius revival. Female *credentes* appear to have played a numerical role more nearly proportionate to their percentage of the general population. Thus of the sentences of Cathars in this register, 42.2 % refer to women. Eliminating duplications as best we can, we find that some 515 individual Cathars were sentenced in all, of whom 230, or 45 %, were female.¹⁶⁰

Furthermore, it seems that female believers played an active role in the heresy at this time. One sentence itemizes the 'offenses' of a female believer sentenced to prison:

Arnalda, the wife of the aforesaid Raymundus de Bello Videre ... adored the heretics.... Moreover, she ate from the blessed bread of the heretics. She looked on, took part in,

¹⁵⁸ See above, pp. 239-40.

¹⁵⁹ Koch, *Frauenfrage*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁰ See also the figures given by S. R. Maitland, *Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigensians and Waldensians* (London, 1832), pp. 216-19.

and consented when Petrus Sancius was made a heretic and received into the order and sect of the heretics by Petrus Auterius in the home of the witness and her husband. Furthermore, she took in and received the said Petrus Sancius, the heretic ... and she herself served him many times and in many things. Furthermore, she commended the life and sect of the heretics to various persons, inducing them to love and believe in them. She received gifts for the heretics and delivered them. Furthermore, she made a pact or a 'convenenza' that she wished to be received into their sect and order at the end of her life.¹⁶¹

A statistical breakdown of the offenses of all those sentenced to imprisonment reveals that the relative activities of male and female believers had actually changed little from the time of Bernard de Caux. Thus of those men sentenced *ad murum* about whom we have detailed charges, sixty-nine of the 133, about 52%, had served the heretics as *receptatores*, while a little over 38% had been *ductores*. Furthermore, all seven *nuncii* represented in the sample were male. In contrast, among women, while half of the ninety-six had harbored heretics within their homes, none had served as *ductores*. In at least one respect, however, the roles did appear to change: females now were less fully involved in the financial aspects of Catharism. Thus while 10.5% of the male believers received and held funds intended for the perfects, only 7.3% of the women were so engaged. Moreover, the evidence indicates that while men were more likely to give charity in the form of cash (9.8% of male believers did so compared to 8.3% of the female), women were far more likely to provide the heretics with food and clothing (39.8% of the men did so compared to 55% of the women). In other respects, such as participation in the Cathar rituals and the adoring of heretics, the two sexes differed little.

Impressed by their high level of activity, certain historians have described female *credentes* as especially ardent in their attachment; one went so far as to declare that the *nuncii hereticorum*, 'who consecrated themselves absolutely to the service of the heretical ministers', appeared lukewarm in their devotion compared to these women.¹⁶² The data gathered from the *Liber* (see Table 3) belies this. Although women constituted 42.3% of those sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and

¹⁶¹ Limborch, *Historia* 2.49: 'Arnalda uxor Raymundi predicti de Bello Videre ... adoravit hereticos.... Item comedit de pane benedicto hereticorum. Item vidit et interfuit et consenciit quando Petrus Sancii fuit factus hereticus seu receptus ad ordinem et sectam hereticorum per Petrum Auterii in domo ipsius et viri sui. Item dictum Petrum Sancii hereticum tenuit et recepit ... et ipsa servivit sibi multociens et in multis. Item commendavit vitam et sectam hereticorum aliquibus personis, inducendo ad amorem et credenciam eorum. Item recepit aliqua donaria pro hereticis et reddidit eis. Item fecit pactum seu convenienciam hereticis quod vellet recipi in fine suo ad sectam et ordinem ipsorum.'

¹⁶² Molinier, *L'Inquisition*, p. 118: 'Les hommes, ceux-là mêmes que les inquisiteurs appellent dans leur langage *nuncii hereticorum*, et qui se sont consacrés absolument au service des prêtres hérétiques, sont froids auprès d'elles' [women believers]. See also Borst, *Katharer*, p. 182; Alphandéry, *Les idées morales*, p. 71; Oldenbourg, *Massacre*, p. 60.

Table 3
Analysis of the *Liber sententiarum* of Bernard Gui,
Inquisitor for the Toulousain, 1307-21

	Female	Male	% Female
Cathar <i>credentes</i> sentenced <i>ad murum strictum</i>	11	12	47.8
Cathar <i>credentes</i> sentenced <i>ad murum largum</i>	94	131	41.8
Cathar <i>credentes</i> sentenced to crosses	73	98	42.7
Cathar perfects burnt	0	4	0
Relapsed converts released to the secular arm	8	21	27.6
Cathars condemned posthumously	33	24	57.9
Cathars released from wearing crosses	69	77	47.3
Cathars released from prison	45	91	33.1
Total number of Cathars	341	468	42.2
Non-Cathars sentenced	35	88	28.5
Total number of non-Cathars and Cathars	376	556	40.3
<i>Perfecti/ae</i>	1	25	4.0
Deathbed heretications	58	27	68.2

Note. Our figures should be compared with those compiled by the Rev. S. R. Maitland, *Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigensians and Waldensians* (London, 1832), pp. 216-19.

42.7% of those ordered to wear crosses (a less severe punishment), they were far less well represented among those sentenced to death. Thus all four perfects burnt were male, and only 27.6% of those who relapsed into heresy and thus exposed themselves to the death penalty were women. Moreover, in spite of historians' claims to the contrary,¹⁶³ there is no evidence that women proselytized more than men. Indeed, the percentage of males condemned to imprisonment who are said to have 'commended the life and sect of the heretics' is approximately equal to that of females similarly sentenced and accused.¹⁶⁴ This would seem to cast doubts upon their supposed superior fervor.

As in the register of Carcassonne, we find here that more women than men received the *consolamentum* upon their deathbeds. There are two sources of

¹⁶³ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Fifteen men, representing 11.3% of those males sentenced concerning whom we have detailed charges, as compared to eleven women, or 11.5% of the females sentenced.

evidence for this statement: first, the actual references to such ceremonies in passing in the sentences; and second, the posthumous condemnations for this act. Women formed 68.2% of the former (fifty-eight of eighty-five) and 57.9% of the latter group (thirty-three of fifty-seven), figures comparable to the 62.5% obtained from the Carcassonne register. This is not to say that there was anything peculiarly feminine about the desire for eventual heretication, for a slightly greater percentage of men sentenced to imprisonment had contracted to receive the *consolamentum* upon their deathbed (the so-called 'convenenza') than did women.¹⁶⁵ It is therefore likely that the explanation previously advanced for this phenomenon, namely, that a far greater number of male believers were siphoned off into the perfect-class, also pertains here.

IV

We have found that women formed at most a percentage of the Cathar community proportionate to their share of the general population. While there is some evidence that they formed a greater percentage of the Cathar ministry than that of the contemporary Catholic Church, it also seems that women were not nearly as well represented among the sect's lay believers. Furthermore, in most cases where information is available, female Cathars (both perfects and *credentes*) were related by blood or marriage to others involved in the heresy; in fact, it would appear that whole families rather than individuals participated in the sect. These observations lead us to a tentative rejection of the *Frauenfrage* as applied specifically to Languedocian Catharism. The question of the separate motivation of women in entering heresy should be abandoned, and instead the problem should be formulated not in narrow sexual terms but placed in a wider societal context. In order to understand why the women of southern France became Cathars, historians must examine why a segment of Languedocian society was predisposed toward heresy.¹⁶⁶

As well as examining the numerical proportion of female participation in the sect, we have also examined the role Catharism offered women. Our sources indicate that Catharism, like contemporary Catholicism, allowed pious women a single institutional outlet for their religious enthusiasm—the monastic life. The *perfectae*, although capable in theory of exercising a sacerdotal function, were in practice denied sacramental power. Instead, during the first half of the thirteenth century they were largely confined to hospices, which bore more than a passing resemblance to Catholic convents. When the breakdown of the socio-political system that had

¹⁶⁵ Forty-four men, or 33.1%, and twenty-five women, or 26%.

¹⁶⁶ More studies of the scope of Le Roy Ladurie's recent *Montaillou* must be done before the historian can feel confident in explaining the growth and endurance of heresy in the French Midi.

protected the Cathar Church had been completed by Crusade and Inquisition, that monastic existence, which required a secure, stationary life, became impossible. Although in theory Catharism could have provided an alternative role for women, that of wandering priest and preacher, in reality it did not. Thus when the hospices disappeared, the active role of religious women in the heresy went with it. Within a generation, the *perfectae* were all but extinct.

Catharism in pre-Crusade Languedoc was evidently an alternative established Church. The attitude of the female believers must be seen in this context. By 1240 Catharism had been already established in the Midi for three generations. Many of those who were condemned by the Inquisition had been born into Catharism, and consequently their attitude toward it did not differ in essence from that of Catholic laymen toward their faith. Thus their belief contained an element of customary adherence, marked by ignorance of theology, confusion, and, sometimes, indifference.

It was not until the Inquisition had forced the Cathar religion into the role of an underground cult that this changed. Now that the possibility of being a casual adherent of Catharism had evaporated, those women who chose either to remain in the faith or enter it for the first time, of necessity felt and exhibited a higher level of commitment. This, coupled with the decline of the *perfectae*-class, produced a body of female believers who were more actively involved in the religion.

Our essay is intended only as a preliminary investigation of a complex problem. The tentative conclusions and results, however, that we have been able to draw, as well as the statistical approach that we have advocated, will, we hope, prove helpful to future scholars.

Columbia University.

THE 'ISIDORIAN' *EPISTULA AD LEUDEFREDUM*:
AN EARLY MEDIEVAL EPITOME
OF THE CLERICAL DUTIES*

Roger E. Reynolds

Major Editions

Past Scholarship

Author, Date, and Provenance of the Text

Early Medieval Diffusion of the Text

I. Canonical Collections

II. Liturgical Books

III. Letters, Sentence Collections, and Theological Florilegia

THROUGHOUT the early Middle Ages Isidore of Seville (†636) was recognized both explicitly and implicitly as the author whose works best described the grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Time and again when authors from the seventh century on wanted to discuss the origins or duties of clerics they turned to

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The following abbreviations will be used:

BAV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Brommer, 'Theodulf' = Peter Brommer, 'Die Rezeption der bischöflichen Kapitularien Theodulfs von Orléans', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 61 (1975) 113-60.

DDG = *De distantia graduum*.

DEO = *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.

D07G = *De officiis septem graduum*.

D70E = *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*.

EL = *Epistula ad Leudefredum*.

Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* = Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras, *Histoire des collections*

Isidore. They might repeat his works verbatim; they might weave large extracts into their own discussions; and on occasion they might add luster to other authors' treatises on sacred orders by attaching Isidore's name to them. Sections from two authentic works of Isidore containing descriptions of the grades were frequently copied, namely, the *Etymologiae* or *Origines*¹ and the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or *De origine officiorum*.² Chapters from both can often be found in medieval manuscripts, sometimes under the titles *De clericis* or *De ordinibus*, as epitomes of the clerical duties or origins.³ And these same chapters provided the major fonds of

canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931-32).

Mordek, *Kirchenrecht* = Hubert Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, Die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des frankischen Gallien: Studien und Edition* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1; Berlin-New York, 1975).

ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Reynolds, 'D07G' = Roger E. Reynolds, 'The *De officiis vii graduum*: Its Origins and Early Medieval Development', *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) 113-51.

Reynolds, 'D7OE' = R. E. Reynolds, 'The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*: Notes on Its Origins, Abridgments, and Use in Early Medieval Canonical Collections', *Revue bénédictine* 80 (1970) 238-52.

Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise' = Roger E. Reynolds, 'A Ninth-Century Treatise on the Origins, Office, and Ordination of the Bishop', *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975) 321-32.

Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ* = Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7; Berlin-New York, 1978).

Reynolds, 'Turin Collection' = Roger E. Reynolds, 'The Turin Collection in Seven Books: A Poitevin Canonical Collection', *Traditio* 25 (1969) 508-14.

Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia* = Robert Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II, 1: Decreta Claromontensia* (Annuaire historiae conciliorum Suppl. 1; Amsterdam, 1972).

¹ 7.12.1-32; PL 82.290-93, and *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, I (Oxford, 1911).

² 2.1-15; PL 83.777-94.

³ See, e.g., Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. Mun. 63, fols. 22r-24v; Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 190, pp. 201-205 and 265, pp. 185-190—Jesus Coll. Q.G.29, fol. 138v; Edinburgh, Univ. Lib. Laing 56 (Borland 105), fol. 31v; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl. 110, pp. 87-93; Florence, Bibl. Ricc. 300, fols. 36v-38r; Gerona, Bibl. Cap. 7, fols. 55v-56v; London, Brit. Lib. Add. 34652, fol. 3r-v; Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 373 (*olim* A.151), fols. 6v-10r and Vitr. 14-1, fol. 7r-v; Monza, Bibl. Cap. e-14/127, fols. 70v-71r (for microfilm of this codex I am indebted to Professor Astrik L. Gabriel); Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 19414, fols. 85r-87r; Novara, Bibl. Cap. XV (30), folio unnumbered and XXX (66), fol. 280r-v; Oxford, Bodl. Lat. th. d. 30, fol. 125r-v and Holkham misc. 17, fols. 19v-20r; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 4281, fols. 128v-133v—5386, fol. 258r-v—13092, fol. 131r—13747, fols. 30r-42v, and nouv. acq. lat. 452, fols. 49v-57r; Rome, Bibl. Naz. Cent. Vitt. Em. II, Vitt. Em. 583, fols. 41r-48r, 17r-19r and Sess. 52 (2096), fols. 153v-155v; St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 446, pp. 80-85 and 614, p. 259; Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. D.IV.8, fols. 67v-68r; BAV, Vat. lat. 341, fols. 212v, 219r-v—1146, fols. 19r-20v—1147, fols. 21r-22v—1148, fols. 20v-21v—1469, fols. 276v-279v—4317, fols. 99r-v, 101v, Barb. lat. 587, fol. 307r (where *Origines* 7.12.1-32 has been placed under the name of Jerome), Pal. lat. 1753, fols. 24v, 77v, 87v, 99r, 113r-v, 120r, 171r, 173r, 224r, 249r-v, 261v, 281v, and Reg. lat. 407, fols. 18r-20v; Vich, Bibl. Cap. 39 (XXXV), fol. 111r; Vienna, ÖNB 914

material for authors from the Venerable Bede through Peter Lombard who described the officers in the Church.

There are other tracts whose origins were less certainly Isidorian that were classified as the work of the great Spanish doctor and cited as such by writers in the early Middle Ages. Among these are the *De distantia graduum* or *De officiis vii graduum*⁴ and the Ordinals of Christ.⁵ But by far the Isidorian epitome on the duties of the ecclesiastical officers most often found in the manuscripts is a letter addressed to a seventh-century bishop of Córdoba, Leudefredus. In hundreds of medieval canonistic, theological, and liturgical manuscripts the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* served to introduce, elaborate, or conclude a discussion of the officers in the Church.

Since the first edition of the *EL* was published in the sixteenth century in the corpus of Isidoriana, scholars have contended over the original form of the text and its Isidorian authorship. There have been a few systematic attempts to survey the evidence regarding these problems—two in the eighteenth century⁶ and two in the twentieth⁷—but these have been brief and have had little to say about the manuscript transmission of the *EL*. The present article complements these earlier

(Rec. 17), fols. 12v-14v and 1332 (Salisb. 241), fols. 27r-31v. The verses on orders from the *DEO* and *Origines* were widely spread through their inclusion in the ninth-century *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* (MGH Conc. 2.1, pp. 318-28). Several manuscripts in addition to the ones listed in the MGH edition of the *Institutio* have texts on the sacred orders from that source: Bruges, Bibl. de la Ville 99, fols. 1r-5r; Milan, Bibl. Amb. H 5 inf., fols. 66v-79v; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 5943A, fols. 38r-43v; Poitiers, Bibl. Mun. 74, fols. 97r-103v (rearranged); Pavia, Bibl. Civica Bonetta II.12 (*olim* B.28), fols. 47v-51v; Tarragona, Bibl. Prov. 11, fols. 91r-96v; Vich, Bibl. Cap. 44 (XXXVI), fols. 84v-93r and 128, fols. 154v-161v.

⁴ On this tract see Reynolds, 'DO7G', 113-51. Additional manuscripts with parts or the whole of the tract are: Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 794 (1556), fol. ix^v; Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 44, p. 202 and 279, pp. 157 f.—Fitzwilliam Mus. McClean 54, fol. 9v; Downside Abbey, *Pontifical of Paderborn*, shelf mark 21722, fol. vii^r and *Pontifical of Lyons and Tarentaise*, shelf mark 26536, fol. viii^r; Dublin, Trinity Coll. 98 (B.3.6), fol. 120v and 218 (A.G.11), fol. 122r; Exeter, Cath. Lib. 3513, marginal additions (not seen; kindly reported to me by Mr. N. R. Ker); Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. 23.2, fol. 12r and S. Croce 5, sin. 7, fol. 4v; Graz, Universitätsbibl. 239, fol. 37r; London, Brit. Lib. Add. 16610, fol. 30v—17403, p. 6—33377, fol. 21r, Harley 561, fol. 38r—2906, fol. 2r, and Lansdowne 451, fol. 23r; Leningrad, Sobrananie inostrannykh Rukopisei Otdela Rukopisnoi i Redkoi Knigi Biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR F. n. 200, fol. 110r; Macerata, Bibl. Com. 378, fol. 8r; Manchester, John Rylands Univ. Lib. 142, fol. 5r; Oxford, Bodl. Can. Liturg. 359, fol. 24v, Hatton 42, fol. 11v, and Holkham misc. 15, fol. 18r; Pistoia, Bibl. Cap. C 141, fol. 18v; Rome, Bibl. Naz. Cen. Vitt. Em. II Sess. 52 (2096), fol. 189v—Bibl. Vall. F 92, fol. 193v; Tortosa, Bibl. Cap. 133, fol. 6v; BAV, Vat. lat. 4317, fol. 102v—6222, fol. 422r—6748, fol. 1v^r—6831, fol. 59v—6839, fol. 29v—7594, fol. 12v, Arch. San Pietro H 58, fol. 51v, Barb. lat. 479, fol. 33v—529, fol. 1v, Burghes. 14, fol. 4r, Ottob. lat. 330, fol. 34r—501, fol. 10r—1037, fol. 6v, Reg. lat. 1792, fol. 22r, Ross. 233, fol. viii^v—234, fol. 12v; Vesoul, Bibl. Mun. 73, fol. 83v; Melbourne, Victoria State Library 220, fol. 3r; and Lund, Universitetsbibl. Nr. 43, fol. 61v.

⁵ Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 113, 125.

⁶ See below, pp. 264 f.

⁷ See below, pp. 266, 268.

studies by surveying the major editions of the *EL*, by giving a systematic summary and analysis of past opinion on its origins, and finally by tracing its diffusion in early medieval texts and manuscripts. Because the evidence regarding Isidore's authorship is ambiguous, no definitive statement is possible, and because there is an enormous number of manuscripts and texts containing the *EL*, no pretense can be made that the transmission has been studied exhaustively. But this article is presented with the confidence that others will continue to build on it, just as it has been constructed on the fundamental work of scholars since the sixteenth century.

MAJOR EDITIONS

The earliest editions of the *EL* were not editions of the *EL* per se but of other works containing snippets or abbreviated forms of the *EL*. For example, in the earliest editions of the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard snippets of the *EL* would appear; and an abbreviated form would be included in the early editions of the works of such canonists as Gratian, Ivo, and Burchard.

Early Parisian Edition

As a constituent part of the collected writings of Isidore the *EL* was first edited in Paris in the *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Opera omnia quae extant ... per Margarinum de la Bigne ... Parisiis apud Michaëlem Sonnum ... MDLXXX* [2 vols. in 1]. In this collection it is noted in the preface to vol. 1 that among the Isidorian texts in Gratian's *Decretum* are the *Epistula 'ad Ludifredum'* and its 'sister' text, the *Epistula 'ad Massanum'*. Later in the collection of texts the *EL* is printed, among several other letters, between Isidore's *Synonyma* and *De summo bono*.⁸ The source of the text is almost certainly Gratian since the title, sequence of grades, and explicit are those in the *Decretum*, D. 25 c. 1.⁹ The title and salutation read 'Isidori Hispalensis episcopi epistola. Quod episcopi et caeterorum sit officium in ecclesia. Ludifredo Cordubensi episcopo S.', and are followed immediately with the incipit 'Perlectis sanctitatis' The verses describing the grades are arranged according to the sequence: doorkeeper, exorcist, acolyte, psalmist, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop, archdeacon, archpresbyter, *primicerius*, and *thesaurarius*. And the explicit abruptly ending the description of the *thesaurarius* reads 'praeparatio luminariorum in sacrario et sacrificiis'. It is especially notable that a verse for the archpresbyter is given since this is one of the peculiarities of Gratian's text.¹⁰

⁸ 2, fol. 61r-v.

⁹ Friedberg 1.89-91.

¹⁰ See below, p. 303.

Loaysa Edition

The early Parisian edition was followed by a longer one in the *Collectio conciliorum hispaniae* (Madrid, 1593) of García de Loaysa, the Spanish canon law expert. Loaysa printed the *EL* as an addendum to his edition of the VIII Council of Toledo to illustrate the office of *primicerius*, one of whom had been a signatory to the canons emanating from the council.¹¹ Loaysa's text was not based on Gratian's *Decretum* with its addition of a verse for the archpresbyter and abrupt explicit of the verse for the *thesaurarius*, but on a tenth-century manuscript containing the *Collectio hispana* that had recently come into the library at El Escorial.¹² In Loaysa's edition there is the title and salutation, 'Epistola beati Isidori iunioris episcopi Hispalensis ecclesiae ad Leudefredum episcopum Cordubensis ecclesiae directa. Domino meo Dei servo Leudefredo episcopo, Isidorus.', followed by the incipit 'Perlectis sanctitatis...', and a sequence of grades: doorkeeper, acolyte, exorcist, psalmist, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop, archdeacon, *primicerius*, *thesaurarius*, *oconomus*, and *pater monasterii*. The explicit reads 'per te remissionem consequar peccatorum. Amen.', to which has been added 'Haec Isidorus de ecclesiasticis officiis'. Loaysa unfortunately identified the manuscript he was using as the *Vigilano* instead of its sister manuscript, the *Emilianense*, and this confusion has often been repeated by later scholars.¹³ But despite this confusion, Loaysa's edition is a remarkable improvement on the early Parisian edition because it is based on the only known full Latin text of the *EL*, one going on beyond the abrupt explicit of the text in Gratian's *Decretum*. Moreover, if one compares the Loaysa edition with other later editions based on the Escorial manuscript, it is clear that Loaysa's edition follows the manuscript more closely.

The edition of Loaysa has frequently been reprinted in editions of Hispanic canon law and councils. Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart used it in their *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta...* 6 (Paris, 1671), pp. 420-23, as

¹¹ pp. 451-54.

¹² On the sixteenth-century manuscript collection of El Escorial see Gregorio de Andrés, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1970), pp. 9-14.

¹³ See Donald Edward Heintschel, *The Medieval Concept of an Ecclesiastical Office: An Analytical Study of the Concept of an Ecclesiastical Office in the Major Sources and Printed Commentaries from 1140-1300* (Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 363; Washington, D.C., 1956), pp. 28 f. For a striking example of the similar (and hence confusing) illuminations in the *Vigilano* and *Emilianense* see *Reales Sitios* 47 (1976) 29, pl. 6 and 32, pl. 1. Also cf. the large color reproduction of fol. 142r of the *Vigilano*, Escorial d.I.2, in John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York, 1977), p. 101, and the recent large travel poster entitled 'Mozarabic Congress' published by the Spanish Ministerio de Información y Turismo with its reproduction of the same scene with the clerics in council from the *Emilianense*, Escorial d.I.1, fol. 129v. For other similarities in the illustration of clerics in these manuscripts see Roger E. Reynolds, 'The Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers in the *Raganaldus Sacramentary* and Its Liturgico-Canonical Significance', *Speculum* 46 (1971) 432 nn. 1 f.

have José Sáinz de Aguirre, *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium hispaniae et novi orbis epistularumque decretalium celebriorum* 2 (Rome, 1693), pp. 554 f., and Johannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio...* 10 (Florence-Venice, 1764), cols. 1232-34.

Grial Edition

Only a few years after Loaysa produced his text for the corpus of Hispanic canon law, Juan Grial included the *EL* among the works of Isidore in his *Opera divi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi* (Madrid, 1598-99) [2 vols. in 1], 2.391-93.¹⁴ Here the *EL* with other Isidorian letters is placed between the *Synonyma* and *Regula monachorum* under the title 'Divi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Epistolae', with the salutation 'Domno meo Dei servo Leudefredo episcopo.' and the incipit 'Perlectis sanctitatis....' In the introduction to vol. 1 of his collection Grial stated that he was editing Isidore's *DEO* from the '*Codex Albaiddensis*' (the *Codex Albeldensis*, another name for the *Vigilano*),¹⁵ so presumably he used for the *EL* the *Codex Aemilianensis* and, like Loaysa before him, misidentified the manuscript.

The text of the *EL* produced by Grial is virtually the same as the one appearing in the *Patrologia latina*.¹⁶ The major differences are that no Arabic numbers are assigned to the verses and the verse for the *thesaurarius* reads 'Ad thesaurarium pertinet ... praeparatio luminariorum in sacrario, praeparatio sacrificiis de his quae immolanda sunt....' This variant is of more than passing interest since it is, as will be seen, precisely at this point in the *EL* that the original long text was shortened in the eighth or ninth century. Moreover, editions after Grial would continue to confuse this text.

Du Breul Edition

Two years after Grial's edition of the *EL*, the works of Isidore were edited anew in Paris by Jacques du Breul in *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Opera omnia quae extant ... per fratrem Iacobum du Breul monachum sancti Germani a Pratis ... Parisiis apud Laurentium Sonnum*, MDCI, pp. 615-16 and 693. In this edition the *Epistula ad Massonam* and *EL* are separated from each other and from the other letters of Isidore. The *EL* follows immediately after the *DEO* under the title and salutation 'Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Epistola. Quod episcopi et caeterorum sit

¹⁴ The title page of the Vatican Library's copy of vol. 1 of the Grial edition used for this study is missing, but the Vatican catalogue reads 'Isidorus s. vesp. di Sevilla m. 636. Opera. Matriti ex typographia regia apud Flandrum 1589-99, 2v in 1'. The title page for vol. 2 reads *Operum divi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Pars altera, Madriti MD.XCIX*.

¹⁵ See Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *La colección canónica hispana 1: Estudio* (Madrid, 1966), p. 114.

¹⁶ PL 83.893-98.

officium in ecclesia. Ludifredo Cordubensi episcopo S.' The edition of the *EL* that follows is taken from Gratian's *Decretum*, which is noted in the margin together with that of Ivo's *Decretum*, 'Dist. 25, Perlectis & Ivo parte 6, cap. 20'. In the text of the *EL* there is the verse for the archpresbyter and the abrupt explicit for the *thesaurarius*, 'praeparatio luminariorum in sacrario et in sacrificiis'.

In the du Breul collection Isidore's *Sententiae* follow immediately on the *EL* for another seventy-six pages, after which it is said:

Divi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi, epistolae aliquot. Libris sancti Isidori de Ecclesiasticis officiis epistolam eius, de iisdem tractantem, quam ad Ludifredum (alias, Leudefredum) Cordubensem episcopum scripsit, subiunximus: non tamen integram, sed qualem in decreto Gratiani, dist. 25. Perlectis, et apud Ivonem Carnotensem Episcopum, parte sexta sui decreti, cap. 20 atque etiam in codicibus M.S. legimus. Nuperrime autem postremam partem, quae desiderabatur, nacti, hanc modo lectori apponimus, absque priorum repetitione: quae (si libuerit) supra pagina 615 inveniet.

Ad eum (scilicet Thesaurarium) veniet de parrochiis ... per te remissionem consequar peccatorum.

In other words, the text of the *EL* in Gratian is reprinted first; the words 'de his quae immolanda sunt' in the verse for the *thesaurarius* have completely disappeared; and some seventy-six pages later the conclusion of the *EL* found in the more recent editions has been added.¹⁷

The du Breul edition of Isidore's works was followed by a second edition in 1617, *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Opera omnia quae extant ... per fratrem Iacobum du Breul ... Editio postrema auctior et correctior*, Coloniae Agrippinae, MDCXVII, in which the *EL* is reproduced in the same form as the 1601 edition.¹⁸

Ulloa Edition

In the eighteenth century the long form of the *EL* as edited by Grial was reprinted by Bartolomeo Ulloa with the works and other letters of Isidore under the title *Divi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Opera Phillipi secundi ... emendata*, Matriti ... ex expensis Bartholomaei Ulloa, MDCCCLXXVIII. In vol. 2, pp. 518-21, the text of the *EL*, including the verse for the *thesaurarius*, reads like that in the 1599 Madrid edition, but Arabic numbers are assigned to the grades, as they would later be in the Arévalo edition now in the *Patrologia latina*. The only difference in the numbering system is that the Madrid edition assigns 12 to the *primicerius*, 13 to the *thesaurarius*, 14 to the *oeconomus*, 15 to the paragraph 'Haec sunt...', and 16 to the *pater monasterii*.

¹⁷ The text, although close to the editions of both Loaysa and Grial, varies in minor ways.

¹⁸ pp. 413, 486.

Arévalo Edition

Faustino Arévalo, in his *S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi hispanarum doctoris Opera omnia*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1797-1803), printed the *EL* twice. In his general introduction he gave a partial text as it appeared in Berardi's study,¹⁹ but later he used the Grial text with the notes of Juan Bautista Pérez.²⁰ Under the title 'S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Epistolae', the letters of Isidore are reproduced, the first being the *EL* with the salutation 'Domino meo Dei servo Leudefredo episcopo Isidorus'. The ecclesiastical grades are assigned numbers like those in the edition now in the *Patrologia latina*. Although the Grial edition was ostensibly followed, Arévalo altered the verse for the *thesaurarius* to read '... baptisterii ordinandi, praeparatio sacrificii de his, quae immolanda sunt; ...'

Patrologia latina

From the Arévalo edition the *EL* was reproduced in the *Patrologia latina* 83.893-98 as the first of Isidore's letters under the title 'Epistola prima Isidori Leudefredo episcopo', and with the salutation and incipit 'Domino meo Dei servo Leudefredo episcopo Isidorus. 1. Perlectis sanctitatis....'

Ford Edition

As recently as 1970 Professor Gordon B. Ford has published a second edition of his English translation of Isidore's letters²¹ and this time has included the Latin text of the letters under the title 'Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Epistolae'. The *EL* follows immediately with the title, salutation, and incipit found in the *Patrologia latina*. The edition Ford used is basically that of the *Patrologia*.

In sum, the major editions of the *EL* present the text in two forms, one following the text of Gratian's *Decretum* and the other the tenth-century Escorial manuscript. The text from Gratian is characterized by its title; the sequence of lower grades, doorkeeper, exorcist, acolyte, psalmist, lector, and subdeacon; the insertion of a verse for the archpresbyter; and the abrupt ending in the verse for the *thesaurarius*.

In the editions of the longer form found in the Escorial manuscript, peculiarities turn up most frequently in the title, salutation, the verse for the *thesaurarius*, and in the Arabic numbers attached to the grades.

¹⁹ Arévalo, *Opera* 1.216 f.

²⁰ *ibid.* 6.557-61.

²¹ *The Letters of St. Isidore of Seville*, 2nd revised edition (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 10-16. The earlier translation appeared in *The Letters of St. Isidore of Seville*, trans. Gordon B. Ford, Jr. (Centro di Studi sull'antico Cristianismo, Università di Catania, 1966), pp. 13-17.

In the major editions and, as will be seen, in the manuscripts themselves the textual differences presented within the verses are not particularly significant, and hence there is little reason to produce yet another edition. Since the text is short, however, it seems useful to present here a transcription of it from the *Codex Aemilianensis* so that the readings of the major editions and manuscripts may be compared with it.

(f. 336rb) INCIPIT EPISTULA BEATI YSIDORI IUNIORIS EPISCOPI SPALENSIS
ECLESIAE AD LEUDEFREDUM AEPISCOPUM CORDOBENSIS (f. 336va) AECLE-
SIE DIRECTA

DOMNO MEO DEI SERBO LEUDEFREDO EPISCOPO ISIDORUS

Perlectis sanctitatis tuae litteris gavisus sum quod obtatam salutem tuam earum relatu cognobi; de his autem quae in consequentibus insinuare eloquii tui sermo studuit gratias ago Deo quod sollicitudinem officii pastoralis impendis et qualiter aeclesiastica officia ordinentur perquiris. Et licet omnia prudentie vestrae sint cognita, tamen quia affectu paterno me consulis, ex parte qua valeo expediam et de omnibus aeclesiae gradibus quid ad quem pertineat eloquar.

Ad hostiarium namque pertinent claves aeclesiae ut claudat et aperiat templum Dei et omnia quae sunt intus extraque custodiat, fideles recipiat, excommunicatos et infideles proiciat.

Ad acholitus pertinet preparatio luminariorum in sacrario; ipse cereum portat, ipse suggesta pro eucharistiae calicis preparat.

Ad exorcistam pertinet exorcismos memoriter retinere, manum super inerguminos et caticuminos exorcizandos inponere.

Ad psalmistam pertinet officium canendi, dicere benedictiones, psalmum, laudes, sacrificium, responsuria et quicquid pertinet ad cantandi peritiam.

Ad lectorem pertinet lectiones pronuntiare et ea quae profete vaticinaberunt populis predicare.

Ad subdiaconum pertinet calicem et patenam ad altarium Christi deferre et levitis tradere eisque administrare; hortiolum quoque et aquammanilem et manitergium tenere, et aepiscopo et presviteris et levitis pro labandis ante altarium manibus aquam prebere.

Ad diaconum pertinet adistere sacerdotibus (f. 336vb) et ministrare in omnibus quae aguntur in sacramentis Christi, in baptismo scilicet, in chrismate, in patena et calice, oblationes inferre et disponere in altario, componere mensam Domini atque vestire, crucem ferre, predicare evangelium et apostolum. Nam sicut lectoribus vetus testamentum, ita diaconibus nobis predicare preceptum est; ad ipsum quoque pertinet officium precum, recitatio nominum; ipse premonet aures ad Dominum, ipse ortatur orare, ipse clamat et pacem ipse adnuntiat.

Ad presviterum pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altarium Dei conficere, orationes dicere et benedicere populum.

Ad aepiscopum pertinet basilicarum consecratio, hunctio altaris, confectio chrismatis; ipse predicta officia et ordines aeclesiasticos constituet. Ipse sacras virgines benedicit; et dum presit unusquisque in singulis, hic tamen est preordinatur in cunctis. Hii sunt ordines et

ministeria clericorum. Quae tamen auctoritate pontificali in arcidiaconi cura et primicerii ac tesararii sollicitudine dividuntur.

Archidiaconus enim imperat subdiaconibus et levitis ad quem ista ministeria pertinent: ordinatio vestiendi altaris a levitis, cura incensi, et sacrificii deferendi ad altare, cura subdiaconorum de subinferendis ad altare in sacrificio necessariis. Sollicitudo quis levitarum apostolum et evangelium legat, qui preces dicat seu responsurium in Dominicis diebus aut sollempnitatum. Sollicitudo quoque parrocitanorum et ordinatio et iurgia ad eius pertinet curam; pro reparandis diocesanis basilicis ipse suggerit sacerdoti; ipse inquit parrocias cum iussione aepiscopi, et ornamenta vel res basilicarum parrocitanarum, gesta libertatum aeclesiasticarum aepiscopo idem defert. Collecta pecunia de comunione ipse accipit et aepiscopo defert et clericis partes proprias idem distribuet. Ab archidiacono nuntiatur aepiscopo excessus diaconorum. Ipse denuntiat sacerdoti in sacrario ieiuniorum dies atque (f. 337ra) sollempnitatum et ab ipso publice in aeclesia predicatur. Quando autem archidiaconus absens est, vicem eius diaconus sequens adimplet.

Ad primicerium pertine(ras).t acholito (*corr. ex acoliti*) et exorciste, psalmiste atque lectores; signum quoque dandum pro officio clericorum, pro vite honestate, et officium meditandi et peragendi sollicitudo. Lectiones, benedictiones, psalmum, laudes, offerturium et responsuria quis clericorum dicere debeat; ordo quoque et modus psallendi in coro pro sollempnitate et tempore, ordinatio pro luminariis deportandis; si quid etiam necessarium pro reparatione basilicarum que sunt in urbe ipse denuntiat sacerdoti. Epistolas aepiscopi pro diebus ieiuniorum parrocitanis per ostiarios iste dirigit. Clericos quos delinquere cognoscit, iste distringit. Quos vero emendare non valet, eorum excessus ad agnitionem aepiscopi defert. Basilicarios ipse constituit et matriculas ipse disponit. Quando autem primicerius absens est, ea que predicta sunt ille exequitur qui ei aut loco est proximus aut eruditione in his expediendis intentus.

Ad tesararium pertinet basilicarii et ostiarii ordinatio, incensi preparandi, cura chrisme conficiende, cura baptisterii ordinandi, preparatio luminariorum in sacrario, preparatio sacrificii de his que immolanda sunt. Ad eum venient de parrociis pro chrisma (*ras.*) et cereos (*sic*). Oblationes altaris ipse accipit a populo. Ipse colligit per ecclesias cereos in festivitibus. Ad eum pertinent ornamenta et vestimenta altaris; quicquid in usu templi est sub eius ordinatione existunt. Vela et ornamenta basilicarum qui in urbe sunt et non habent presbiteros ipse custodit. De candelis autem et cereolis quotidianis quicquid superest in basilicis basilicarius per singulos menses huic deportat. Ex quibus tesararius dat quartam basilicario. Tres reliquas partes dividunt equaliter sivi cum (f. 337rb) primicerio et presbitero qui missam celebrat in eandem basilicam.

Ad economum pertinet reparatio basilicarum atque constructio, actiones aeclesiae in iudiciis vel in proferendo vel in respondendo, tributis quoque acceptio et rationes eorum que inferuntur, cura agrorum et culture vinearum, cause possessionum et servicialium stipendia clericorum, viduarum et devotarum pauperum, dispensatio vestimenti et victui domesticorum, clericorum, servitium quoque et artificum. Quae omnia cum iussu et arbitrio sui aepiscopi ab eo implentur.

Hec sunt enim que vel a maioribus qui (*sic*) per officiorum ordines distributa sunt vel consuetudines aeclesiarum in unumquemque (*sic*) servata; nec aliquid ex his nostri iudicii deputes nisi quod aut ratio docuit aut vetustatis antiquitas sancxit.

Patrem autem monasterii unde innotuistis illum preferri oportet quem sancta vita et provitas morum commendat, quique dum subiectus extitit fraus in illo non fuit. Huic iuste gratia cumulatur, dicente Domino, Quia in pauca fuisti fidelis, in multa te constituam. Qui vero aduc sub regimine positus inprobe vixit et fratribus fraude (*ras.*) facere non pertimuit, hic prelatus licenter ac libere maiora et deteriora committet, dum se in potestate libertate aspexerit. De talibus enim dicit Apostolus, Set vos iniuriam facitis et fraudatis et hoc fratribus. An nescitis quia iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt? Sed nobis ista sufficiat dicere tibi quod Deo dignum existimas adimplere. Post hec autem precari tuam sanctitatem non desino ut pro me intercessor apud Deum existas, ut quia meo vitio lapsus sum, per te remissionem consequar peccatorum. Amen.

THE *EL* IN PAST SCHOLARSHIP

Even before the *EL* was included in the corpus of Isidore's works in 1580, scholars had begun to examine closely the textual tradition and authorship of the letter, and as one reads through the scattered notes of the sixteenth-century researchers one begins to sense what may have been doubts about its Isidorian origins. In their work on Gratian the *Correctores Romani* had compared the text of the *EL* in the *Decretum* with the ones in Ivo's *Decretum* and *Panormia* and Burchard's *Decretum* and had found striking differences. They noted that the verse for the archpresbyter was lacking in the Isidorian letter itself, as well as in Ivo's *Panormia* and Burchard's *Decretum*, and that in the *Decretales* (X, 1.24.1) it was attributed to a council of Toledo.²² Moreover, they made an enigmatic statement that 'integra haec epistola' could be found 'codice bibliothecae monasterii Dominicanorum',²³ a reference to the Bibliotheca supra Minervam in Rome.²⁴ Exactly what manuscript was meant is not clear,²⁵ nor is the expression 'integra haec epistola', but there is a possibility—admittedly a slim one—that the *Correctores* knew of a long version something like that in the *Codex Aemilianensis* and that this had given them reason to doubt the Isidorian origins of the *EL* as it was found in the *Decretum*.

It is interesting that long after the *Correctores* had finished their work in the sixteenth century the commentary of one of them, Antonio Agustín, was printed with annotations by Etienne Baluze, and in this work one point made by the *Correctores* regarding the *EL* was elucidated.²⁶ In a Saint-Victor manuscript of Ivo's

²² Friedberg 1.91.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 90.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. lxxxvii.

²⁵ In the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, the depository for the codices of the 'monasterium Dominicanorum', I had hoped to find a long text of the *EL* like the one in the *Emilianense*. I was able to locate the text only as it appears in the canonical collections of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

²⁶ *Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Notae ad Antonium Augustinum et Gratianum in Antonii Augustini archiepiscopi Tarraconensis Dialogorum libri duo...* 2 (Paris, 1760), p. 455.

Decretum, presumably now Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 14315 and earlier annotated by A. Conte, there is no evidence of a verse for the archpresbyter in part 6, chapter 20.²⁷

In the sixteenth century another canonistic expert, Juan Bautista Pérez, seems also to have been somewhat uneasy about the archpresbyteral verse because he stressed that the text, which could be found in a *Codex Complutensis*, was not really that of Isidore or of a council of Toledo.²⁸

In the 1601 du Breul edition of Isidore's works there is an indication that the *EL* was perhaps not considered genuinely Isidore's. In this edition the *EL* is placed immediately after the *DEO*, as if it were merely a later epitome, perhaps by Isidore, perhaps not, of the more extensive treatment of sacred orders in the *DEO*, book 2. This was clearly Arévalo's later interpretation of Ceillier's observations on the position of the *EL* in the du Breul edition.²⁹

Later in the seventeenth century Nicolás Antonio, in his examination of the works of Isidore, noted that neither Braulio nor Ildefonsus in their catalogues of the tracts of the Spanish doctor mentions the *EL*.³⁰ This may have caused Antonio a few doubts, but he quickly countered that this did not necessarily mean that Isidore was not the true author. Moreover, Antonio went on to say that the *EL* is cited in Gratian's *Decretum* and *Epistula* 73 (203) of Ivo³¹ as a work of Isidore, and further that Loaysa had published it as an Isidorian work from an ancient El Escorial codex antedating both of these twelfth-century canonists.

The points made by Antonio were quickly picked up by Casimir Oudin, who in his *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis* noted that the *EL* was passed over not only by Braulio and Ildefonsus but also by many later medieval cataloguers of Isidore's works.³²

In the eighteenth century the somewhat ambivalent observations of Antonio and Oudin against Isidore's authorship were repeated in the *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis* by Joannes Albertus Fabricius.³³ Shortly thereafter a powerful bit of evidence against the Isidorian case was turned up by the brothers Ballerini. In their study of the canonical collections containing the works of Pope Leo they discovered that the *EL* commonly appears in manuscripts lacking pure Isidoriana, to wit, the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*.³⁴ The Ballerini realized, however, that Loaysa had

²⁷ See below, p. 299.

²⁸ PL 83.896 n. 12.

²⁹ Arévalo, *Opera* I.628. It is interesting that in the *Codex Aemilianensis*, which was not used by du Breul, the *EL* follows the *DEO*. Hence, Arévalo's interpretation would also apply to the tenth-century compiler of that manuscript.

³⁰ Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana vetus* (Madrid, 1788; rpt. Turin, 1963), p. 350.

³¹ See below, p. 317.

³² I (Leipzig, 1722), cols. 1583, 1591 f.

³³ 3.4 (Florence, 1858), pp. 464, 468.

³⁴ PL 56.262.

edited the *EL* from the Escorial manuscript containing genuine Isidoriana, and hence they drew no negative conclusions regarding Isidore.

The evidence of the Ballerini would not be used against the Isidorian case for some years, but in the meantime interest in the origins of the letter was growing. Remy Ceillier in his *Histoire générale* dealt with the *EL* as he found it printed in the du Breul edition. He noted that the major part of the letter follows immediately after the *DEO* in that edition and that the remaining part is printed seventy-eight pages later.³⁵ Ceillier speculated that shortly before or after Isidore finished the *DEO* he was requested by Leudefredus to write a letter dealing with the hierarchy, and Isidore responded with a text describing not only the orders in the *DEO*, book 2, but also the higher dignitaries of archdeacon, *primicerius*, and so forth. Perhaps Ceillier saw the *EL* as an epitome of the *DEO*; at least Arévalo later thought that he did.³⁶

A major assault on the Isidorian authorship of the *EL* was made by Carlo Berardi in his discussion of the canons in Gratian's *Decretum*.³⁷ After commenting on the strange du Breul edition and admitting that Leudefredus was the bishop of Córdoba in the later years of Isidore's life, he classified the *EL* as a work of dubious authenticity. Then he considered some of the reasons against Isidore. He wondered why Isidore would have written a second work after the *DEO* on the ecclesiastical hierarchy and not have mentioned his earlier fuller work. Would not the *DEO* have sufficed for a man Isidore held to be as learned as Leudefredus? Moreover, Berardi continued, the *DEO* and *EL* treat several different grades, a discrepancy suggesting that Isidore was not responsible for the latter. Finally, Berardi noted the great variety of readings in the manuscripts and printed editions of the *EL*, enough, one presumes, to cast doubt over the Isidorian authenticity of the whole.

Berardi—and Andreas Gallandius, who repeated Berardi's arguments in his *De vetustis canonum collectionibus*³⁸—doubted Isidore's authorship, but suggested no alternate author or date. This was done by Pedro Hernández, who had seized on the evidence of the Ballerini. Because the *EL* appears in codices of the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae* and because of the variant textual readings, Hernández contended that the work must have come from a later 'centonizer' who patched the letter together out of the *DEO*. The implication is that it was a creation of the era of the Ps.-Isidorian forgeries.³⁹

Not long in coming after Berardi's attack on Isidore's authorship were two defenses of Isidore. The first was by Enrique Flórez in the *España sagrada*. Flórez

³⁵ *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, new edition, 11 (Paris, 1862), p. 720.

³⁶ Arévalo, *Opera* 1.628.

³⁷ Carolus Sebastianus Berardi, *Gratiani Canones genuini ab apocryphis discreti* ... 4 (Venice, 1777), pp. 392-94.

³⁸ *De vetustis canonum collectionibus dissertationum sylloge*... 2 (Mainz, 1790), p. 929.

³⁹ See Arévalo, *Opera* 1.630.

must have felt that the variants on the name Leudefredus in the manuscripts and printed texts cast doubt on the Isidorian origins of the letter. Hence, he took pains to show that there was indeed a bishop by this name in Córdoba, that he took part in Visigothic councils, some presided over by Isidore, and that the *EL* would have been written late in Isidore's life.⁴⁰

The second defense was in the introduction to Faustino Arévalo's great edition of the works of Isidore. Arévalo surveyed the edition of and research on the *EL* up to his time. Besides the material already summarized here, Arévalo introduced several new points. He showed that Aguirre's evidence of the citation of the *EL* in the Council of León (1091) is very ambiguous, that the *EL* in a Burchardian form appears also in the *Statuta canonum* edited by Petrus Stevart in 1616,⁴¹ and that various manuscripts beyond those cited by prior researchers contain the *EL* or parts thereof attributed to Isidore. Among them are BAV, Reg. lat. 1026 with a mutilation like the one in Gratian, Vat. lat. 1344 (where the *EL* is connected with the *Epistula ad Massonam*),⁴² Vat. lat. 3791⁴³ and 3788,⁴⁴ and two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, probably now Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3838 and 3881. Arévalo's prime arguments seem to have been directed against the case of Hernández, who, using the evidence of the Ballerini, had contended that a later centonizer had compiled the *EL*. Arévalo countered by citing the text in the '*Codex Vigilanus*', a manuscript with authentic Isidorian work, and by noting another non-Isidorian intrusion in the presbyteral verse of the *EL* as given in the Ps.-Isidorian manuscript, BAV, Vat. lat. 3788.⁴⁵

During the nineteenth century there seems to have been little debate regarding the origins of the *EL*, but Paul Hinschius quietly added a bit of fuel to the argument of Hernández. In his description of the manuscripts of the Ps.-Isidorian forgeries he listed several codices known to Arévalo and added two others with strange titles not

⁴⁰ 10 (1792), pp. 235 f. Perhaps one of the closest medieval pictorial representations of Leudefredus is in Madrid, Bibl. Nac. Vitr. 15-5 (s. XIII), fol. 4v, where Isidore is pictured at the IV Council of Toledo and below is a group of unnamed bishops. Leudefredus was a signatory to the canons of IV Toledo (see *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, ed. José Vives [España Cristiana, Textos I; Barcelona-Madrid, 1963], p. 223), VI Toledo (Vives, p. 246), and his representative at VII Toledo (Vives, p. 258). In Escorial d.I.1, fol. 205v, there is an illustration of the II Council of Seville, but there is no personal identification of clerics. This manuscript, as well as Escorial d.I.2, also contains an illustration of an unidentified Toledan council, on which see n. 13 above and Christopher Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Archives de l'orient chrétien 13; Paris, 1970), pp. 55-61.

⁴¹ See below, p. 295.

⁴² Arévalo, *Opera* 1.628, 2.261.

⁴³ *ibid.* 2.261.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* 2.272.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* 2.273. See below, p. 307.

mentioning Isidore as author, namely, Avranches, Bibl. Mun. 109 (*nunc* 146) and Rouen, Bibl. Mun. 15/9E (*nunc* E.27 [702]).⁴⁶

A more systematic search for Isidorian manuscripts was begun in the early twentieth century by Charles Beeson for his *Isidor-Studien*.⁴⁷ He was able to turn up only one codex (Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 485) of the *EL*, although he did discover numerous manuscripts of the *Epistula ad Massonam*. Beeson noted the different orthography of names in the *EL* and commented specifically on the paucity of manuscript evidence.

In the 1920's powerful support for the Isidorian case came in the form of a brief reference to the *EL* by another manuscript expert, Dom André Wilmart. In the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* he cited the letter, saying, without any supporting evidence, that he saw no reason to reject the Isidorian authorship.⁴⁸ Also in the same decade Emil Göller, in discussing the Visigothic theory of penance, referred to the *EL* as a reliable Isidorian source.⁴⁹

In his important study of Isidore's writings Dom Séjourné devoted several pages to the *EL*.⁵⁰ After wrestling with various positions regarding its authenticity, he seems to have ended by straddling the fence: 'Adhuc sub iudice lis est.'⁵¹ Besides repeating many of the older arguments, Séjourné also introduced a few new considerations. He stressed that textual similarities in the *EL*, Isidore's *Epistula XI* to Braulio and *Regula monachorum* point to a common author. He wondered why Isidore would have written the *EL* after treating the subject of orders not only in the *DEO* but also in the *Origines*. And finally, he noted the similarity of subject matter in the Ps.-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae* and speculated that Isidore used this source as found in the canonical *Epitome hispanica* to construct the *EL*. Unfortunately Séjourné had probably not seen the highly abbreviated text of the *D7OE* in the *Epitome* or he would not have made the statement, but, as will be seen, there was some truth in what he said.⁵² Although Séjourné was undecided about the

⁴⁶ *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), pp. xxx f., xxxiii. The Ballerini (PL 56.262) had many years before noted another of these manuscripts with a strange title, probably BAV, Vat. lat. 3791. (None of the other manuscripts they mention in their discussion of the addenda to the *Decretales* contains the *EL*: BAV, Vat. lat. 630 and Ottob. lat. 93; and Rome, Bibl. Casan. A.II.14 [*nunc* 221]).

⁴⁷ Charles Henry Beeson, *Isidor-Studien* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 4.2; Munich, 1913), p. 60.

⁴⁸ *DACL* 6.1 (Paris, 1924), col. 1076.

⁴⁹ 'Das spanisch-westgotische Busswesen vom 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert', *Römische Quartalschrift* 37 (1929) 274.

⁵⁰ Paul Séjourné, *Le dernier Père de l'Eglise, Saint Isidore de Séville: son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris, 1929), pp. 79 f., 166.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵² On the highly abridged text of the *D7OE* see the literature cited below, p. 273 n. 121.

Isidorian case, he at least emphasized the similarities in the Old Spanish and Gallican liturgies and the diaconal verse in the *EL*.

During the 1930's there seems to have been considerable interest in the *EL* by liturgical scholars. In short notices Dom de Puniet, who studied the Roman Pontifical, mentioned the *EL* as one of the early components of the ordination allocutions;⁵³ Geiselmann, in his treatment of Isidore's eucharistic theories, cited Wilmart for the Isidorian authenticity of the *EL*;⁵⁴ Oppenheim, in dealing with the history of the hostiariate, mentioned the 'Ps.-Isidorian *Epistula de septem gradibus*';⁵⁵ and Kordel cited the *EL* frequently in his study of the Old Spanish liturgy.⁵⁶ Several more substantial references to the *EL* also appeared in the studies of Isidorian experts and canonists. Aldama, in his dating of the works of Isidore, was conscious of the doubts regarding Isidore, but placed the *EL* during Isidore's lifetime, sometime after 619 and more probably between 625-636.⁵⁷ Altaner also mentioned the problem of authenticity of the *EL* in his bibliography of Isidorian scholarship.⁵⁸ The canonistic specialist, Carlo Silva-Tarouca, in his study of papal letters, seems to have carried to its ultimate conclusion the ideas of Hernández.⁵⁹ He pointed out that not only did the *EL* appear in the *Emilianense* and manuscripts of the Ps.-Isidorian forgeries, but also that the grade of *chorepiscopus*, described in Isidore's *DEO*, was missing in the *EL*. Silva-Tarouca emphasized that it was precisely during the time when the forgeries were being concocted that the office of *chorepiscopus* was being suppressed in the West and, moreover, that various forged canons in the *Decretales* played a major role in this suppression. From this evidence one can conclude that the *EL* was written about the middle of the ninth century.

Just before the Second World War Sister Patrick Mullins in her book on the spiritual life in Isidore surveyed some of the opinions of earlier scholars regarding the *EL*. In one section she remarks that the *EL* was based on the Ps.-Hieronymian

⁵³ Pierre de Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical: A History and Commentary*, trans. M. V. Harcourt, 1 (London, 1932), p. 126.

⁵⁴ Josef Rupert Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter: Isidor von Sevilla und das Sakrament der Eucharistie* (Munich, 1933), pp. 9 f.

⁵⁵ Philippus Oppenheim, 'De antiquissima quoad ostiarios documentatione', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 52 (1938) 182 n. 24, although in the text he simply says the *EL* is attributed to Isidore.

⁵⁶ Michał Kordel, *Liturgia Mozarabska (Hiszpańsko-Wizygocka) W Dziale 'De ecclesiasticis officiis' św. Izydora ze Sewilli: Studium Historyczno-Liturgiczne* (Cracow, 1935), passim.

⁵⁷ José A. de Aldama, 'Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro' in *Miscellanea Isidoriana: homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII centenario de su muerte 636 - 4 abril 1936* (Rome, 1936), pp. 58 f.

⁵⁸ Berthold Altaner, 'Der Stand der Isidorforschung: ein kritischer Bericht über die seit 1910 erschienene Literatur' in *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 9.

⁵⁹ 'Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei Papi', *Gregorianum* 12 (1931) 588 f.

D7OE, and in another that it was Isidore's summary of the appropriate passages in the *DEO*.⁶⁰

Since the Second World War there has been one major examination of the *EL* as well as a host of minor notices, some containing pieces of hitherto unreported material. The major treatment is found in an appendix to Donald Heintschel's thesis on the concept of office in the Middle Ages.⁶¹ In his valuable summary of past editions and scholarship, he uses the observations of Silva-Tarouca and at last corrects the old misidentification of the *Codex Aemilianensis* as the *Codex Vigilanus* for the source of the long version of the *EL* and adds that El Escorial b.III.14 (a sixteenth-century copy of sections of the *Emilianense*) also contains the *EL*. On the question of Isidore's authorship Heintschel concludes by agreeing with Séjourné, 'Adhuc sub iudice lis est.'

Among the shorter recent notices regarding the *EL* are several in important reference tools and surveys of Isidoriana. Of the reference tools, the *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum* by Professor Díaz y Díaz lists the *EL* among the spurious works of Isidore, dates it to the eighth or ninth century in Spain, and adds to the list of manuscripts Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 21587, a liturgical codex cited by Michel Andrieu in his *Ordines romani*.⁶² The *Clavis patrum latinorum* agrees with Silva-Tarouca that the *EL* was probably compiled at the time of Isidore Mercator and that there are marks of the Ps.-Hieronymian *D7OE* in it.⁶³ In the *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España* the *EL* is held to be a dubious Isidorian work but the *Epistula ad Massonam* genuine.⁶⁴ And finally, the modern supplement to the *Patrologia latina* is in agreement with the opinion of Professor Díaz y Díaz.⁶⁵ Among the surveys of Isidorian research the late Professor McNally classified the *EL* among the dubia of Isidore,⁶⁶ as has Professor Hillgarth

⁶⁰ Sister Patrick Jerome Mullins, *The Spiritual Life according to Saint Isidore of Seville* (Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature 13; Washington, D.C., 1940), pp. 17, 151 n. 2.

⁶¹ Heintschel, *Ecclesiastical Office*, pp. 26-32.

⁶² M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum* (Acta Salmanticensia iussu Senatus Universitatis edita, Ser. Filosofía y Letras 13.1; Salamanca, 1958), pp. 120 f., no. 453. For the citation of the Munich manuscript see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* 1 (Louvain, 1931), p. 246.

⁶³ Eligius Dekkers and Aemilius Gaar (†), *Clavis patrum latinorum*, 2nd edition (= *Sacris erudiri* 3) (Steenbrugge, 1961), p. 276, no. 1223.

⁶⁴ Ursicino Domínguez de Val, 'Herencia literaria de padres y escritores españoles de Osio de Córdoba a Julián de Toledo' in *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España* 1: *Siglos III-XVI* (Instituto de historia de la teología española, Corpus scriptorum sacrorum hispaniae: Estudios 3; Salamanca, 1967), p. 64.

⁶⁵ PL Suppl. 4.1820.

⁶⁶ Robert E. McNally, 'Isidoriana', *Theological Studies* 20 (1959) 439.

more recently.⁶⁷ These doubts of modern Isidorian experts do not, however, seem to have deterred some scholars from continuing to attribute the letter to Isidore.⁶⁸

EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHOR, DATE, AND PROVENANCE OF THE *EL*

Having surveyed past research on the *EL*, let us now examine the various arguments regarding its authorship, date, and provenance, paying special attention to manuscript evidence not hitherto discussed in analyses of the *EL*.

The most obvious reason for regarding the *EL* as authentically Isidorian is that the title or salutation in the text as written and printed for the past millennium attributes the letter to Isidore of Seville. While it is quite true that the texts thus far edited and most manuscripts do attribute the *EL* to Isidore, there is early manuscript evidence indicating that it was merely by a bishop of Seville, a close successor, one might surmise, to Isidore. In two late ninth- or early tenth-century manuscripts containing addenda to the canonical *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3838 and Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 485, and in a ninth- or tenth-century codex of the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*, Rennes, Bibl. Mun. 134, the title reads simply 'Epistula papae Spalensis urbis episcopi ad Laudefredum Cordubensis episcopum', or slight variants thereof.⁶⁹ Moreover, there are orthographical variants in the manuscripts that would make it appear, possibly, that the letter was written by an Isidore of a location other than Seville. In large numbers of manuscripts *Hispalensis* has become *Spalensis*,⁷⁰ and in several others it may be *Ispalensis*,⁷¹ *Inspalensis*,⁷² or *Hyspaniensis*.⁷³

A further reason given to support the Isidorian authenticity of the letter is that the addressee, Leudefredus, was a bishop of Córdoba late in Isidore's life, who probably had close relations with the great Spanish doctor. But again, as has been pointed out by scholars in the past, there is extraordinary variety in the spelling of

⁶⁷ Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, 'The Position of Isidorian Studies: A Critical Review of the Literature since 1935' in *Isidoriana: estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIV centenario de su nacimiento*, ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz (León, 1961), p. 26 n. 33.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., Matías Augé, 'El sacramento del orden según los concilios españoles de los siglos iv-viii', *Claretianum* 5 (1965) 76 n. 11, 78 n. 17, 79 n. 21, 82.

⁶⁹ See below, pp. 286-88.

⁷⁰ Avranches, Bibl. Mun. 146, fol. 159r; El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo d.I.1, fol. 336r; Milan, Bibl. Amb. T 62 sup., fol. 78v; Oxford Bodl. Hatton 6, fol. 186v and Holkham misc. 19, fol. 244v; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1565, fol. 231v-3881, fol. 187v-5141, fol. 197v-15391, fol. 279r-16897, fol. 282v, nouv. acq. lat. 2253, fol. 141v; Rennes, Bibl. Mun. 134, p. 224; BAV, Vat. lat. 1344, fol. 112v-3791, fol. cclxxxii; and New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib. 442, fol. 240r.

⁷¹ Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. E.V.16, fol. 49v; BAV, Vat. lat. 1357, fol. 104r and Arch. San Pietro G 19bis, fol. 54r.

⁷² Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3858 B, fol. 153v.

⁷³ London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Cleo. C.viii, fol. 52v.

the name Leudefredus. In the manuscripts and texts one can find Antifridum,⁷⁴ Iubestum,⁷⁵ Lamfridum,⁷⁶ Landefredo,⁷⁷ Landfredo,⁷⁸ Landfridum,⁷⁹ Landredo,⁸⁰ Lanfredo,⁸¹ Lantfrido,⁸² Laudefredum,⁸³ Laudefridum,⁸⁴ Laudferdo,⁸⁵ Laudofredum,⁸⁶ Laudofrido,⁸⁷ Laudufredum,⁸⁸ Laufruedo,⁸⁹ Leodefredus,⁹⁰ Leodefridum,⁹¹ Leofridum,⁹² Leufredo,⁹³ Leufrido,⁹⁴ Leurdefredus,⁹⁵ Luado,⁹⁶ Ludefredum,⁹⁷ Ludefridum,⁹⁸ Ludestidum,⁹⁹ Ludifredo,¹⁰⁰ Ludofredum,¹⁰¹ Ludofricum,¹⁰² Ludofri-

⁷⁴ Milan, Bibl. Amb. T 62 sup., fol. 78v.

⁷⁵ BAV, Pal. lat. 587, fol. 82r.

⁷⁶ See PL 140.1070.

⁷⁷ Oxford, Bodl. Hatton 6, fol. 186v and Holkham misc. 19, fol. 244v; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3881, fol. 187v—15391, fol. 279r—16897, fol. 282v, nouv. acq. lat. 2253, fol. 141v; BAV, Vat. lat. 1344, fol. 112v; Vercelli, Bibl. Cap. Euseb. XLI, fol. 25v; New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib. 442, fol. 240r.

⁷⁸ Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. 7, sin. 1, fol. 41r and 16.21, fol. 73r; Milan, Bibl. Amb. E 144 sup., fol. 55v; Montpellier, Bibl. Mun. 7, fol. 57r; BAV, Pal. lat. 585, fol. 177v.

⁷⁹ St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 676, p. 46.

⁸⁰ El Burgo de Osma, Bibl. del Cabildo 157, fol. 47r; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2327, fol. 66v.

⁸¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10740, fol. 87r; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Hamilton 89, fol. 50v; Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 854, fol. 63r; BAV, Vat. lat. 3788, fol. 11r.

⁸² Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Msc. Can. 7 (P.I.13), fol. 34r; Graz, Universitätsbibl. 772, fol. 133v; Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 21587, fol. 18v.

⁸³ Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 485, fol. 16r; Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 8985, fol. 51r; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1565, fol. 231v—3838, fol. 167r—5141, fol. 197v—11709, fol. 254v.

⁸⁴ Avranches, Bibl. Mun. 146, fol. 159r; BAV, Vat. lat. 3791, fol. cclxxxii^r; Rouen, Bibl. Mun. E.27 (702), fol. 188r.

⁸⁵ Lucca, Bibl. Cap. Fel. 124, fol. 48v.

⁸⁶ Monte Cassino, Arch. della Badia 1, p. 440.

⁸⁷ Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1746, fol. 47v; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10743, p. 147.

⁸⁸ Barcelona, Arch. de la Corona de Aragón St. Cugat 63, fol. 35v; BAV, Vat. lat. 5715, fol. 25r and Barb. lat. 897, fol. 158v.

⁸⁹ Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. 11, fol. 75r.

⁹⁰ (In the signatories in the canons of IV Toledo) El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo d.I.12, fol. 131r.

⁹¹ Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl. 561, fol. 27r.

⁹² See PL 161.1137.

⁹³ See PL 162.208.

⁹⁴ See PL, *ibid.*

⁹⁵ (In the signatories of canons in the *Collectio hispana*) Toledo, Bibl. del Cabildo 15-19, fol. 50v.

⁹⁶ Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. San Marco 499, fol. 8r.

⁹⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 19, fol. 135v—Gonville and Caius Coll. 393 (455), fol. 147v; London, Brit. Lib. Add. 18371, fol. 47r; Oxford, Bodl. d'Orville 46, fol. 186v; Siguënza, Bibl. del Cabildo 5 mod., fol. 68r and 75 mod., fol. 34v; Rome, Bibl. Vall. C 20, fol. 25v; BAV, Vat. lat. 1357, fol. 104r and Reg. lat. 1026, fol. 215v.

⁹⁸ Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Ff.4.41, fol. 41bisr; Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibl. Mun. 75, fol. 39v; London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Vit. A.iii, fol. 35v; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl. 388, fol. 52v; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3858 B, fol. 153v; Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. E.V.16, fol. 49v.

⁹⁹ BAV, Arch. San Pietro G 19bis, fol. 54r.

¹⁰⁰ See PL 162.208.

¹⁰¹ London, Brit. Lib. Add. 22802, fol. 52v; BAV, Vat. lat. 1345, fol. 145v.

¹⁰² BAV, Arch. San Pietro G 19, fol. 70v.

dum,¹⁰³ and Widefredum.¹⁰⁴ These variants, like those of the spelling of *Hispalensis*, do not seem particularly damaging to the Isidorian case in light of the wide diffusion of the text, but one can understand why they have raised doubts in the minds of past researchers.

One of the earliest pieces of evidence scholars emphasized to place the Isidorian authorship of the letter in doubt was the variety of lengths in which the *EL* was reproduced. In the *Statuta canonum*, noted by Arévalo, the letter is much shorter than it is in Burchard's *Decretum*, which in turn is shorter than the one in Ivo's *Panormia*. And the version in the *Panormia* is shorter than the one in Gratian's *Decretum* with its verse for the archpresbyter. In our study of the diffusion of the *EL* it will be seen that there are many more variants in the length of the text than scholars have reported. Moreover, there have been intrusions in the text, like the one Arévalo pointed to in BAV, Vat. lat. 3788, and the verses for each grade have been variously ordered over the centuries. None of these additions, abbreviations, or modifications, however, makes it unlikely that Isidore did not originally write the *EL*. In this respect, the *EL* is not dissimilar to Isidore's *Origines*, which Marc Reydellet has shown were quickly modified in early medieval manuscripts.¹⁰⁵ And just as these modifications do not make the *Origines* any less Isidorian, so the modifications of the *EL* do not necessarily mean that Isidore was not its author.

Regarding the verse for the archpresbyter found in the Gratianic version of the *EL*, it is interesting that virtually all scholars have judged it not to have been within the original letter, whosever it was. The verse, which the *Correctores Romani* thought was from a Toledan council, takes very much the same form as the *EL* by listing the duties of this ecclesiastical dignity, and because of its structure and its supposed Spanish origin it was perhaps intruded by Gratian or his sources into a letter of the best-known early Spanish doctor. In any event, the verse in the manuscripts is sometimes attributed to a *Liber ordinis romani*,¹⁰⁶ where it is included in a group of texts describing the duties of the archdeacon, archpresbyter, *primicerius*, *sacrista*, *custos ecclesiae*, and *caput scholae*. These texts are variously attributed to an *Ordo romanus*, a council of Toledo, and Gregory I.¹⁰⁷ Some seventy years ago, A. Gaudenzi turned up these texts in several pre-Gratian canonical manuscripts, including the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata* of Vercelli, Bibl. Cap. Euseb. XV (53),¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Cambridge, Univ. Lib. li.4.28, fol. 40v; London, Brit. Lib. Egerton 749, fol. 50v.

¹⁰⁴ London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Cleo. C.viii, fol. 52v.

¹⁰⁵ 'La diffusion des *Origines* d'Isidore de Séville au haut moyen âge', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 78 (1966) 383-437; and 'Compte rendu du Colloque isidorien tenu à l'Institut d'études latines de l'Université de Paris le 23 juin 1970', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 2 (1972) 283 f.

¹⁰⁶ e.g., BAV, Reg. lat. 987, fol. 168v.

¹⁰⁷ X, 1.23-27; Friedberg 2.149-56. Also see Mansi 10.443 f., and 10.776-78.

¹⁰⁸ 'Il monastero di Nonantola, il ducato di Persiceta e la chiesa di Bologna', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 37 (1916) 395. In the manuscript itself, fols. 183v-184r, these canons have been

Burchard's *Decretum* in Pistoia, Bibl. Cap. C 140,¹⁰⁹ and Ivo's *Panormia* in Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc. Lat. IV.41 (293). To be added to his list are: Lucca, Bibl. Cap. Fel. 124 with Burchard's *Decretum*,¹¹⁰ manuscripts of Cardinal Gregory's *Polycarpus*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3881,¹¹¹ BAV, Reg. lat. 987¹¹² and 1026;¹¹³ Vat. lat. 3831¹¹⁴ containing the *Collection in Three Books*; Vat. lat. 1348 with the *Collection in Five Books*,¹¹⁵ and the sixteenth-century manuscript, El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo b.III.14, with marginal texts next to the long version of the *EL*.¹¹⁶

Another argument used against Isidore's authorship is that neither Braulio nor Ildefonsus cited the *EL* in their lists of Isidore's works. But against this, one can respond that neither of these writers thought of his catalogue as exhaustive.¹¹⁷

Most of the arguments used for and against Isidore's authorship rely on the similarity or dissimilarity of the *EL* to other works of Isidore or contemporary works in Visigothic Spain. One of the most common contentions is that the *EL* contains material very much like book 2 of the *DEO* and hence must have been written by the same author, perhaps as an epitome. But simply because the two works contain similar material does not make them both by Isidore. A later author might have used the *DEO* on which to construct the *EL*, just as many authors of the ninth century and beyond used Isidore's *Origines* and *DEO* to compile their own works on the ecclesiastical orders. Further, if one compares the grades treated in the *DEO* and *EL*, there are clear differences. The former treats the *chorepiscopus* and *custos*

added in a tenth- or eleventh-century hand on a blank folio between L. VII, cc. 53 and 54 of the collection.

¹⁰⁹ See Hubert Mordek, 'Handschriftenforschungen in Italien, 1, Zur Überlieferung des Dekrets Bischof Burchards von Worms', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 51 (1972) 633 n. 23, 647.

¹¹⁰ fols. 168r-169r; noted by Mansi 10.775. Like the Vercelli manuscript, the text is an addendum to the original codex.

¹¹¹ fols. 188v-190v.

¹¹² fol. 168r-v.

¹¹³ fols. 213r-214r.

¹¹⁴ fols. 150r-151v.

¹¹⁵ fols. xliiv-xlvi.

¹¹⁶ See below, p. 284. There are other manuscripts that have these related texts but not the archiepiscopal verse: Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. San Marco 499, fol. 7r-v; the *Collection in Ten Parts* in Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10743, pp. 149-151; the *Summa Haimonis* (see below, pp. 302 f.); Vienna ÖNB 501 (Jur. can. 106), fols. 114v-115v; Vich, Bibl. Cap. 39 (XXXV), fol. 111v; Verona, Bibl. Cap. LXIV (62), fols. 61v-65v; and Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Law School Lib. 64, folio unnumbered but actually 195v.

¹¹⁷ Braulio, PL 81.16: 'Sunt et alia eius viri multa opuscula et in ecclesia Dei multo cum ornamento inscripta.' Ildefonsus, PL 81.27: '... vir decore simul et ingenio pollens, nam tantae iucunditatis affluentem copiam in eloquendo promeruit ut ubertas admiranda dicendi ex eo in stuporem verteret audientes, ex quo audita bis qui audisset non nisi repetita saepius commendaret. Scripsit opera et eximia et non parva....'

sacrorum, while the latter does not, and the latter treats the archdeacon, *primicerius*, and *thesaurarius*, which the former lacks.

In several places where the *DEO* and *EL* resemble each other, it is also possible that the dependence could run from the *D7OE* to the *EL* and not from the *DEO* to the *EL*. For example, in the diaconal verse the *EL* is closer in many respects to the Ps.-Hieronymian tract:

<i>EL</i>	<i>DEO</i>	<i>D7OE</i>
ita diaconibus Novum predicare	ipsi quoque evangelizant	ipse praedicat
recitatio nominum		recitationes nominum
ipse premonet aures ad Dominum	ipsi etiam ut aures habeamus ad Dominum	Tum deinde ut aures habeamus ad Dominum
ipse ortatur orare		ipse hortatur
ipse clamat	acclamant ¹¹⁸	diaconus clamat
et pacem ipse adnuntiat		et pacem adnuntiat ¹¹⁹

Moreover, it must be remembered that the *D7OE* was almost certainly in circulation in Spain in the seventh century. There have been claims that the tract was written in Spain in the seventh century, and recently it has even been stated that it originated in the Pyrenees region.¹²⁰ But whether it originated in southern Gaul in the fifth century, as is the contention of many scholars, or Spain in the seventh century, there was an abbreviation of the *D7OE* in the *Epitome hispanica* of the late sixth or early seventh century,¹²¹ and the author of the *EL* could have used the unabbreviated tract as his source.

¹¹⁸ PL 83.789.

¹¹⁹ *Pseudo-Hieronymi De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*, ed. Athanasius W. Kalf (Würzburg, 1935), pp. 40 f.

¹²⁰ A. Vilela, 'La notion traditionnelle des "sacerdotes secundi ordinis" des origines au Décret de Gratien', *Teologia del Sacerdocio* 5 (1973) 46.

¹²¹ For the abbreviation as it appears in the *Epitome* see the text in Reynolds, 'D7OE', 241 (drawn from the edition of the *Epitome* by Martínez Díez, which departs in several instances from both Verona, Bibl. Cap. LXI (59), fols. 67v-68r and Lucca, Bibl. Cap. Fel. 490, fol. 309r). In the Verona manuscript there is some confusion as to the numbering of the canons concluding the *Epitome*, suggesting that perhaps the abbreviated *D7OE* was not originally included in the collection, which is a compilation of conciliar and papal decrees. In the table of contents, fol. 3v, *Ex epistula Leonis pape abaleonium* (*sic*) bears the number xxx, but the following *Ex epistula Hieronimi ad Patruclum de gradibus clerecorum* (*sic*) bears none. Also, on fol. 67v, the *Epistula Leonis pape ad Balconium*, like the *D7OE*, is numbered xxxiii. In Lucca 490, fols. 308v-309r, there is no difficulty with the numbering of the canons, but in the abbreviation of the *D7OE* both the presbyter and bishop bear the number vii (although only the episcopal *ordo* is called *septimus*). For additional manuscripts of the *Epitome hispanica* see Raymund Kottje, 'Koncubinat und Kommunionwürdigkeit im vorgatianischen Kirchenrecht', *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 7 (= *Festschrift H. Jedin*) (1975) 161 n. 9, and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 11 n. 41.

For other abbreviations of the *D7OE* see Reynolds, 'D7OE', 246-48, and Reynolds, 'D7OG', 124

Not only could the *EL* have been based on the *DEO* or *D7OE*, but the *Origines* themselves might have provided a model in some verses. For example, if the description of the doorkeeper is compared in the *EL*, *DEO*, and *Origines*, the *EL* and *Origines* are much closer in several clauses:

<i>EL</i>	<i>DEO</i>	<i>Origines</i>
Ad ostiarium namque pertinent claves ecclesiae ut claudat et aperiat templum Dei et omnia quae sunt intus extraque custodiat, fideles recipiat, excommunicatos et infideles proiciat.	Ostiarii sunt qui ... omnia interiora templi vel exteriora custodiebant. Hi denique inter sanctum et iniquum discernentes, eos tantum in ecclesia qui sunt fideles recipiunt. Intrare enim templum, nisi per hos non possumus; habent enim potestatem tam bonos recipiendi quam reiiciendi indignos. ¹²²	Ipsi enim tenentes clavem, omnia intus extraque custodiunt, atque inter bonos et malos habentes iudicium, fideles recipiunt, respuunt infideles. ¹²³

But again, simply because the *Origines* and *EL* bear resemblances does not make Isidore the author of the *EL*.

One argument often found against Isidore is that he had no need to write the *EL* when he had already completed the more extensive *DEO*. This argument rests, of

n. 47, discussing the abbreviations in BAV, Barb. lat. 679 (a manuscript identified in E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* I. 65, as containing the *Concordia canonum Cresconii*, but now shown by Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 10 n. 40, to contain the *Collectio Vaticana*), Zürich, Zentralbibl. C 64, and London, Brit. Lib. Arundel 213. In Barb. lat. 679 the abbreviation is attributed to *Scī Silvēri pp.* In 'D7OE', 248, it was speculated that this attribution probably stemmed from an earlier author's placing the full text of the *D7OE* immediately after the *Canones sancti Silvestri*. This speculation is given support by a manuscript, Pistoia, Bibl. Cap. C 130 (*olim IX*) (s. ix/x), folios unmarked (but actually 127r-131v), with the *D7OE* in which the full text of the tract follows the *Canones sancti Silvestri* and exhibits, in the upper margin, *Dec. Silvestr pp xxxvi*. In this manuscript (cited as Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare 102 [*olim IX*] by Schafer Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani: A Palaeographico-Historical Study* [Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. C: Subsidia 3; New York, 1971], p. 49; as Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare Fabroniana 130 (102) by Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudo-isidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* 3 [MGH Schriften 24.3; Stuttgart, 1974], p. 1055; and as Cod. Pistoia, Arch. Cap. del Duomo, C. 130 (früher 102) by Mordek, 'Handschriftenforschungen', 630 n. 8), the *D7OE* is entitled *De vi ordinibus ecclesiae*.

For other manuscripts of the full text of the *D7OE* see Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 321 n. 1, as well as Brescia, Bibl. Civica Queriniana B.II.3 (s. ix/x), fols. 217r-223v (where it follows the *Canones sancti Silvestri* and bears the title *Incipiunt vi gradus ecclesiastici beati Hieronimi presbiteri ad Rusticum Narbonensem episcopum*), and Lucca, Bibl. Cap. Fel. 123 (s. ix), fols. 119r-122v (in the same position and with the same title as the Brescia manuscript). Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R.17.5 (s. xv), fols. 126r-127r contains only the preface down to 'dominum tuum reverteris' (Kalfß, p. 30, line 10).

¹²² PL 83.794.

¹²³ 7. 12. 33; PL 82.293.

course, on the premise that the *DEO* was written about 619, sometime before Leudefredus became bishop of Córdoba. But even if this premise is correct, it does not follow that Isidore did not write the *EL*. The two treatments of orders are different in length and partially in content, and even Isidore himself did not refer to the *DEO*, book 2, on orders when he wrote the *Origines* 7.12.1-32, with a section on orders.

According to many scholars, one of the most persuasive arguments against the Isidorian case is the one based on the observations of the Ballerini and elaborated by Hernández and Silva-Tarouca. The argument is one of guilt by association, that because the *EL* is in Ps.-Isidorian manuscripts, it too is suspect. If one looks to the manuscripts, he does indeed find that the *Decretales* were a major vehicle for the diffusion of the *EL*. In fact, some of the earliest manuscripts to contain the *EL* also contain the *Decretales*, and until 1975¹²⁴ the oldest manuscript reported with the *EL* was a *Decretales* manuscript.¹²⁵ But as will be seen shortly, there is a manuscript that antedates the *Decretales* by almost a half century. Apart from this evidence, even the Ballerini seem to have recognized that the guilt-by-association argument was not fatal to the Isidorian case. Nor is the elaboration by Silva-Tarouca regarding the verse for the *chorepiscopus*. It has already been noted that even Isidore did not treat the *chorepiscopus* in the *Origines*, and it will be shown that the manuscript antedating by a half century the Ps.-Isidorian forgeries was also attributed in the ninth century to Leidrad of Lyons, an archbishop who was known for his support of this office.¹²⁶

Together with the arguments hitherto made by scholars against Isidore's authorship, there are several more that do not seem to have appeared in the literature. First, in the text itself there is some evidence that the author was using a Gallican, not Hispanic, sequence of lower ecclesiastical grades, which suggests that the *EL* might have been written in Gallican areas. In the authentically Isidorian *Origines* and *DEO* the sequence is usually presented so that the lector is a grade above the exorcist, but in the Gallican texts this sequence is reversed.¹²⁷ In the *EL* the verse for the *primicerius* lists the lower grades in descending Gallican sequence as acolyte, exorcist, psalmist, and lector. But, again, this evidence is not fatal to the Isidorian case, first, because in the description of the lower grades in the *EL* itself the Isidorian or Hispanic sequence is used, and second, because the *Origines* at one point use the Gallican sequence.¹²⁸

A further argument that seems nowhere to have been made is that the *EL* was not used as the epitome of clerical duties in the late seventh- or early eighth-century

¹²⁴ See Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 325 n. 5.

¹²⁵ See Reynolds, '*D7OE*', 249 n. 2.

¹²⁶ Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 327.

¹²⁷ See Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 30-34.

¹²⁸ 7.12.3; PL 82.290.

canonical *Collectio hibernensis*. This may be purely fortuitous, but it is odd that the *Epistula ad Massonam*, which throughout the early Middle Ages travelled in tandem in the manuscripts with the *EL*, appears in part in the *Collectio hibernensis*¹²⁹ while the *EL* does not. Moreover, it is precisely this type of text with its litany-like rehearsal of the clerical duties that the Irish compilers could be expected to include, but instead they used the *DDG*.¹³⁰ Since manuscripts of other Isidorian texts describing the grades, including the *Origines*, very early passed to Ireland from Visigothic Spain,¹³¹ there to be used in the *Collectio hibernensis*, it is strange that the *EL*, if it was written by Isidore, also did not.

Two final arguments against Isidore have to do with the manuscript tradition of the *EL*. First, until 1975 there had been only two manuscripts of the *EL* reported to have come from Spain, the *Emilianense* and its sixteenth-century extract, Escorial b.III.14, which was noted by Heintschel. This is indeed a strong piece of evidence against Isidore, until it is remembered that early Spanish manuscripts are rare for some of the other works of Isidore, including the *DEO* and *De viris illustribus*.¹³² Moreover, there is now another very important early manuscript from Spain, later to be treated, that contains a long text of the *EL* like that in the *Emilianense*.

Another piece of manuscript evidence is that until 1975 the earliest known witness to the *EL* (New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Library 442) was written almost two and a quarter centuries after the death of Isidore. The manuscript attributed to Leidrad of Lyons noted already narrows that chronological span by fifty to seventy-five years, but still it is suspicious that manuscript evidence is so thin for the first two centuries after Isidore's time. Again, however, this lack of manuscript evidence contemporary with Isidore is not conclusive against his authorship.

Beyond the internal textual evidence and the manuscripts adduced thus far by proponents and opponents of the Isidorian case, there is now newly discovered early manuscript evidence that sheds light on the origins of the *EL*. In a codex originally from Lyons, now Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11709, which E. A. Lowe dated to the early years of the ninth century¹³³ and Professor Bischoff says was connected by the

¹²⁹ See Fuhrmann, *Einfluss*, p. 762 n. 19; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 227 n. 62. By the second half of the ninth century the *EL* and *Epistula ad Massonam* were combined in manuscripts of the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*, e.g., New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib. 442, fol. 240r-v.

¹³⁰ Reynolds, 'DO7G', 129 f.

¹³¹ See J. N. Hillgarth, 'Old Ireland and Visigothic Spain' in *Old Ireland*, ed. Robert McNally (New York, 1965), pp. 212 f.

¹³² See Christopher Lawson, 'Notes on the "De ecclesiasticis officiis"' in *Isidoriana*, pp. 300 f.; and Carmen Codoñer Merino, *El 'De viris illustribus' de Isidoro de Sevilla: estudio y edición crítica* (Theses et Studia philologica Salmanticensia 12; Salamanca, 1964), pp. 125, 130.

¹³³ 'Nugae palaeographicae' in E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers: 1907-1965*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, 1 (Oxford, 1972), pp. 322-25, and pls. 45 f.

second half of the ninth century with Leidrad of Lyons (798-814),¹³⁴ the *EL* appears on the last folio as the last item. The text of the letter breaks off midway down the folio in the verse for the *thesaurarius* at the phrase 'preparatio sacrificii de his quae'. The dangling words, *de his quae*, also end the text of the *EL* as found in Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3838, a late ninth-century manuscript reported by Professor Díaz y Díaz.¹³⁵ In the latter codex the words end at the bottom right-hand corner of a quire, which suggests that had the text continued, the full letter like that in the *Emilianense* would have followed. But in the Leidrad manuscript it is clear that the text has been copied from a mutilated exemplar where the text ended in mid-sentence.

The Leidrad manuscript indicates a great deal about the origins and transmission of the letter itself. The manuscript, although written in Carolingian minuscule, has been corrected and annotated throughout by Visigothic hands. This is significant because it is known that Leidrad visited Spain and brought back Visigothic manuscripts and scholars to Lyons, a center for refugees from Spain.¹³⁶

Furthermore, the codex contains the Hispanic canonical *Collectio hispana systematica*. According to Fournier and Le Bras this collection was probably written in France because, of the manuscripts they knew, all were French: Lyons, Bibl. de la Ville 336 (269), Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11709 and 1565.¹³⁷ On the basis of Fournier and Le Bras' theory, one could argue that the *EL*, as well as the *Collectio hispana systematica*, was written in France. But against this it should now be emphasized that both Paris lat. 11709 and Lyons 336 (269) fairly bristle with Visigothic notations, suggesting that they were corrected by Spanish exiles working from exemplars brought with them, and that Paris lat. 1565, a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript containing another mutilated text of the *EL*, comes from southern France, perhaps from Lyons.¹³⁸ But the most telling piece of evidence against Fournier and Le Bras comes in the form of a modified text of the *Collectio hispana systematica* from Spain itself. The text, called by Professor Martínez Díez the

¹³⁴ Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 260.

¹³⁵ fol. 167v; Díaz, *Index* 1.121, no. 453. For the date of this codex 'see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 244.

¹³⁶ See S. Tafel, 'The Lyons Scriptorium' in *Palaeographia latina* 4 (Oxford, 1925), p. 64. On the transmission of texts to Lyons see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^e au XI^e siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 12 (1969) 229 n. 63. And on the 'Spanish colony' at Lyons see Bernhard Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen' in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* 2: *Das geistige Leben*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff (Düsseldorf, 1965), p. 242.

¹³⁷ Cf. Gabriel Le Bras, 'Sur la part d'Isidore de Séville et des Espagnols dans l'histoire des collections canoniques (A propos d'un livre récent)', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 10 (1930) 240 f.; and Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 1.102.

¹³⁸ Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 260, also reports extracts from the *Collectio hispana systematica* in the ninth-century southern French manuscript, Albi, Bibl. Rochegude 41.

Systematic Catalan Mozarabic Collection,¹³⁹ is in a manuscript written in Arabic in 1049 for a Bishop Abdelmelik by a Presbyter Vincentius, who states in one section that he had compared his texts with other manuscript exemplars. This manuscript, taken from the library of El Escorial in the eighteenth century and only recently returned and reassigned its ancient number of 1623,¹⁴⁰ provides strong evidence that both the *Collectio hispana systematica* and the *EL* were written in Spain. In the section of book I which describes the deacon, the text of the *EL* has been intruded in a long form like that in the *Codex Aemilianensis*.¹⁴¹

On the basis of this manuscript evidence, then, it would seem reasonably safe to say that the *EL* was written before the late eighth and probably by the late seventh century in Spain or Visigothic territories when the *Collectio hispana systematica* was compiled.¹⁴² The *EL* was then attached to the canonical collection and the whole brought to France by Spanish émigrés. The text of the *EL*, perhaps falling on the last folios of the manuscript, was mutilated at mid-sentence through loss of a folio. This might have occurred either in Spain or in France. In fact, Lyons, Bibl. de la Ville 336 (269), containing the *Collectio hispana systematica*, has been badly mutilated and lacks entirely a text of the *EL*. After its arrival in Lyons the mutilated text of the *EL* was copied into the Leidrad manuscript. From Lyons or the vicinity the text passed to northern France where it was copied, with further alterations, into such manuscripts as Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3838. By the middle of the ninth century the *EL* with its sister text, the *Epistula ad Massonam*, had come to the attention of the compilers of manuscripts of the Ps.-Isidorian forgeries. Perhaps they had noticed that their own collection, being an historically arranged collection,¹⁴³ lacked a systematic treatment of the duties of the ecclesiastical grades. Some of the compilers of Ps.-Isidorian manuscripts chose to fill this lacuna with the Ps.-Hieronymian *D7OE*,¹⁴⁴ but others chose the *EL*. In any event, those compilers who chose to append the *EL* to their text noticed the dangling *de his quae* of the mutilated text and planed them off. It was this planed text that provided the foundation for the *textus receptus* outside Spain.

In early medieval Spain the *EL* does not seem to have enjoyed the popularity it did north of the Pyrenees. It was included only in our two Hispanic manuscripts, the *Emilianense* with the *Collectio hispana* and the eleventh-century Vincentius codex

¹³⁹ 'Un tratado visigótico sobre la penitencia', *Hispania sacra* 19 (1966) 89-98.

¹⁴⁰ See Andrés, *La Real Biblioteca*, p. 87, and Gregorio de Andrés, 'Un valioso códice árabe de concilios españoles recuperado para el Escorial', *La Ciudad de Dios* 179 (1966) 681-95.

¹⁴¹ fols. 36v-38r.

¹⁴² See Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 'Canonística española pregraciana' in *Repertorio de historia* 1.390-92, who notes that the collection contains c. 3 of the XVI Council of Toledo (c. 693).

¹⁴³ On the difference between historically (or chronologically) arranged and systematically arranged collections see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 2-6.

¹⁴⁴ Reynolds, '*D7OE*', 249.

containing the modified *Collectio hispana systematica*. It was probably included in other manuscripts of the *Collectio hispana systematica*, but these have unfortunately disappeared. It remains a mystery why none of the many early manuscripts of the *Collectio hispana* other than the *Emilianense* contain the text of the *EL*.¹⁴⁵

This new manuscript evidence is strong indicia that the *EL* was composed in the seventh or eighth century in Spain, but it says no more about the Isidorian origins than has previously been known. Whether or not scholars someday will turn up new evidence to elucidate this question is difficult to say, but at least the argument for the early Spanish origins of the *EL* can be bolstered by comparing the duties listed for each of the officers with texts of Visigothic councils and the Old Spanish liturgy¹⁴⁶ in the *Liber ordinum* and *Liber sacramentorum mozarabicus*. In many instances the duties of the officers described in the *EL* have a distinctively Visigothic flavor, although it must be admitted that in others the duties are the same as those in the Gallican and Roman rites. These overlaps with other rites tend to diminish the probative value of the evidence for a Spanish origin of the *EL*, but they do not negate it, given the multiple similarities of all western rites.

Of the grades beneath the subdiaconate described in the *EL*—the doorkeeper, acolyte, exorcist, psalmist, and lector—one in particular, the psalmist, has duties that almost breathe the Old Spanish liturgy. Among the distinctive parts of that rite are the *psallendum*, *laudes*, and *sacrificium*,¹⁴⁷ and if one looks to the *EL* it is the psalmist who performs these parts of the Mass. In the Old Spanish liturgy of the *Liber ordinum* the first reading of the Mass is the *Lectio libri Esaye prophete*,¹⁴⁸ and in the *EL* it is to the lector that the obligation lies 'lectiones pronuntiare et ea quae prophetarum vaticinaverunt populis predicare'. The acolyte in the *EL* is to prepare the chalice, a duty mentioned for him in the canonical *Capitula Martini*.¹⁴⁹ And finally,

¹⁴⁵ In the following manuscripts of the *Collectio hispana* I have been unable to locate the primitive form of the *EL*: Burgos, Bibl. de la Catedral 2; El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo d.I.12 and e.I.13; Gerona, Bibl. Cap. 4 (*olim* 13); Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 1872 and 10041; Oxford, Bodl. Lat. th. c. 5; Rome, Bibl. Angelica 1091—Bibl. Vall. D 18; Toledo, Bibl. del Cabildo 15-18-20; Seo de Urgel, Arch. Cap. 1; BAV, Pal. lat. 575; and Vienna, ÖNB 411 (Jur. can. 41). Professor Rodríguez has kindly written me that Toledo, Bibl. del Cabildo 15-17, a manuscript not in the library in May 1972, does not have the *EL*. For another manuscript of the *Hispana* with the *EL* in the Ps.-Isidorian form see below, pp. 288 f.

¹⁴⁶ On the use of the term 'Old Spanish' or 'Hispana-antigua' for the Mozarabic, Gothic, Visigothic, Isidorian, or Toledan rite see *Concelebratio Eucharistica ritu hispanico veteri seu mozarabico habita in antiquiore Ecclesia cathedrali salmanticensi, qua absolutus (sic) est V Congressus internationalis Iuris canonici Medii Aevi die 25 septembris 1976* (Salamanca, 1976), p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Marius Férotin, *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'Eglise Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (Paris, 1904), col. 232. Also cf. IV Toledo c. 12 and I Braga c. 11; *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 196, 73.

¹⁴⁸ *Liber ordinum*, col. 231. Also on the lector in Visigothic canon law see I Toledo cc. 2 f., Tarragona c. 9, I Braga cc. 11, 20; *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 20, 37, 73, 75.

¹⁴⁹ *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis opera omnia*, ed. Claude W. Barlow (New Haven, 1950), p. 135, c. 41.

among the lower orders, the doorkeeper guards the door, an obligation emphasized in the Visigothic Council of Narbonne, c. 13.¹⁵⁰ Although in the ordination rites of the *Liber ordinum* the doorkeeper appears only once, subservient to the sacristan,¹⁵¹ his office in the liturgy and canon law of the Spanish church must have been a fairly important one in light of the prominent place he occupies in the illuminations of various Mozarabic manuscripts.¹⁵²

Among the higher grades, there are numerous similarities between the diaconal officers in the *EL* and Visigothic liturgy and canon law. The subdeacon is to administer the chalice, paten, and aquamanile, duties implied by the *traditio instrumentorum* in the ordination ceremonies for him in the *Liber ordinum*¹⁵³ and also in the canons of various Visigothic councils.¹⁵⁴ The diaconate, especially, in the *EL* reflects Visigothic traditions. He is to assist the priests in baptism and chrismation. These rites of initiation were normally the prerogative of the priests according to a number of Visigothic councils,¹⁵⁵ but in cases of necessity the deacon was allowed to baptize.¹⁵⁶ According to the Old Spanish liturgical and canonical texts it was the subdeacon who read the Epistle at Mass and the deacon who read the Gospel,¹⁵⁷ but in the *EL* both readings are assigned to the deacon.¹⁵⁸ The admonitions to be silent or bow down and the reading of the *nomina* are ancient privileges of the deacon in many rites, but they are assigned especially to the deacon in the Old Spanish liturgy.¹⁵⁹ The announcement of the *pax*, too, is the deacon's obligation in the Mass, and in the Old Spanish *Ordo quando rex cum exercitu ad prelium egreditur* the deacon bears the cross mentioned in the *EL*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁰ *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 149. On the doorkeeper in Visigothic councils see also I Toledo cc. 2, 4, Tarragona c. 9, and Toledo (c. 597) c. 2; *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 20, 37, 156.

¹⁵¹ *Liber ordinum*, col. 43.

¹⁵² It is interesting that in the illumination in the *Codex Vigilanus* and *Codex Aemilianensis* of the clerics in attendance at a Toledan council, only the bishop and doorkeeper are specifically designated by their order. Also, it seems significant that the doorkeeper is set off separately in his own register above the one containing the bishop and clerics with codices. For references to these illuminations see above, p. 256 n. 13.

¹⁵³ *Liber ordinum*, cols. 46 f.

¹⁵⁴ IV Toledo c. 28; *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 203. On the subdeacon in the Visigothic councils see also I Toledo cc. 2, 4, Narbonne c. 13, I Braga c. 10, and VIII Toledo c. 6; *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 20, 149, 73, 279.

¹⁵⁵ II Barcelona c. 2, I Toledo c. 20, II Toledo, Mérida (666) c. 9; *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 159, 25, 47, 332.

¹⁵⁶ Elvira c. 77; *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁷ In his ordination the subdeacon receives the *Apostolum* and the deacon the *Evangelium* (*Liber ordinum*, cols. 47, 50).

¹⁵⁸ In the ninth century Amalarius of Metz, who spent some years in Lyons with its 'Spanish colony', complained about the 'new' tendency to honor the subdeacon by allowing him to read the Epistle. See Reynolds, 'Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers', 441.

¹⁵⁹ See *Liber ordinum*, cols. 153, 235, 241 f.

¹⁶⁰ See *Liber ordinum*, cols. 149-53, 236. On the deacon's role in the announcement of the *pax* in the Old Spanish rite see Angel Fábrega Grau, 'El "Ordo ad pacem" en la liturgia mozarabe' in XXXV

The duties in the *EL* of the sacerdotal officers, the presbyter and bishop, are those commonly assigned to them in most of the western rites. But there is a canon from the II Council of Seville (619), c. 7, whose text reads enough like that in the *EL* to suggest that it could have provided the basis for the description of the bishop in the *EL*:

Nam quamvis cum episcopis plurima illis ministeriorum communis sit dispensatio, quaedam tamen auctoritate veteris legis, quaedam novellis ecclesiasticis regulis sibi prohibita noverint, sicut presbyterorum et diaconorum ac virginum consecratio, sicut constitutio altaris, benedictio vel unctio, siquidem nec licere eis ecclesiam vel altarium consecrare nec per inpositionem manus fidelibus baptizatis vel conversis ex haeresibus Paraclitum Spiritum tradere, nec chrisma conficere nec chrismate baptizatorum frontem signare, [sed] nec publice quidem in missa quemquam poenitentem reconciliare nec formatas cuilibet epistolas mittere. Haec enim omnia illicita esse presbyteris, quia pontificatus apicem non habent; quod solis debere episcopis auctoritate canonum praecipitur, [ut] per hoc et discretio graduum et dignitatis fastigium summi pontificis demonstretur. Sed neque coram episcopo licere presbyteris in baptisterium introire neque praesente antestite infantes tingere aut signare, nec poenitentes sine praecepto episcopi sui reconciliare, nec eo praesente sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere....¹⁶¹

References in the Old Spanish liturgy and canon law to the higher dignities listed in the *EL* are less frequent than to the sacred orders, but they nonetheless exist. For the archdeacon, *primicerius*, sacristan or *thesaurarius*, and abbot or *pater monasterii*, there are ordination rites in the *Liber ordinum*.¹⁶² And in c. 10 of the Council of Mérida (666) reference is made to the archdeacon and *primicerius*,¹⁶³ both of whom must have played reasonably important roles in the Visigothic councils as shown by the number who acted as signatories.¹⁶⁴

To summarize this section on the authorship, date, and provenance of the *EL*: there is no single piece of indisputable evidence that proves Isidore was the author.

Congreso Eucarístico Internacional 1952: la eucaristía y la paz, sesiones de estudio (Barcelona, 1953), p. 476; and Michel Huglo, 'L'invitation à la paix dans l'ancienne liturgie bénéventaine' in *XXXV Congreso Eucarístico*, p. 706.

¹⁶¹ *Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 167 f.

¹⁶² *Liber ordinum*, cols. 42 f., 50, 53, 57-60. Cf. also col. 208 n. 3.

¹⁶³ *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 332. On the *primicerius* and the distribution of money collected (sounding very much like the verse for the archdeacon in the *EL*) see Mérida (666) c. 14; *Concilios Visigóticos*, p. 335.

¹⁶⁴ *Primicerii* were among the signatories at VIII, IX, XIII, XV Toledo (*Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 288, 307, 433, 474). Archdeacons were signatories at III, IV, XI, XIII, XV Toledo (*Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 138, 225, 369, 433, 474). It is interesting that archpresbyters, also mentioned in Mérida (666) c. 10, were well represented among the signatories at the councils: III, IV, VII (as the representative of Leudefredus), VIII, IX, XIV, XV Toledo (*Concilios Visigóticos*, pp. 138, 224, 258, 288, 307, 447, 473 f.).

Thus it is perhaps preferable to maintain the *EL* among the dubia of Isidore. But while it is arguable that the *EL* was not written by Isidore, codicological, liturgical, and legal evidence tends to indicate that the origins of the *EL* can be placed in Visigothic territories in the eighth, perhaps even the seventh, century.

EARLY MEDIEVAL DIFFUSION OF THE *EL*

The duties summarized for most of the officers in the *EL* are connected with the liturgy. It could be expected, therefore, that if the letter were not early included in collections of Isidore's letters or works, it at least would have been embedded in manuscripts containing the liturgical rites themselves, especially the sacramentaries and ordines/pontificals where ordination texts are found, or in the numerous early medieval *expositiones liturgicae*.¹⁶⁵ Strangely, the *EL* was first included in canon law collections, and throughout the Middle Ages it would enjoy its widest distribution in this context. Perhaps, however, it is not so strange because the canonical collections often incorporated long sections devoted to liturgical matters. In any event, the early inclusion of the *EL* in canonical collections has a parallel in the early Irish or Gallican *DO7G*, which also enumerates many of the liturgical duties of the orders. That little epitome seems to have found its earliest form in the canonical *Collectio hibernensis*, but by the tenth century it had become an integral part of many pontificals, including the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*, and appears to have been preferred by compilers of liturgical texts to the *EL* as the best epitome of duties.¹⁶⁶ After the eleventh century the *DO7G* rarely appeared *in toto* outside liturgical collections, whereas the *EL* rarely appeared in collections of liturgical texts. On occasion the compiler of a pontifical might include several of the verses from the *EL* to be used in the ordination allocutions, but other texts were more commonly inserted for this purpose. In addition, verses from the *EL* might be used by the collectors of sentences or the author of an *expositio liturgica* to summarize some of the duties of the grades, but here the *EL* appears in fragmentary form only and is often difficult to pick out from the surrounding and intruded texts describing the grades.¹⁶⁷

This section on the diffusion of the *EL* attempts to accomplish two things. First, in grouping the forms of the *EL* according to context—canonical, liturgical, and miscellaneous—one can see immediately the important role canonical collections played in their diffusion and how the liturgical compilers, when they did use the *EL*,

¹⁶⁵ For a list of some of these *expositiones* see my 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities', forthcoming in *Harvard Theological Review*, nn. 2, 4, 16.

¹⁶⁶ Reynolds, 'DO7G', 140-48.

¹⁶⁷ e.g., see below, pp. 312-16.

seem to have drawn their versions largely from the canonical sources. Second, by isolating the different versions of the *EL*, one can see more clearly than has hitherto been possible the large variety of texts of the *EL* used by early medieval authors.

In describing the spread of the *EL* here, rarely will we go beyond the twelfth century. By that time the text of the *EL* in canonical collections had been established by its inclusion in Gratian's *Decretum*, and commentators usually depended on the text there. In the sentence collections fragments of the *EL* had been embedded in Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, and these were used in the commentaries of later schoolmen. In most instances where the *EL* was repeated either in whole or in part, the individual verses were fairly faithfully reproduced, so much so that here it would serve no useful purpose to print all the versions. Where the variations appear, they come by and large in the title, salutation, exordium, sequence of grades, and explicit. Thus, in presenting the details of the diffusion of the *EL*, each version will first be described generally; then its peculiarities in each canon law, liturgical, and miscellaneous source will be given. In a few instances, where the *EL* has been extensively reworked or has been almost inextricably embedded in other material, a full or partial text will be printed. In the literature cited for each version, collection, miscellaneous source, or manuscript, no attempt has been made to compile an exhaustive bibliography; rather, only a few of the more recent important references are listed, some of which contain more extensive bibliography.

I. Canonical Collections

A. Primitive Form

This form is found in two canonical collections, the *Collectio hispana* and the modification of the *Collectio hispana systematica* called by Martínez Diez the *Systematic Catalan Mozarabic Collection*. Its primary characteristic is that the letter is complete or virtually complete and includes all of the grades from doorkeeper through *pater monasterii* with a sequence of lower grades: doorkeeper, acolyte, exorcist, psalmist, lector, and subdeacon.

SPECIFIC COLLECTIONS

1. *Collectio hispana*

Editions of the *EL*: see above, pp. 256-59.

Manuscripts Consulted:

a) El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo d.I.1 (*Codex Aemilianensis*), fols. 336r-337r (s. x). This is the only manuscript containing the *Collectio hispana* in which the *EL* is found. Although parts of the manuscript are later than the tenth century, the *Collectio hispana* and the *EL* are both in tenth-century hands. Throughout the text there are corrections, erasures, and suprascript 'h'.

b) El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo b.III.14, fols. 45r-48r (s. xvi). This is a modern extract from Escorial d.I.1. On fol. 93r the *Epistula ad Massonam* has been copied. The orthography of the *EL* in this manuscript follows closely that of its model.

Title (from d.I.1): Incipit epistula beati Ysidori iunioris episcopi Spalensis ecclesiae ad Leudefredum aepiscopum Cordobensis aeclesie directa.

Salutation: Domno meo Dei serbo Leudefredo episcopo Isidorus.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: doorkeeper, acolyte, exorcist, psalmist, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop, archdeacon, *primicerius*, *thesaurarius*, *oeconomus*, *pater monasterii* (hereafter, in the Sequence of Grades these will be abbreviated respectively as H, A, E, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T, Ec, Pm).

Explicit: per te remissionem consequar peccatorum. Amen.

Additional Characteristics: In Escorial d.I.1, fol. 336v, above the verse for the deacon there are red glosses reminiscent of the Latin glosses in the Vincentius Arabic manuscript described below. Above *precum* is the gloss *preconibus voce*, above *nomina* is *gloriose sancte Marie*, above *orare* is *oremus*, and above *pacem ipse adnuntiat* is *inter vos pacem tradite*. A hand similar to the one entering these glosses has squeezed into the verse for the archdeacon the words 'et sacrificii deferendi ... cura subdiachonorum', which were omitted from the original text. On the omission of approximately these same words later in the Ps.-Isidorian form see below, p. 287. In Escorial b.III.14, fol. 46r, in the lower margin below the verse for the archdeacon are the words 'Ad quos ista ministeria pertinent [folio trimmed]tio vestiendi altare', and in the margin of fol. 46v between the archdeacon and *primicerius* are the words 'Archipresbiter se sciat esse sub archidiacono ... [tight binding] erit'.

Literature: See above, pp. 256-65. For literature on Escorial d.I.1, see the description in Martínez Díez, *La colección canónica hispana*, pp. 117-20. On Escorial b.III.14 see Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial I* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 184-90.

2. *Systematic Catalan Mozarabic Collection*

Manuscript Consulted: El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo 1623 (*olim* Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 4879, G.g. 132, DXCIII), fols. 36v-38r (s. xi). This manuscript was written in Arabic in 1049 by a Presbyter Vincentius for a Bishop Abdelmelik. It was in the library of El Escorial from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century when it was borrowed by Miguel Casiri and sent to Madrid. There transcriptions were made of the Arabic (now Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 4905-4906 and 4877 [see especially fols. 30v-34v]) and a translation into Latin (now Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 8985 [see especially fols. 51r-53v]). In 1966, with great rejoicing by the officials at El Escorial, the manuscript was returned to its earlier home. On fol. 37r,

there is in the margin a Latin gloss, *preces*. I am grateful to Mr. E. M. Macierowski for his assistance with the Arabic text.

Title (from Madrid 8985): Caput I. Ex epistola Isidori episcopi Hispalensis ad Laudefredum episcopum Cordubensem de singulorum ordinum ecclesiasticorum ratione et praestantia.

Incipit: Ad ostiarium pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades: H, A, E, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T, Ec, Pm.

Explicit: De talibus enim dicit Apostolus, Sed vos iniuriam facitis et fraudatis et hoc fratribus; an nescitis quia iniusti regnum Dei non videbunt?

Additional Characteristics: The *EL* begins immediately with the description of the doorkeeper, omitting the exordium. The psalmist is to say the *benedictiones ex libro Danielis prophetae*; it is not mentioned that the presbyter is to say the *orationes*; in the verse for the *thesaurarius* the term *thesaurarius* itself has been omitted, as has his preparation of incense; and the final two sentences, of the *EL* have been omitted.

Literature: See above p. 277 f. Also see PL 84.863 f.; Friedrich Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande 1: Die Rechtssammlungen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Graz, 1870; rpt. 1956), pp. 818 f.; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Isidoro en la edad media hispana' in *Isidoriana*, p. 367; Martínez Díez, *La colección*, p. 334; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 260.

B. Early Truncated Forms

These forms are found in French manuscripts with either the *Collectio hispana systematica* or addenda to the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*. The text of the *EL* in all these manuscripts breaks off with the dangling words *de his quae* or before.

SPECIFIC COLLECTIONS

1. *Collectio hispana systematica*

Manuscripts Consulted:

a) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11709, fols. 254v-255v (s. ix). This manuscript was in Lyons in the early ninth century and was corrected and annotated by Visigothic hands and by Florus of Lyons. In the second half of the ninth century there was entered on fol. 1r the words 'Leydrat licet indignus tamen episcopus'.

Title: In nomine Domini incipit epistola papae Isidori Hispalensis urbis episcopi ad Laudefredum Cordovensis episcopum data.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: H, A, E, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: in sacrario praeparatio sacrificii de his quae.

Additional Characteristics: Like the primitive form, the text here does not use the word *subdiaconis* in the verse for the acolyte in speaking of the chalice. In the verse for the psalmist there is no reference to the psalms.

Literature: See above, p. 276 f. Also see Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 813; Martínez Díez, *La colección*, p. 337; Gérard Haenni, 'Note sur les sources de la *Dacheriana*', *Studia Gratiana* 11 (= *Collectanea Stephan Kuttner* 1) (1967) 4; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 260.

b) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1565, fols. 231v-232r (s. x-xi). In this manuscript the *EL* immediately precedes the *Epistula ad Massonam*.

Title: In nomine Domini incipit epistula pape Isidori Spalensis urbis episcopi ad Laudefredum Cordovensem episcopum.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: H, A, E, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr.

Explicit: Ad primicerium pertinet (sic) acoliti et exorciste.

Additional Characteristics: Unlike the more complete form in Paris lat. 11709, it is especially to be noted here that the text breaks off in the verse for the *primicerius*.

Literature: as in Paris lat. 11709.

2. Addenda to Manuscripts of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*

Manuscripts Consulted:

a) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3838, fol. 167r-v (s. ix). This French manuscript of the third quarter of the ninth century contains for the most part the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, which breaks off at fol. 161v in the *Decreta Gregorii papae*. The following quire, in which the *EL* appears, is written in a different hand and contains a miscellany of synodical and Roman law texts, some of which are also found in Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 485, described below, as well as the eighth- and ninth-century northern French manuscripts of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11711, fol. 137r, and 3846, fol. 123r. After the *EL* breaks off with *de his que*, there is the colophon 'Grimoldus scripsit et subscripsit'. Fol. 168, which has been pasted in, has neumed texts on the *chorepiscopus* drawn from the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*.

Title: In nomine domini Incipit aepistola pape Hispalensis urbis episcopi ad Laudefredum Cordobensis episcopum data.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Paris lat. 11709.

Additional Characteristics: The psalmist does not sing the psalms. Several of the verses for the higher dignitaries have been severely abridged by the omission of sentences or clauses: in the archdeacon, 'Collectam pecuniam ... episcopo defert'; in the *primicerius*, 'Signum quoque ... epistulas episcopi', and 'Basilicarios ipse ... loco est proximus'.

Literature: Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 381; Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 326 n. 2; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 244.

b) Cambrai, Bibl. Mun. 485, fols. 16r-17v (s. ix-x). This manuscript contains a farrago of theological, liturgical, canonical, and Roman law texts, including several found in Paris lat. 3838.

Title: Incipit epistula papae Hispalensis urbis episcopi ad Laudefredum Corduensis episcopum.

Incipit and Sequence of Grades: as in Paris lat. 1565.

Explicit: per hostiarios ipse dirigat.

Additional Characteristics: The psalmist does not sing the psalms; the presbyter does not bless the people but the *dona Dei* (a peculiarity of the text in the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*); the bishop *distribuit* the ecclesiastical orders; the sentence 'Quando autem archidiaconus ... sequens adimplet' is omitted for the archdeacon; and the text of the *EL* ends within the verse for the *primicerius*.

Literature: See Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 328 n. 8; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 374.

C. Pseudo-Isidorian Form

Within at least twenty years of their composition the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae* were being augmented with texts of the *EL* and *Epistula ad Massonam*. The form of the *EL* used in the manuscripts of the *Decretales* is characterized by a sequence of grades like that in Paris lat. 11709 and by the omission of *de his quae* found in Paris lat. 11709 and 3838. Moreover, in several verses the Ps.-Isidorian form seems to depend on a tradition like that in Cambrai 485; nothing is said regarding the psalm in the description of the psalmist; the presbyter blesses the *dona Dei*; the bishop *distribuit* the ecclesiastical orders; and the clause 'deferendi ad altare ... in sacrificio' for the archdeacon has been omitted. The major differences in the text of the *EL* used in the Ps.-Isidorian manuscripts are in the title and salutation, and on the basis of these differences the Ps.-Isidorian form can be divided into two families. After a description of these families the Ps.-Isidorian form as it appears in manuscripts other than the *Decretales* will be treated.

SPECIFIC COLLECTIONS

1. Common Ps.-Isidorian Form

In this form there is both a title and salutation; *Isidorus Spalensis* is mentioned specifically as the author; and Leudefredus' name is spelled 'Landefredo'.

Manuscripts Consulted: New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Library 442, fol. 240r (s. ix^{3/4}); Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 2253, fols. 141v-142r (s. x/xi); BAV, Vat. lat. 1344, fols. 112v-113r (s. xii); Oxford, Bodl. Hatton 6, fols. 186v-187r (s. xii/xiii); Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 16897, fols. 282v-283r (s. xiii)—5141, fol. 197v (s. xiv)—15391, fol. 279r-v (s. xv). (Although not consulted, Toulouse, Bibl. Mun. 365, fols. 349v-350r [s. xiii] contains the *EL*. Since the manuscript is of the same family as Paris lat. 16897, the text of the *EL* is presumably the same.)

Title (from Yale 442): Incipit epistula Isidori Spalensis urbis episcopi Landefredo Cordubensi episcopo data.

Salutation: Domino sancto meritisque beato fratri Landefredo episcopo Isidorus episcopus.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: H, A, E, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: in sacrario et preparatio sacrificii. Finit.

Literature: On these manuscripts in general see Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani*, pp. 149, 48 f., 66 f., 38 f., 47 f., 44, 47, 59 f. For more recent bibliography on the *EL* as it appears in several of these manuscripts, see Reynolds, 'D7OE', 249 n. 2 and 'D07G', 118 n. 26; Fuhrmann, *Einfluss*, p. 762; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 227 n. 62, who also lists the *EL* in Florence, Bibl. Naz. Panciatichi 135 and Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc. Lat. IV.47 (2126) (s. xv).

2. Norman Pseudo-Isidorian Form

The manuscripts with this form were written in areas at one time under Norman domination, northern France and southern Italy. Among the general textual characteristics are: (1) a title but no salutation; (2) like Paris lat. 3838, the *EL* is attributed simply to *papae Spalensis episcopi*; (3) the name 'Leudefredus' is spelled 'Laudefredum', 'Laudifredum', 'Laudofredum', or 'Laudefridum', and the city Córdoba is spelled 'Corduensem', 'Cordovensis', or 'Cordubensem'; and (4) the clauses 'ita diaconibus ... officium precum' have been omitted in the verse for the deacon.

Manuscripts Consulted: Rennes, Bibl. Mun. 134, p. 224 (s. ix/x); Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 1, pp. 440 f. (s. xi); BAV, Vat. lat. 3791, fols. cclxxxii'-cclxxxiii' (s. xi); Rouen, Bibl. Mun. E.27 (702), fol. 188r-v (s. xi); Avranches, Bibl. Mun. 146, fol. 159r (s. xii).

Title (from Rennes 134): *Epistula papae Spalensis episcopi ad Laudefridum Corduensem episcopum*.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in the Common Ps.-Isidorian form.

Additional Characteristics: The Monte Cassino codex has an unusually long title for this form: 'Incipit epistula pape Hispalensis urbis episcopi ad Laudofredum Cordovensis episcopum'. In the Rennes manuscript immediately before the verse for the *primicerius* is the rubric *De gradibus ordinationis*. And in the Rouen manuscript *Hispalensis* is spelled *Spaliensis* and there are rubrics in the margins, *Quid ostarii*, *Quid acoliti*, *Quid exorciste*, *Quid lectori*, *Subdiaconi*, *Diaconi*, *Presbiteri*, and *Quid Episcopi*. Over the verse for the *primicerius* is the rubric *De gradibus ordinate disponendis*.

Literature: On these manuscripts in general see the description and bibliography in Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani*, pp. 149 f., 35, 68, 54 f., and 6 f. For more recent bibliography on the *EL* as it appears in these manuscripts see the citations under the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form.

3. The Pseudo-Isidorian Form in Manuscripts other than the *Decretales*

Manuscripts Consulted:

a) Oxford, Bodl. Holkham misc. 19, fols. 244v-245r (s. xi). This codex from St. Zeno in Pistoia is of great interest for the *EL* because it contains material not only

from Ps.-Isidore, but also from the *Collectio hispana*. One would thus have hoped that a long version of the *EL* something like the Primitive Form would have appeared, but it is the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form as described above. In the manuscript the *EL* follows the *Capitula Angilramni*.

Literature: On the manuscript in general see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 251. For his kindness many years ago in identifying for me this manuscript from the confused note of Paul Fournier I am indebted to Dr. W. O. Hassall.

b) Rome, Bibl. Vall. C 24, fols. 246r-247r (s. xvi). This manuscript contains the notes of some of the *Correctores Romani*. At the top of fol. 246r is pencilled 'Epist. S. Isidori ad Leudefredum', and in the margin next to the *EL* is written 'Videtur esse aliqua Ep̄la Isidori. est exhibitur 25 Dist. 1. p^o'. From this notation it could be expected that the form of the *EL* would follow Gratian, but the text is that of Ps.-Isidore. The *EL* follows the text of the *Decreta Claromontensia*, also found in a lengthy supplement to Ps.-Isidore in London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Claudius E.v, an eleventh-century codex originating perhaps in Bec. One would have hoped that a Norman form of the *EL* would have followed with its unusual title and lack of salutation, but instead the text abruptly begins with the incipit *Perlectis sanctitatis*.

Literature: Laura Gasparri, 'Osservazioni sul Codice Vallicelliano C 24', *Studi gregoriani* 9 (1972) 496; Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia*, pp. 46-54; and Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II: 1100-1110* (Studies and Texts 43; Toronto, 1978), pp. 47 f.

D. Burchardian Form

Although the *EL* seems to have enjoyed a fairly wide distribution in the early Middle Ages by virtue of its incorporation in manuscripts of the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*, it seems to have been neglected as a source by compilers of new collections of canon law from the late ninth to the late tenth century. It does not appear in the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata* (although the Ps.-Hieronymian *D7OE* does¹⁶⁸), in Regino of Prüm's *De synodalibus causis*, or in the host of minor collections of the tenth century described by Fournier and Le Bras.¹⁶⁹ From the perspective of later medieval canonists an epitome of the duties of the clerics like the *EL* would seem to have been useful even in the ninth and tenth centuries, but in the few collections that did use an epitome it was the *DDG*, not the *EL*, that was chosen. Perhaps there was some reluctance to use the *EL* because the sequence of grades in the primitive form as handed down in Ps.-Isidore did not conform to the Gallican sequence generally accepted by the middle of the ninth century; or perhaps some of the liturgical duties enumerated for several grades had either fallen out of use north of the Pyrenees or smacked of the Old Spanish liturgy, which had been under

¹⁶⁸ Reynolds, 'D7OE', 250.

¹⁶⁹ Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 1.268-362.

suspicion as a result of the adoptianist controversy.¹⁷⁰ But whatever the reason, it was not until the very early eleventh century and the compilation of the *Decretum* by Burchard of Worms that the *EL* was incorporated into a newly composed collection.

In his *Decretum* Burchard did not use the *EL* to introduce or conclude his treatment of orders, but, strangely, tucked it away in book 3.50, among a miscellany of canons on churches. The form he chose to follow was the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form, but he altered it drastically. After giving his own title, he used the salutation found in the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form and followed the text down to the end of the exordium. He then rearranged the sequence of lower grades radically by placing the psalmist first and following through with the Gallican sequence of lower grades: doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, and subdeacon. What his reasons were for doing this are not clear. Had he used the ordination rubrics from the canonical *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* in the *Decretum*, it is arguable that this would have moved him to arrange the grades in that order, but unlike many collections preceding it,¹⁷¹ the *Decretum* does not contain those canons. Hence, it is possible that Burchard was altering the sequence of lower grades to conform to the sequence almost universally followed in canonical collections and liturgical commentaries¹⁷² or in the ordination rites as found in the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*, compiled, incidentally, in nearby Mainz.¹⁷³

Although Burchard altered radically the sequence of lower grades in the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form of the *EL*, he followed faithfully the description of the duties within each verse. He departed from his model only at the verse for the arch-deacon, where he broke off with the words 'et clericis partes idem distribuit', thereby omitting a description of the *primicerius* and *thesaurarius*. The reason why he shortened his text at that point is not clear.

The popularity of the *Decretum* was immense in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some idea of how extensively it was used can be seen in Dr. Mordek's recent catalogue of extant Italian codices of the *Decretum*. In Italy, the home of numerous other collections fully as popular as the *Decretum*, Dr. Mordek has found no less than forty-seven manuscripts of the *Decretum* alone, not counting extracts

¹⁷⁰ See especially the articles of Miquel dels Sants Gros, 'L'Ordre catalano-narbonès per a la benedició dels sants olis', *Revista catalana de teologia* 1 (1976) 248 f., and 'La liturgie narbonnaise, témoin d'un changement rapide de rites liturgiques' in *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle: Conférences Saint-Serge 1975* (Rome, 1976), pp. 131-34.

¹⁷¹ See the tables for the ordination rubrics from the *Statuta* appearing in a few major edited early medieval collections in M. Coquin, 'Le sort des "Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua" dans les Collections canoniques jusqu'à la "Concordia" de Gratien', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 28 (1961) 221.

¹⁷² Reynolds, 'Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers', 440.

¹⁷³ Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (Spoleto, 1975), pp. 191-93.

and dependent collections. It is probable that with further systematic searches for Burchard manuscripts, the numbers for other countries would equal or surpass this. But in any case, the *EL* in a Burchardian form was widely spread in the *Decretum*, its dependent collections, and extracts. To follow the diffusion of the Burchardian form of the *EL*, it is appropriate to introduce two categories: first, the Common Burchardian Form as found in the *Decretum* and dependent collections, and second, Variant Burchardian forms found elsewhere in canonistic compilations. Later in this article (pp. 309-17) several of the Burchardian forms, both common and variant, will be treated as they appear in liturgical and miscellaneous contexts.

SPECIFIC COLLECTIONS WITH THE COMMON BURCHARDIAN FORM

1. Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* 3.50

Edition: PL 140.681 f.

Manuscripts Consulted: BAV, Pal. lat. 585, fols. 177v-178v (s. XI, Mainz) and Vat. lat. 4981, fols. 37v-38v (s. XIII, Beneventan fragment with the *Decretum*); Lucca, Bibl. Cap. Fel. 124, fols. 48v-49r (s. XI); Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. 16.21, fols. 73r-74r (s. XI) and 7, sin. 1, fol. 41r-v (s. XI); Milan, Bibl. Amb. E 144 sup., fols. 55v-56r (s. XI); Ivrea, Bibl. Cap. 50 (XCIV), fols. 54v-55r (s. XI); Vercelli, Bibl. Cap. Euseb. XLI, fols. 25v-26r (s. XI-XII, fragment) and XCIV, fols. 78r-79r (s. XI); Montpellier, Bibl. Mun. 7, fols. 57r-58r (s. XI/XII); El Burgo de Osma, Bibl. del Cabildo 157, fol. 47r-v (s. XI-XII); Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 386, fols. 73v-74r (s. XII).

Title (from BAV, Pal. lat. 585): De ordinibus sacris. Ex epistula Isidori.

Salutation: Domno sancto meritisque beato fratri Landfredo episcopo Isidorus episcopus.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D, P, B, Ad.

Explicit: partes proprias idem distribuit.

Additional Characteristics: The manuscripts differ in two significant ways from the printed edition: in the psalmist the text reads '... dicere benedictiones, laudes, sacrificium, responsoria ...', and in the subdeacon the explicit for the verse reads '... ante altare manibus aquam praeberere'. Among the distinctive features found in various manuscripts are: in Vat. lat. 4981 and Burgo de Osma 157 (fol. 43r with the *tituli*, fol. 47r with text) the *EL* is divided into two chapters, 3.51-52; in Madrid 386 the verses for the *EL* are divided into several chapters, 3.51-60; in Florence, Laur. 16.21 and 7, sin. 1, there are rubrics, *De psalmista* or *Ad hostiarium*, etc., for each of the verses from psalmist to bishop; in Montpellier 7 there is no rubric for the psalmist, over the acolyte is *De achlito acolito*, over the deacon, presbyter and bishop respectively are the rubrics *De presbitero*, *De episcopo*, and *De archidiacono*; and in Vercelli XLI there are rubrics, *Ad psalmistam*, etc., for each of the verses from psalmist to bishop.

Literature: On these manuscripts see Mordek, 'Handschriftenforschungen', 626-51; and Gérard Fransen, 'Le manuscrit de Burchard de Worms conservé à la Bibliothèque municipale de Montpellier' in *Mélanges Roger Aubenas* (Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la Société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit 9; Montpellier, 1974), pp. 301-11.

2. Collection in Twelve Parts 2.1

This collection of the second quarter of the eleventh century was constructed in part from Burchard's *Decretum* and used the text of the *EL* to introduce the canons on sacred orders. The text is the Common Burchardian Form, the only and very minor difference being that in the diaconal verse the *mensam Domini* is the *mensam Dei*.

Manuscripts Consulted: BV Version: Bamberg, Staatl. Bibl. Msc. Can. 7 (P.I. 13), fol. 34r-v (s. XI, Bamberg); Vienna, ÖNB 2136 (Salisb. 313), fol. 42v (s. XI, Salzburg). — T Version: Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 246, fol. 46r (s. XI, Troyes).

Title (from Bamberg Msc. Can. 7): De sacris ordinibus ex epistula Ysidori.

Salutation: Domino sancto meritisque beato fratri Lantfrido episcopo Ysidorus episcopus.

Incipit and Sequence of Grades: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Explicit: partes proprias idest (*sic*) distribuit.

Literature: Brommer, 'Theodulf', 141-43.

3. Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. 11

This codex contains two Burchardian forms, the Common Burchardian Form and a Variant Burchardian form, which will be considered later (p. 294) as it is found in the canonical *Collection in Seven Books*. In the earlier part of the manuscript the Common Burchardian Form follows the confession of 1079 of Berengar of Tours.

Manuscript Consulted: Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. 11, fol. 75r-v (s. XI/XII).

Title: De ecclesiae. De ordinibus sacris.

Salutation: [D]omno sacro meritisque beato fratri Laufruedo episcopo Ysidorus episcopus.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Additional Characteristics: Before the verse for the psalmist is a rubric *De ecclesie ordinibus*, and before each of the verses from doorkeeper through bishop is a rubric, *De ostiario*, etc.

Literature: Brommer, 'Theodulf', 132.

E. Variant Burchardian Forms

These forms are almost always found in canonical collections containing extracts from Burchard's *Decretum*. Often the title, salutation, and exordium of the *EL* as found in the *Decretum* may be missing or altered, but like the Common

Burchardian Form the sequence of the lower grades conforms to Gallican usage. The texts frequently break off before the explicit of the Common Burchardian Form.

SPECIFIC COLLECTIONS

1. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* 5.71

This late eleventh-century canonical collection has large extracts from Burchard's *Decretum*, among which the *EL* is used to introduce the topic of ordination. The text closely follows the Common Burchardian Form as far as the middle of the verse for the archdeacon. But after the words 'quis preces dicat', Bonizo attributes the remaining duties to the *primicerius*: 'Ad primicerium pertinet ordinare, quis responsorium in dominicis diebus....'

Edition: *Bonizo of Sutri, Liber de vita christiana* ed. E. Perels (Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter 1; Berlin, 1930), pp. 201 f.

Title: Qualiter in ecclesia officia ordinari debeant.

Salutation: Domno sancto meritisque beato fratri Landefredo episcopo Ysidorus episcopus.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr.

Explicit: partes proprias idem distribuit.

Additional Characteristics: In the verse for the psalmist the Common Burchardian Form is abbreviated to 'Ad psalmistam pertinet officium canendi, dicere laudes, responsoria et'

Literature: for recent bibliography on the works of Bonizo see Walter Berschin, *Bonizo von Sutri: Leben und Werk* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 2; Berlin-New York, 1972).

2. Turin Collection in Seven Books 4.209

This collection of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, which may be connected with a school of canonistic activity in Poitou, contains extensive extracts from Burchard's *Decretum*. The *EL* follows an Ordinal of Christ and an unusual version of the *DDG*. The title has been altered and the salutation and exordium have been omitted, but the text otherwise follows the Common Burchardian Form fairly closely. The only major difference is that rubrics, *De psalmista*, etc., are used before each of the grades from psalmist through archdeacon.

Manuscripts Consulted: Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. D.IV.33, fols. 64v-65r (s. XI/XII).

Title: Ysidorus de eadem re. Hii sunt vii gradus et opera eorum digna in sancta ecclesia catholica. (This same title appears in the Poitevin *Collection in Thirteen Books* of Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kulturbes. Savigny 3, fol. 127r, as the explicit to the *DDG*.)

Incipit: Ad psalmistam pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Turin Collection', 511 f.; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 139 f.

3. *Bordeaux Collection in Seven Books* 3.25

This is another collection that Tardif and Le Bras have classified as a Poitevin collection. Earlier in the codex (see above, p. 292) there was a Common Burchardian Form of the *EL* embedded among other canonical fragments, but in the *Collection in Seven Books* itself the *EL* is in a Variant Burchardian form. There are rubrics, *De hostiario*, etc., for each of the verses from doorkeeper through bishop.

Manuscript Consulted: Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. 11, fol. 163r-v (s. XI/XII).

Title: De ecclesiae ordinibus quid ad quemlibet pertinet.

Incipit: Ad psalmistam pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Additional Characteristics: In the verse for the bishop the clause 'et dum praecessit ... praeordinator in cunctis' has been omitted.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Turin Collection', 510; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 132.

4. *Collection of Sainte-Geneviève* 2.2.217

This twelfth-century collection was described by Fournier and Le Bras as one of the cisalpine collections dependent on the collections of Ivo of Chartres. Throughout the collection, texts from Ivo are juxtaposed to Burchardian texts that are often abridged. The *EL* has been added as the last canon in 2.2.217 as if to conclude P. II, lib. 2, *De clericis*. The title for the canon is within the earlier list of *tituli* for the book, not over the text itself, where there is simply the inscription *Ex Epistola Isidori*. The exordium of the *EL* has been omitted, but otherwise the text follows the Common Burchardian Form fairly closely.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 166, fol. 99r (s. XII).

Title (fol. 79v): Quid sit officium singulorum in ecclesia. (fol. 99r) Ex epistola Isidori.

Incipit: Ad psalmistam pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Literature: Brommer, 'Theodulf', 132.

5. *Collection of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Collection in Nine Books)* 1.56

This northern French collection also contains materials drawn from Burchard and Ivo. The *EL* in a Variant Burchardian form has been placed inconspicuously within book 1, several folios after an Ordinal of Christ. The title is that of the Common Burchardian Form, but the salutation and exordium have been omitted. Within the text there are two major variants, one in the verse for the acolyte where 'ipse suggesta ... calicis praeparat' has been replaced by 'et urceum cum vino ad eucharistiam', and one in the psalmist where *benedictiones* has been replaced by

lectiones. There are also several minor variants, including in the subdiaconal verse the addition of the words 'et levitis Christi tradere' and the omission of *pro lavandis*. In the verse for the archdeacon the words *diocesanas basilicas* have been changed to *dyocesanas ecclesias*.

Manuscript Consulted: Wolfenbüttel, Herz.-Aug.-Bibl. Gud. lat. 212 (4517), fol. 8r (s. XII).

Title: Isydorus de sacris ordinibus.

Incipit: Ad psalmistam pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 75 n. 22; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 128.

6. Canonical Florilegium of Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10740

This canonical manuscript of the late eleventh or early twelfth century contains a farrago of canonical texts drawn from Ps.-Isidore and Burchard. The *EL* in a variant Burchardian form lies within a series of canons drawn from book 3 of the *Decretum*. There is only an inscription, and the Common Burchardian Form then begins without exordium at the psalmist.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10740, fols. 87r-88r (s. XI-XII).

Title: Isidorus Lanfredo episcopo.

Incipit: Ad psalmistam ...

Sequence of Grades and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

7. *Statuta canonum de officio sacerdotum*

The *EL* in the *Statuta* was published in 1616 by Stevart and was noted by Arévalo. Like many of the Variant Burchardian forms the text has an inscription and begins abruptly with the psalmist. The text is like that in the Common Burchardian Form down to the middle of the archidiaconal verse, where it is abruptly ended.

Edition: PL 140.1070 f.

Manuscripts Consulted: St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 676, p. 46 (s. XI); Stuttgart, Württ. Landesbibl. HB VI.107, fol. 165r (s. XI).

Title: Exempla ad Lamfridum episcopum

Incipit: Ad psalmistam pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Explicit: festivitatibus decantet et reliqua. Hucusque Isidorus episcopus de ecclesiasticis ordinibus.

Literature: Johanne Autenrieth, *Die Domschule von Konstanz zur Zeit des Investiturstreits: Die wissenschaftliche Arbeitsweise Bernolds von Konstanz und zweier Kleriker dargestellt auf Grund von Handschriftenstudien* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte N.F. 3; Stuttgart, 1956), p. 115; John T. Gilchrist, ed., *Diuersorum patrum sententie siue Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta* (Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. B: Corpus collectionum 1; Vatican City, 1973), pp. lii and lvi; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 126.

8. *Collection in Seventeen Books*

This late eleventh-century collection, sometimes called the *Collection of Saint Hilary of Poitiers*, has been counted among the Poitevin collections by Gabriel Le Bras and contains large extracts from Burchard. A strange Variant Burchardian form of the *EL* has been used in book 3 without any title, although in the table of contents in the collection there is a rubric, 'Quid pertineat ad psalmistam et ad ceteros sacros ordines'. In 3.40, the exordium of the letter has been omitted, but the verse for each of the grades from psalmist through bishop is given, the last being cut short at the words 'in archidiaconi cura pontificali auctoritate et cura primicerii dividuntur'.

Since the verses of the text differ in the two codices of this collection that have been consulted, it is appropriate to deal with each separately.

Manuscripts Consulted:

a) Rheims, Bibl. Mun. 675, fol. 36r-v (s. XII).

Incipit: Ad psalmistam ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D, P, B.

Explicit: Hi tamē ordines et clericorum ministeria in archidiaconi cura pontificali auctoritate et cura primicerii dividuntur.

Additional Characteristics: (1) the acolyte 'suggesta eucharistia ad altare deferat'; (2) *ante altare* has been omitted for the subdeacon; (3) the long sentence 'ita diaconibus Novum ... pacem annuntiat' in the diaconal verse has been omitted, perhaps reflecting a conscious excision of references to Old Spanish liturgical practice; (4) to the bishop pertains the *ecclesiarum consecratio*; and (5) the list of duties for the bishop has been omitted from 'ipse sacras virgines benedicet ... praeordinator in cunctis'.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Turin Collection', 511 f. n. 33; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 144.

b) Hereford, Cath. Lib. O.ii.7, fols. 83v-84r (s. XII).

Incipit: Ad psalmistam ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, [D], P, B.

Explicit: as in Rheims 675.

Additional Characteristics: (1) the verse for the psalmist is actually within 3.39; (2) the verse for the acolyte reads according to the Common Burchardian Form, not according to Rheims 675; (3) the verse for the subdeacon ends at *eisque ministrare* and continues immediately with the words from the diaconal verse, 'in omnibus quae aguntur'; (4) the long section for the diaconal verse is omitted, as in Rheims 675, as is the list of duties for the bishop; (5) to the bishop pertains the *ecclesiarum consecratio*.

Literature: as in Rheims 675.

9. *Collection in Five Books of BAV, Vat. lat. 1348* 1.43

This twelfth-century Italian collection, which Fournier and Le Bras classified as falling particularly under the influence of the Gregorian Reform collections, contains a large amount of Burchardian material. In the *Collection in Seventeen Books* just described, the extensive modification of the verses and the classification of the verse for the psalmist as a separate canon seem to indicate that the letter was beginning to be thought of not so much as a true epistle, but as a canonistic source to be dismembered and exploited for individual canons. Here in Vat. lat. 1348 the process is carried a step further. The individual verses of the *EL* have been used as separate canons under a title 'De sacris ordinibus quod sint septem, sed tamen a clericis fit inceptio'. Within this title there follows c. 1, 'Tit. xliii. Ysidori. Tonsurae aecclesiasticae ... habitare', which is an excerpt from Isidore's *DEO* 2.6 (PL 83.779-80), and then cc. 2-9, each preceded by *Eiusdem* and the verse from the *EL* for the grades from doorkeeper through bishop. The text for each of the verses follows faithfully the Common Burchardian Form down to the bishop, whose verse is ended with *sollicitudine dividuntur*. It is in this same codex that immediately before the *EL* the texts for the archdeacon, archpresbyter, sacristan, and so forth (see above, p. 272) are presented in 1.42.1-13, thus perhaps explaining the truncation of the *EL* at the bishop. It is interesting that the *EL* concludes book 1 with its treatment of orders.

Edition (partial): 'Die Canonessammlung des Cod. Vatican. Lat. 1348', ed. Victor Wolf Edlen von Glanvell, *Sb. Akad. Vienna* 136 (1897) 15 f.

Manuscript Consulted: BAV, Vat. lat. 1348, fols. xlvii'-xlviii' (s. xii).

Title: *Eiusdem* [Isidori] (for each grade).

Incipit: *Ad hostiarium namque ...*

Sequence of Grades: H, L, E, A, S, D, P, B.

Explicit: *quae tamen auctoritate pontificali in archidiaconi cura et primicerii ac thesaurarii sollicitudine dividuntur*.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Turin Collection', 511 n. 32; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 130.

10. *Collectio canonum barberiniana*

In this collection, which Professor Fornasari dates to 1050-73, the *EL* has been abbreviated almost as greatly as in BAV, Vat. lat. 1348. It lacks not only the exordium, but also the description for the bishop. On the other hand, it does contain a verse for the psalmist, and within the verses themselves the Common Burchardian Form is used. Before each verse from psalmist through presbyter there is a rubric, *De psalmista*, etc.

Edition: Mario Fornasari, 'Collectio Canonum Barberiniana', *Apollinaris* 36 (1963) 277 f.

Manuscript Consulted: BAV, Barb. lat. 538, fols. 49v-50r (s. xi).

Title: De aecclesiae ergo ordinibus quod ad quemlibet pertinet. Ex epistula Ysidori.

Incipit: Ad psalmistam ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D, P.

Explicit: et benedicere dona Dei.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Turin Collection', 511 n. 32; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 127.

11. Rome, Bibl. Vall. F 54

This manuscript is made up of five parts, including the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*. It is written in both Carolingian minuscule and Beneventan, and the *EL*, strangely, starts in the former and finishes in the latter. The *EL* begins abruptly after a mélange of patristic and canonistic texts with the title and verse for the psalmist and then carries through, like the *Collectio canonum barberiniana*, to the presbyter. Over each verse there is a rubric, *De psalmista*, etc.

Manuscript Consulted: Rome, Bibl. Vall. F 54, fols. 130v-131r (s. XII).

Title: Incipit de ordinibus.

Incipit: Ad psalmistam ...

Sequence of Grades and Explicit: as in BAV, Barb. lat. 538.

Literature: Gilchrist, *LXXIVT*, pp. xlvii-xlix; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 131 n. 154, 178 n. 382.

12. Canonical Florilegium of Graz, Universitätsbibl. 772

This canonical manuscript is made up of materials primarily from early medieval penitentials, ninth-century collections, and Burchard, although there are texts dating as late as Gregory VII.¹⁷⁴ The *EL* has been placed among texts on sacred orders drawn especially from book 3 of Burchard's *Decretum*, and is unusual because it breaks off in the middle of the verse for the deacon and continues with the *Decretum* 3.58.

Manuscript Consulted: Graz, Universitätsbibl. 772, fols. 133v-134r (s. XII).

Title: De ordinibus sacris.

Salutation: Domno sancto meritisque beato fratri Lantfrido episcopo Ysidorus episcopus.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D.

Explicit: predicare preceptum est. Ad ipsum non pro libitu cuiusquam et pigritia ...

F. Ivonian Form

Late in the eleventh century Ivo of Chartres compiled three collections of canon law, the *Tripartita*, *Decretum*, and *Panormia*. As might be expected from a canonist

¹⁷⁴ fol. 104r.

who was also a liturgical expert, he included a text of the *EL* in each collection. The *Panormia* especially became enormously popular, and as a consequence the Ivonian text of the *EL* was widely distributed from the late eleventh century on. Moreover, since the Ivonian collections formed the basis for numerous later collections of canon law, the Ivonian form was spread through the influence of the latter as well.

Unlike Burchard, who had substantially altered the text of the *EL* as he found it in the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form, Ivo, who used this same form, altered it only minimally. His one 'major' change was in the order of verses for the lower grades, which he arranged in the sequence: doorkeeper, exorcist, acolyte, psalmist, lector, and subdeacon. Although in the printed editions of Ivo's *Decretum* there is a verse for the archpresbyter, no manuscript evidence has been found to confirm this.

SPECIFIC COLLECTIONS

1. Ivo of Chartres, *Tripartita* 3.2.1

Manuscripts Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3858 B, fols. 153v-154v (s. XII); Oxford, Bodl. d'Orville 46, fols. 186v-188r (s. XII). (I have not been able to consult Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. 393 (455), which was missing from the library in September 1975, although the incipit files at the University Library in Cambridge list the *EL* as appearing on fol. 147v. Professor Robert Somerville has kindly called to my attention the *EL* as it appears in Alençon, Bibl. Mun. 135, a *Tripartita* manuscript which I have been unable to consult.)

Title (from Paris 3858 B): Incipit epistola Ysidori episcopi Inspalensis ad Ludefridum Cordubensem episcopum directa. De omnibus aecclesiae gradibus quid ad quem pertineat.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: H, E, A, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: preparatio luminariorum in sacrario et sacrificiis.

Additional Characteristics: In the Bodleian codex the words in the title, 'De omnibus ... pertineat', have been replaced with 'Incipit de clericis et eorum causis'.

Literature: Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 2.58-66; and Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia*, p. 121 n. 10.

2. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* 6.20

Edition: PL 161.448-50.

Manuscripts Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 14315, fol. 128v (s. XII) and 3874, fol. 113v (s. XII); Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 19, fols. 135v-136r (s. XII); BAV, Vat. lat. 1357, fol. 104r-v (s. XII-XIII) and Pal. lat. 587, fol. 82r-v (s. XII).

Title (from CCCC 19): Incipit epistula Ysidori episcopi Hispalensis ad Ludefredum Cordubensem episcopum directa.

Incipit and Sequence of Grades: as in the *Tripartita*.

Explicit: in sacrario et sacrificii. (Vat. lat. 1357: in sacrificio et sacrificii.)

Additional Characteristics: In BAV, Vat. lat. 1357, *Hispalensis* is *Ispalensis*; and in BAV, Pal. lat. 587 *Leudefredum* is *Iubestum*. In two codices reported by Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 2.84 to contain the *Decretum*, London, Brit. Lib. Harley 3090 (s. XII), fol. 62r-v and Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 14809 (s. XII), fol. 347r, there is no *EL* in book 6. On these manuscripts of the short form of the *Decretum* see Brommer, 'Theodulf', 134 f.

Literature: Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 2.67-85.

3. Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia* 3.41

Edition: PL 161.1137-40.

Manuscripts Consulted: Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Ff. 4. 41, fols. 41bisr-42r (s. XIII) and li. 4. 28, fols. 40r-41v (s. XII); El Escorial, Real. Bibl. de San Lorenzo d.III.14, fols. 53v-54v (s. XII); London, Brit. Lib. Egerton 749, fols. 50v-51v (s. XII), Cotton Vit. A.iii, fols. 35v-36v (s. XII), Add. 18371, fols. 47r-48r (s. XII) and 22802, fols. 52v-53v (s. XII); Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl. 388, fols. 52v-53v (s. XII); St. Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibl. 22/1, fols. 31v-32r (s. XII); Siguënza, Bibl. del Cabildo 5 mod. (207), fols. 68r-69v (s. XII) and 75 mod. (160), fols. 34v-35v (s. XII/XIII); Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ. E.V.16, fols. 49v-50v (s. XIII); BAV, Arch. San Pietro G 19, fols. 70v-71v (s. XII) and G 19bis, fol. 54r-v (s. XII).

Title (from Cambridge li. 4. 28): Incipit epistula Ysidori Hispalensis episcopi ad Ludofridum Cordubensem episcopum directa.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Ivo's *Decretum*.

Additional Characteristics: Among the various spellings of Leudefredus are 'Ludofridum', 'Ludefridum', 'Ludefredum', and 'Ludofredum', on which see above, p. 270. In London, Brit. Lib. Add. 22802 'Cordubensem' is 'Aordulpenssem'. In several manuscripts there is a canonical rubric in the margin that presents a sequence of lower orders not in consonance with the text of the *EL*: 'Quod sit officium hostiarii, psalmiste, exorciste, lectoris, acoliti, subdiaconi, diaconi, presbiterii [episcopi, archidiaconi, thesaurarii]—London Egerton 749]. This rubric is in Cambridge Ff. 4. 41, Turin E.V.16, London Egerton 749, and Siguënza 5 mod. and 75 mod. In Siguënza 5 mod. there are *in margine* the rubrics *De hostiario*, *De exorcista*, *De acolito*, *De psalmista*, *De lectore*, *De subdiacono*, *De diacono*, *De presbitero*, *De episcopo*, *De archidiacono*, *De primicerio*.

Literature: Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 2.85-99.

4. Collection of Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Bodl. 561

This loosely formed collection is based on Ivo's work. According to a statement on fol. 6v, there were to be thirteen parts, and the *EL* is the introduction to the seventh part, *De clericis et eorum causis*. The collection, however, reached only nine parts, stopping on fol. 34v. Immediately after the *EL* is a text from Raban Maur's *De institutione clericorum*.

Manuscript Consulted: Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Bodl. 561, fol. 27r-v.

Title: De epistula Ysidori episcopi ad Leodefridum Cordubensem episcopum de clericis et eorum causis.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Ivo's *Decretum*.

5. Anselm of Lucca in Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. San Marco 499

This twelfth-century manuscript, brought to light by Professor Fransen, contains not only Recension A of Anselm's *Collectio canonum*, but also extracts from Ivo's *Panormia*. The *EL*, which is found at the beginning of the manuscript together with texts on ecclesiastical vestments, the archpresbyter, and archdeacon, follows the form in the *Panormia*.

Manuscript Consulted: Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laur. San Marco 499, fol. 8r-v (s. XII).

Title: Incipit epistula Ysidori episcopi Hispanensis ab Luado Cordubensem episcopum directa.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Ivo's *Panormia*.

Literature: Stephan Kuttner, 'Some Roman Manuscripts of Canonical Collections', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* N.S. 1 (1971) 13; Fuhrmann, *Einfluss*, p. 511 n. 230; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 137 n. 182.

6. Polycarpus Addendum of BAV, Reg. lat. 1026

The *EL* takes different forms in the addenda to the *Polycarpus* of Cardinal Gregory. Here in the Vatican manuscript the *EL* assumes the Ivonian form and follows book 8 of the collection with a variety of texts on the higher dignities (see above, p. 272).

Manuscript Consulted: BAV, Reg. lat. 1026, fols. 215v-216v (s. XIII).

Title: Incipit epistula Ysidori episcopi Hispalensis ad Ludefredum Cordubensem episcopum directa.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Ivo's *Panormia*.

Literature: PL 81.844; Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia*, p. 120; Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 139 n. 195.

7. II Collection of Châlons-sur-Marne 2.63

This early twelfth-century collection, based on the work of Ivo, contains the *EL* in Ivonian form within a book devoted to the sacraments.

Manuscript Consulted: Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibl. Mun. 75, fols. 39v-41r (s. XII).

Title: Incipit epistula Ysidori Hispalensis episcopi ad Ludefridum Cordubensem episcopum.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Ivo's *Decretum*.

Literature: Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 2.311-13; Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia*, p. 136; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 136.

8. *Collection in Ten Parts* 3.14.[2]

This early twelfth-century collection draws heavily on Ivo's *Panormia*, and the *EL* in Ivonian form lies buried in a book dealing with sacred orders.

Manuscripts Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10743, pp. 147-149 (s. xii); Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1746, fols. 47v-48r (s. xii).

Title (from Paris lat. 10743): Ysidorus episcopus Laudofrido Cordubensi episcopo.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Ivo's *Panormia*.

Literature: Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia*, pp. 60 f.; and Blumenthal, *Councils of Paschal II*, pp. 19 f., 121.

9. *Summa Haimonis*

This twelfth-century canonical collection is largely an abbreviation of the *Collection in Ten Parts*. Insofar as the *EL* in the *Summa* is derived from this collection and follows the sequence of grades there, it can be classified as an Ivonian form, but because it contains both substantial abridgments and additions, it can be considered almost as an independent form of the *EL*. Besides a host of minor variants in the text for each verse, there is a great number of major variants that will be described here in the Sequence of Grades. It is especially important to note how the texts attributed to Gregory and a council of Toledo have been taken from the *Collection in Ten Parts* and intruded into the description of the archdeacon. These same texts often travelled in tandem in the manuscripts with texts on the archpresbyter, one of which was intruded by Gratian into the Ivonian form of the *EL*. There is no exordium to the *EL*.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 4286, fols. 27r-29r (s. xii).

Title: Isidorus de officiis ministrorum.

Incipit: Quod ad ostiarium ...

Sequence of Grades:

H: each verse begins with *Quod ad ostiarium*, etc.

E: rubric: *Item Isidorus*.

A: rubric: *Item Isidorus*. Explicit: 'calici (*sic*) preparare debet'.

Ps: rubric: *Idem qui supra*. *Sacrificium* is changed to *offertorium*.

L: rubric: *Item Isidorus*.

S: rubric: *Idem qui supra*. The words *calicem et patenam* are replaced by *calicem Domini*.

D: rubric: *Item Isidorus*. The words 'Nam sicut ... ipse annuntiat' are omitted, suggesting a conscious excision of references to Old Spanish liturgical uses.

P: rubric: *Item qui supra*. The word *Dei* is omitted after *altario*.

B: rubric: *Item Isidorus*. The words 'Et dum praecessit ... sollicitudine dividuntur' are omitted.

Ad: rubric: *De officio archidiaconi*. 'Quod archidiaconus subdiaconibus et levitis habet imperare. Sollicitudo quoque parrochiarum ... suggerere habet sacerdoti et in iussione episcopi ambire parrochias et emendare.' Immediately following is 'Gregorius in privilegio archidiaconorum. Quod ministerium archidiacono constat ... (Mansi 10.443) ... ex mandato episcopi curam gerat ut in his omnibus per ipsum episcopus securus parciatur ei onera sua. *Ex concilio Toletano*. Quod archidiaconi officium est evangelium quando volverit legere vel cui de diaconibus preceperit et omnem querimoniam seu causam vel iustitiam presbiterorum vel diaconorum seu subdiaconorum deliberare ordinare et facere. Ipse strenuus et cautus vicem episcopi agens episcopii totius curam habeat et omne officium illius administret.' (Cf. BAV, Reg. lat. 987, fol. 168v, and Mansi 10.776).

Pr: rubric: *Ex eodem concilio*. 'Quod ad primicerium pertinent ... lectores. Ordo quoque et modus ... deportandis. Officium quoque cantandi et sollicite peragendi lectiones, quis etiam clericorum responsoria debeat cantare.'

T: rubric: *Item ex eodem concilio*. 'Quod ad thesaurarium....'

Explicit: luminariorum in sacrificio.

Literature: Somerville, *Decreta Claramontensia*, p. 136; Reynolds, 'DO7G', 149; and Roger E. Reynolds, 'Marginalia on a Tenth-Century Text on the Ecclesiastical Officers' in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 121 f.; and Brommer, 'Theodulf', 137.

10. Gratian, *Decretum*, D. 25 c. 1

In the *Decretum* or *Concordia discordantium canonum* written c. 1140 by Gratian the Ivonian form of the *EL* has been used with the significant addition of a verse for the archpresbyter. It is notable that this verse, which is often found in manuscripts with similar texts for the archdeacon, should be inserted into the *EL* at almost the same time that the compiler of the *Summa Haimonis* was intruding the archidiaconal verses into his Ivonian version of the *EL*.

Edition: Friedberg 1.89-91.

Manuscripts Consulted: London, Brit. Lib. Add. 15274, fols. 25v-26r, Royal 10.D.viii, fols. 20v-21v and 11.D.ix, fol. 27r-v.

Title (from Royal 10.D.viii): Quid episcopi et ceterorum officium sit et unius cuiusque in ecclesia.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: H, E, A, Ps, L, S, D, P, B, Ad, Ap, Pr, T.

Explicit: in sacrario et sacrificiis.

G. Addendum to the *Polycarpus* manuscript,
Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3881

In one of the manuscripts of the *Polycarpus* of Cardinal Gregory of San Crisogono we have already found an Ivonian form of the *EL*. In another manuscript of the *Polycarpus*, this time from southern France or northern Spain, a more unusual and ancient text appears, characterized by a sequence of lower grades, psalmist, doorkeeper, exorcist, lector, acolyte, and subdeacon, and by the clauses in the verse for the archdeacon 'deferendi ad altare. Cura subdiaconorum de subinferendis ad altare et sacrificii....' These words are found in the Primitive and Early Truncated forms, but had been omitted in the Ps.-Isidorian Form. Hence, it appears that the compiler of the Paris manuscript had access to one of the very early forms. The title, salutation, and explicit of the *EL* here also hark back to the early forms. Further, in this manuscript there are found the texts on the archpresbyter, archdeacon, and so forth, concluded on fol. 190v by a modification of c. 10 of the Council of Mérida (666) dealing with the archdeacon, archpresbyter, and *primicerius*.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3881, fols. 187v-188v (s. XII).

Title: Ex epistula Isidori Spalensis urbis episcopi ad Landefredum Cordubensem episcopum. De omnibus ecclesiasticis gradibus. Capitula (*sic*) xciii.

Salutation: Domno sancto meritisque beato Landefredo episcopo Ysidorus episcopus.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, E, L, A, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: preparatio luminarium in sacrario et preparatio sacrificii.

Additional Characteristics: Like the early forms, the doorkeeper *infideles proiciat*. The words *et apostolum legere* have been added to the subdeacon. This addition may have been an attempt to harmonize the text of the *EL* with the Old Spanish liturgy or the western liturgy in general, in which it was usual after the ninth century to have the subdeacon read the Epistle.

Literature: Somerville, *Decreta Claramontensia*, pp. 119-21.

H. *Collectio Caesaraugustana*

This collection, compiled in northern Spain or Aquitaine in the first half of the twelfth century, appears in at least three recensions, but the version of the *EL* is relatively constant. The major characteristic of this form is the sequence of lower grades: lector (including psalmist), doorkeeper, exorcist, acolyte, and subdeacon. In the manuscripts with this form the psalmist has been placed immediately after the verse for the lector under the rubric *De lectore*. In one manuscript, BAV, Barb. lat. 897, the verse for the deacon has been cut short at the words 'praedicare preceptum est', and without any rubric there follows immediately an abbreviated form of the

verse for the presbyter, 'Ad ipsum [diaconum] quoque pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altario Dei conficere'.

Manuscripts Consulted: BAV, Barb. lat. 897, fols. 158v-159v (s. xvi, copy of Salamanca, Universidad Civil 2644) and Vat. lat. 5715, fol. 25r-v (s. xiii); Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 3876, fol. 26r-v (s. xii); Barcelona, Arch. de la Corona de Aragón ms. Saint Cugat 63, fols. 35v-36v (s. xii).

Title (from Saint Cugat 63): De officiis diversis graduum aecclesiasticorum. Epistula Ysidori Yspaliensis ad Laudufredum Cordubensem episcopum directa.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: L (incl. Ps), H, E, A, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: in sacrario et sacrificiis.

Additional Characteristics: In the Barcelona manuscript where the *EL* is numbered 1.262, there are rubrics over each verse, *De lectore*, *De hostiario*, etc., through *De thesaurario*. In BAV, Barb. lat. 897, Vat. lat. 5715, and Paris lat. 3876, there are the same rubrics, except that those for the presbyter and *thesaurarius* have been omitted. It is interesting that, in BAV, Barb. lat. 897, the *EL* is within 5.58, which has to do with clerics and comes immediately after an excerpt from Isidore's *DEO* 2.3.

Literature: F. Valls i Taberner, *Estudis d'història jurídica catalana* (Barcelona, 1929), pp. 82 f.; Brommer, 'Theodulf', 135 f.; and Blumenthal, *Councils of Paschal II*, pp. 103 f.

I. Cleopatra Form

This form is found in a very mixed collection of canonical materials depending heavily on Ps.-Isidore. The major characteristic of the form is the sequence of verses for the lower grades: doorkeeper, acolyte, psalmist, lector, exorcist, and subdeacon.

Manuscript Consulted: London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Cleo. C.viii, fols. 52v-53v (s. xii).

Title: Incipit epistula Ysidori Hispaniensis urbis episcopi ad Wifredum Cordunensem episcopum directa.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: H, A, Ps, L, E, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: in sacrario et sacrificii.

Literature: Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani*, p. 92.

J. Robert Form

In his *Liber poenitentialis* of the early thirteenth century, Robert of Flamborough included a shortened form of the *EL* divided into verses following the sequence: doorkeeper, psalmist, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop. He did not identify the author of the *EL*, and two of his verses are highly abbreviated: the psalmist ends with *sacrificium et responsoria*; and the bishop ends with 'ipse sacras virgines benedicit'.

Edition: *Robert of Flamborough, Canon-Penitentiary of Saint-Victor at Paris, Liber Poenitentialis: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, ed. J. J. Francis Firth (Studies and Texts 18; Toronto, 1971), pp. 110 f.

Manuscripts Consulted: BAV, Reg. lat. 983, fol. 16r-v (s. xiii); Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Kk. 6.1, fol. 33r-v (s. xiv).

Incipit: Ad ostiarium ...

Sequence of Grades: H, Ps, L, E, A, S, D, P, B.

Explicit: ipse sacras virgines benedicit.

Literature: Firth, *Robert of Flamborough*, pp. 110 f.

K. Farfa Form

This highly abbreviated form of the *EL* is found in collections of canonical material coming from Farfa or the near vicinity in the late eleventh century. In the *Liber multiloquiorum in Seven Books* from Farfa (BAV, Vat. lat. 4317), compiled at the end of the eleventh century,¹⁷⁵ there is a chapter entitled *De ministeriis clericorum Hysidorus xviii* and a very unusual text of the *EL*. The same title (without attribution to Isidore) and text of the *EL* are also in the penitential manuscript Rome, Bibl. Vall. F 92, fols. 193v-194r, of the eleventh century from Sant'Eutizio, Norcia. In the Farfa Form the grades are arranged from bishop through doorkeeper in descending Gallican sequence, and the verses from the *EL* are mixed with verses from the *DO7G* and other material; the *DO7G* appears especially in the verses for the bishop, presbyter, exorcist, and doorkeeper. Since this mixed text of the *EL* is highly unusual, it is given below in its entirety.

[Vat. lat. 4317, fols. 102v-103r (s. xi/xii)]

De ministeriis clericorum. Hysidorus xviii

Ad aepiscopum pertinet basilicarum consecratio, unctio altaris et confectio chrismatis et debet iudicare, ligare et solvere. Debet etiam corpus et sanguinem Domini offerre, benedicere et consecrare et populo Dei tribuere et omnia officia et ordines aecclesiasticos distribuere.

Ad presbiterum pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altari benedicere et conficere et orationem dicere, benepresse et predicare et baptizare.

Ad diaconum pertinet assistere sacerdotibus et ministrare ad altare, et mensam Domini componere atque ornare et predicare evangelium atque apostulum. Ipse ortatur orare dum dicit, Flectamus genua; ipse clamat, Levate; et ipse pacem nuntiat quando dicit, Humiliate vos ad benedictionem, vel, Ite missa est. Etiam et si eum necessitas compellit, baptizare et communicare oportet.

¹⁷⁵ Several features of this liturgico-canonical and patristic florilegium point to its origins in Farfa. On fol. 1r, after a list of contents of the seven books, it is said: 'Scriptus quoque et inventus est de multis dictis auctorum in claustr[o] [ras.] tempore domni Berardi gratia Dei secundi abbatis regnante et imperante Christo domino....' And on fol. 198v there is a letter entitled *De penitentia Ugoni abbati* from Pope Sylvester II to Hugh of Farfa (Jaffé 3930, PL 139.284, citing BAV, Vat. lat. 1363, fol. 207. Professor John T. Gilchrist has kindly confirmed that Hugh's name is not mentioned as the recipient of the letter in this manuscript of Anselm of Lucca's *Collectio canonum*, 11.152.).

Ad subdiaconem (*sic*) pertinet calicem et patenam et aquam ad altare Christi deferre et levitis tradere, etiam et pro lavandis ante altare manibus aqua (*sic*) praeberere.

Ad acolitum pertinet cereos illuminare, et ante evangelium et sacrificium eos deportare.

Ad exorcistam pertinet abicere demonia et dicere his qui non communicant, Date locum.

Ad lectorem pertinet in aecclesia legere et ea quae prophetae vaticinaverunt populis predicare.

Ad ostiarium decet percutere coclas, et aperire aecclesiam et infideles et excommunicatos abicere et penitentes recipere.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 92.

L. Canonical Fragments

Together with the appearance of the *EL* in more complete forms in canonical collections, fragments of the verses appear occasionally in canonical collections or treatises where individual officers are described.

1. Canonical Fragment of Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2449

One of the earliest appearances of the *EL* in a canonistic treatise appears in a tract entitled *De exordio vel interpretatione ac officio episcoporum seu qualiter ordinantur*, found in the canonical manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2449. Besides being one of the earliest examples of the *EL* used outside the letter itself, this fragment is of special interest because the tract was very probably written in the ninth century in Lyons, foyer for the earliest reception of the *EL* outside Visigothic territories. The fragment of the *EL* is taken from the verse for the bishop.

Edition: Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 331, lines 90-97.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2449, fol. 135r (s. ix/x, Lyons or vicinity).

Incipit: Sane de ministeriis aecclesiasticis ad aepiscopos haec proprie pertinent ...

Explicit: sunt preordinatores in cunctis.

Additional Characteristics: Intruded into the verse from the *EL* is a long description of chrismation and the bishop's obligation to issue *epistolae formatae*.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Ninth-Century Treatise', 321-32.

2. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae* of BAV, Vat. lat. 3788

In the first folios of this eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript is the presbyteral verse of the *EL*, to which have been appended additional duties of the presbyter. This text was found by Arévalo, who emphasized that the appended material, like the appended archipresbyteral verse in Gratian, does not make the *EL* non-Isidorian.

Edition: PL 83.895 n. 9.

Manuscript Consulted: BAV, Vat. lat. 3788, fol. 11r-v (s. xi/xii).

Title: Ex dictis beati Ysidori ad Lanfredum episcopum.

Incipit: Ad presbyteros pertinet ...

Explicit: *benedicere dona Dei.*

Literature: See above, p. 265; and Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani*, pp. 67 f.; Fuhrmann, *Einfluss*, pp. 56 n. 134, 375 n. 55, and 417 f. n. 24.

3. *Collection in Seven Books* of BAV, Vat. lat. 1346

This collection from the time of Paschal II is found in several manuscripts and is heavily dependent on collections of the Gregorian Reform. As well as the addenda to the *EL* on the duties of the archdeacon, archpresbyter, *custos*, and so forth in the first section of the manuscript dealing with sacred orders, there is an extract on the archdeacon from the *EL* in the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form. All of the texts at the beginning of the manuscript look to the collection itself.

Manuscript Consulted: BAV, Vat. lat. 1346, fol. lv (s. xii).

Incipit: *Archidiaconus enim imperat ...*

Explicit: *diaconus sequens adimpleat.*

Literature: Brommer, 'Theodulf', 140; and Blumenthal, *Councils of Paschal II*, pp. 104-11.

II. *Liturgical Books*

The *EL* was used much less frequently in early medieval liturgical books than in canonical books. In the rare instances in the liturgy where it does appear, the contexts are of two kinds. There are, first, the books with the liturgical formulae themselves, especially the pontificals. Then there are the *expositiones liturgicae* where liturgiologists commented on facets of the church's worship. Insofar as the latter works deal with the sacrament of orders, they are close to the early theological florilegia and sentence collections, but it seems appropriate to consider them here with the liturgical formularies where the *EL* was used.

In the canonical collections it has been seen that the *EL* was as a general rule used in a fairly complete form. Occasionally the exordium was omitted and some of the verses abridged or omitted, and in a few cases we witnessed the dismembering of the verses to fit into larger contexts. When we reach the liturgical books, however, the splitting of the verses becomes very commonplace. The *EL* was plundered for individual texts to provide ordination allocutions or to expand discussions of particular orders, and the borrowers of the verses seem to have felt little compunction either to maintain the *EL in toto* or to give credit to Isidore. Rather, they treated the *EL* as a lode to be mined in much the same way as the *DO7G* and Ordinals of Christ, whose verses lie scattered and unconnected throughout many liturgical formularies and *expositiones*.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Reynolds, 'DO7G', 148; and *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 101.

A. Liturgical Formularies

In the earliest liturgical formularies where texts for the ordination of clerics appear, it seems as if the bishop was expected to give a short allocution to the ordinand before the prayers, imposition of hands, and *traditio instrumentorum*. Although texts of the allocutions are lacking in the earliest manuscripts, it is probable that extracts from Isidore's *DEO* or *Origines*, the *D7OE*, *DDG*, *DO7G*, and the Ordinals of Christ would have been used.¹⁷⁷ By the eleventh century it seems to have struck a few compilers of ordination formulae that the *EL* would also be an appropriate text, and in a few rare cases they went so far as to include it in their pontificals. At first, the whole letter in one of its canonical forms was copied. Then gradually the text was dismembered and used in the allocutions for individual grades.

1. *Egilbert Pontifical*

This codex of the first half of the eleventh century from Weißenstephan near Freising contains the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*. As is frequently the case in manuscripts of this pontifical, the ordination rites form the first section. The *EL*, which has been inserted into the manuscript after the benedictions of vestments, follows the Burchardian form.

Manuscript Consulted: Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 21587, fols. 18v-20r (s. xi).

Title: Incipit epistola beati Ysidori episcopi de officiis graduum ecclesiasticorum.

Salutation: Domino sancto meritisque beato fratri Lantfrido episcopo Ysidorus episcopus.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Additional Characteristics: The subdeacon arranges the *mensam Christi*. The section on the archdeacon begins with a large A and new paragraph, suggesting almost that the compiler of the pontifical recognized that the texts after the bishop had little to do with the subject at hand and should somehow be separated. It is interesting that several Burchardian forms of the *EL* analyzed earlier ended at this juncture with the words *sollicitudine dividuntur*. See above, pp. 296 f.

Literature: see above, p. 268 n. 62.

2. *Brescia Pontifical*

In this twelfth-century pontifical from Santa Giulia in Brescia the *EL* has been dismembered for verses to supplement others from the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, *DO7G*, Ordinals of Christ, and the Ps.-Alcuinian *Liber de divinis officiis* as

¹⁷⁷ It is interesting that a number of extracts from Isidore's *DEO* and *Origines* mentioned above, p. 253 n. 3, are found in manuscripts of the *Ordines romani* and the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*.

ordination allocutions. Although there is an ordination rite for the psalmist, the appropriate verse from the *EL* has not been used. The other verses from the *EL* have been ordered according to the Gallican sequence for the grades from doorkeeper through presbyter since the ordination rites take place in that order. Later in the manuscript, fol. cxiv^v, the episcopal verse from the *DO7G* is used in the episcopal consecration, but the *EL* is not. The form used is that in the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae* or *Decretum* of Burchard.

Manuscript Consulted: Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 794 (1556), fols. x^r-xxx^r (s. XII).

Incipit: Ad eum [hostiarium] ergo pertinent ...

Sequence of Grades: H, L, E, A, S, D, P.

Explicit: benedicere dona Dei.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Marginalia', 118, 128 n. 34 and *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 150 (codex incorrectly cited as 797 [1556]).

3. *Kotor Pontifical*

This twelfth-century pontifical from Kotor written in Beneventan script contains a highly unusual group of ordination texts including the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, a few verses from the *DO7G*, the *EL*, and the Ordinals of Christ in a modified Hiberno-Gallican Hierarchical Form.¹⁷⁸ They have been broken up to form ordination allocutions. Since the grades are arranged in a strange sequence and contain unusual variants, their characteristics will be described in the Sequence of Grades.

Manuscript Consulted: Leningrad, Sobrananie inostrannykh Rukopisei Otdela Rukopisnoi i Redkoi Knigi Biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR F.n.200, fols. 110r-120r (s. XII).

Incipit: Ad psalmistam ...

Sequence of Grades:

Ps: The text here follows fairly faithfully the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form down to the words *ad cantandi peritiam*, which are replaced by *in divino officio*.

H, L, E, A: as in the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form.

S: The *EL* begins with the words *Ad altarem (sic) Christi* ...

¹⁷⁸ fols. 110r-136v, where they are written *in margine*. Cf. Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 76, for a description of this version of the Ordinals of Christ. In the verse for the doorkeeper in the *Kotor Pontifical* there is an addendum like that in the *Disputatio puerorum* (cf. *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 79). There is no verse for the acolyte or subdeacon. Strangely, after the verse for the presbyter, there is a text appended from the old Hibernian Chronological version. 'Istos quinque gradus ante passionem implevit.' The verse for the bishop is finished off with the unusual addition of '... benedixit discipulis suis dicens, Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.'

That this pontifical originated in Kotor is clear from the numerous texts throughout in both Beneventan and Carolingian hands mentioning the city; St. Triphonus is also cited in the litanies (fols. 72r, 109r).

D, P: as in the Common Ps.-Isidorian Form.

Ad: Immediately after the P is a text from the *EL* for the Ad: 'Item ^{cap.} de suprascriptis officiis et de ministerio archidiaconi. Hii ordines suprascripti et ministeria clericorum auctoritate pontificali in archidiaconi cura et primicerii ac thesaurarii sollicitudine dividuntur. Archidiaconus enim imperat ... Quis levitarum et subdiaconorum apostolum et evangelium legat ... gesta libertatum ecclesiasticarum aepiscopo, idem collectam pecuniam de communione ipse accipit et episcopo defert et clericis partes proprias idem distribuit.'

B: A verse from the *DO7G* (fol. 143r) is followed immediately by 'cuius proprium est chrismatis et olei confectio, diaconorum, presbyterorum, abbatum, ecclesiarum consecratio, virginum viduarumque benedictio....'

Literature: Virginia Brown, 'A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)', *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) 255. (Mr. Richard Gyug is preparing a study of this manuscript.)

4. Arezzo Pontifical

In this pontifical many of the standard epitomes on orders, including the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, *DO7G*, and *EL*, have been broken up and combined to form ordination rites for the individual orders. The *EL* is used for the grades from psalmist through presbyter in a Common Ps.-Isidorian or Burchardian form. In the verses, there are peculiarities in the psalmist where *sacrificii* has been omitted, and in the acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon where each verse begins with 'Ad quem pertinet....'

Manuscript Consulted: Oxford, Bodl. Can. Liturg. 359, fols. 26r-30r (s. XII).

Incipit: Ad psalmistam pertinet ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D, P.

Explicit: benedicere dona Dei.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 98 n. 37, 150.

5. Hugonian Pontifical Form

In a number of late medieval pontificals there is an admonition given by the bishop to each of the officers before ordination consisting of texts drawn from the *De sacramentis* of Hugh of St. Victor. The verses of the *EL* in the admonition thus follow fairly closely the Hugonian form, whose peculiarities will be studied below, pp. 319 f. In the admonitions for the doorkeeper and lector there are verses reminiscent of the *EL*, but it is not until the higher grades of subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter that portions of the *EL* are clearly distinguishable.

Manuscripts Consulted: Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. 79, fols. 2r-6r (s. XV)—Trinity Coll. B.11.9, fols. 40r-47r (s. XV)—Univ. Lib. Mm.3.21, fols. 6r-10r (s. XV); London, Brit. Lib. Harley 561, fols. 41v-43v (s. XV) and Lansdowne 451, fols. 6r-10v (s. XV).

B. Liturgical Commentaries

In the ninth- and tenth-century liturgical commentaries where the ecclesiastical orders were treated the *EL* was not used as a source; instead, the authentic works of Isidore, the *DO7G*, Ordinals of Christ, and other patristic treatises provided materials that were then rounded out with the few original ideas writers had on the subject. It does not seem to have been until the late eleventh century that the *EL* was used to supplement the materials traditionally repeated in liturgical commentaries. And by the twelfth century the *EL* had become a common staple in the compilation of liturgical tracts on orders. Further, in florilegal manuscripts containing the liturgical *expositiones* the *EL* was an occasional addition.

1. *Consuetudines of Rouen*

In an eleventh-century tract with a liturgical commentary attributed by R. Delamare to Maurilius of Rouen but which one codex says is a 'Iohannis episcopi consuetudinarium secundum Rodomensem usum', there are several fragments from the later sections of the *EL*. After dealing with a few of the higher dignities, the author of the commentary describes the duties of the *primicerius*, *thesaurarius*, and archdeacon in terms of the *EL*. While the *EL* clearly provided the inspiration for the texts, the variants are great enough that the texts should be printed here, in the order in which they are found.

Edition: R. Delamare, *Le 'De officiis ecclesiasticis' de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067-1079)* (Bibliothèque liturgique du Chanoine U. Chevalier 22; Paris, 1923), pp. liii f.

Manuscript Consulted: Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl. 843, fols. 128v-129r (s. xiii).

Sequence of Grades:

Pr: 'Ad hunc pertinent acoliti et exorciste, lectores forme prime et psalmiste. Ordo quoque modusque psallendi tempore pro festo et sollempni. Pro luminaribus deferendis ordinat, pro basilicarum urbis reparatione sacerdotibus denuntiat. Pontificis epistolas ieuniorum per ostiarios decano civitatis dirigit, quas presbiteris et parrochianis ipse substituit. Episcopi siquidem cognitioni defert quos dstringere nequit, basilicarios itidem constituit matriculos etiam ipse disponit.'

T: 'Ad thesaurarium, qui secundum quosdam personatu caret, basilicarum ordinatio sollicitudini pertinet, incensi et utensilium preparatio, crismatis conficiendi ministratio, aptitudo luminis per ecclesiam et in sacrificio baptismatis sollicitudo....'

Ad: 'Archidiaconus extra pontificis oculus levitis preest et subdiaconibus. Ad quem spectat parrochiarum sollicitudo, ordinandorum examinatio, iurgiorum inquisitio, in examinandis sub episcopo causis externis dispensatio, pro reparandis diocesis basilicis sacerdotibus suggestio, excessus investigare et episcopo deferre, communem quoque pecuniam

colligere et pontificali providentie ministrare, ecclesie liberas consuetudines manenet et pro posse rationabiliter adauget, advocatus tamen in omnibus in partem sollicitudinis non in plenitudinem potestatis.'

Literature: Delamare, *Le 'De officiis ecclesiasticis'*, pp. lii-liv.

2. Pembroke College Liturgical Florilegium

In this twelfth- or thirteenth-century florilegium there is a great variety of commentaries on the liturgy. In several of them the topic of the ecclesiastical grades appears, and texts from Isidore, the *Liber Quare*, and the Ps.-Alcuinian *Liber de divinis officiis* are woven together. The *EL* is used independently in a relatively complete form immediately after a description of the litany and before a snippet from Isidore's *Origines* 7.12.4-9 on the bishop. The *EL* as used here is a Variant Burchardian form something like that in the Bordeaux *Collection in Seven Books*. Written in the margin of the manuscript are rubrics, *De hostiario*, etc., through archdeacon.

Manuscript Consulted: Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 111, fols. 90v-91v (s. XII/XIII).

Title: *Idem de ordinibus ecclesiae et quid ad quemlibet et ordinatum pertineat*.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in Bordeaux, Bibl. Mun. 11, fol. 163r-v.

Additional Characteristics: The verse for the acolyte ends with 'ipse cereum portat', and the verse for the bishop lacks 'et dum praecessit ... in cunctis'.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Marginalia', 123, 128.

3. Saint-Germain Liturgical Florilegium

This florilegial manuscript from Saint-Germain in Paris contains homilies, extracts from the Fathers and an explanation of the Mass. At the conclusion of the *expositio missae* a portion of the *EL* has been inserted before texts on the upper dignities dealt with by Isidore in the *Origines* 7.12.4 ff., baptism, vestments, and so forth. Each of the verses has before it a rubric, *De hostiario*, etc., through the archdeacon. The sequence of grades is like that of the Pembroke manuscript.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 13571, fol. 12r-v (s. XII/XIII).

Title: *Item de oratio (sic) ecclesie*.

Incipit: *Ad psalmistam pertinet ...*

Sequence of Grades: as in Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 111.

Explicit: *vel metropolitanis et episcopis dividuntur*.

Additional Characteristics: The verses for the acolyte and bishop are like those in the Pembroke manuscript.

Literature: Roger E. Reynolds, 'Ivonian Opuscula on the Ecclesiastical Officers', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (= *Mélanges Gérard Fransen* 2) (1976) 313 n. 9.

4. Liturgical Florilegia Containing the Burchardian Form

Several twelfth- and thirteenth-century florilegal liturgical manuscripts contain a group of texts that relates them all: the *EL*, *Epistula ad Massonam*, and treatises on the seven miracles of the world, apostles, and vestments. The *EL* is in the Burchardian form with a salutation beginning *Domino suo*.

Manuscripts Consulted: Troyes, Bibl. Mun. 854, fols. 63r-64r (s. xii); Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Hamilton 89, fols. 50v-51r (s. xii); Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2327, fol. 66v (s. xiii).

Title (from Troyes 854): *Ex epistula sancti Ysidori de ordinibus sacris*.

Salutation: *Domino suo meritisque beato fratri Lanfredo episcopo Ysidorus episcopus*.

Incipit, Sequence of Grades, and Explicit: as in BAV, Pal. lat. 585.

Literature: Reynolds, 'Marginalia', 123.

5. Ambrosiana Liturgical Florilegium

In this liturgical florilegium are materials from the *Liber Quare*, Amalarius' *Liber officialis*, and tracts on orders, vestments, and lections. Immediately following the tract on lections is the *EL* in an unusual form characterized by a sequence of lower orders: doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, psalmist, and subdeacon.

Manuscript Consulted: Milan, Bibl. Amb. T 62 sup., fols. 78v-79v (s. xii).

Title: *Isidorus Spalensis ad Antifridum Cordubensem episcopum*.

Incipit: *Perlectis tuae sanctitatis ...*

Sequence of Grades: H, L, E, A, Ps, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: *in sacrario et sacrificiis*.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 120.

6. Peter of Roissy, *Manuale*

In his *Manuale de mysteriis ecclesiae* Chancellor Peter of Chartres combines fragments of the *EL* with other materials in his description of the ecclesiastical grades opening his liturgical commentary. Although he has an almost complete cursus of grades from doorkeeper through psalmist and bishop, Peter uses snippets from the *EL* for only a few verses. Since his text in several places differs substantially from the normal forms of the *EL*, the variants will be treated in the Sequence of Grades.

Manuscript Consulted: Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 232, fols. 9v-10v (s. xiii).

Sequence of Grades:

L: 'Eorum enim est officium lectiones ... prophetis predicare.' An almost complete text from the *EL*.

E: 'Habent autem ex officio invocare ... super cathecuminos.' An almost complete text from the *EL*.

- A: 'Ipsi autem debent preparare luminare in sacratio.' The *EL* has been severely abridged.
- D: 'Ad diaconum ... sacramento Christi. Ad istos pertinet predicare evangelium et apostolum sicut ad lectores vetus.' An abridgment of the *EL*.
- P: 'Ad sacerdotem pertinet ... dona Dei.' *EL* text complete.
- B: 'Ad pontifices autem specialiter spectat clericos ordinare, virgines benedicere, pontifices consecrare, manus imponere, basilicas dedicare, degradandos deponere, synodos celebrare, crisma conficere, vasa et vestimenta....'

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 154 f.

7. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*

Like Peter in his *Manuale*, Sicard of Cremona in his *Mitrale* worked into the descriptions of several grades entire verses from the *EL* as well as fragments and texts highly reminiscent of the *EL*.

Edition: PL 213.61-70.

Sequence of Grades:

- H: 'Oportet enim ostiarium ... ecclesiam claudere et aperire, fideles recipere, excommunicatos et infideles eiicere....'
- L: '... lectiones in ecclesia pronuntiare quae prophetae sunt vaticinati populis praedicare.'
- E: 'Exorcistae igitur est officium hunc exorcismum memoriter retinere.'
- A: '... ad hunc pertinet praeparatio luminariorum in sacratio....'
- S: 'Huius ergo est officium ... diacono ministrare ... et urceum cum aqua deferre, presbiteris et levitis ad altare aquam praebere, manutergium et aquamanile tenere.'
- D: 'Rursus diaconi est officium sacerdotibus assistere, et ministrare in sacramentis ecclesiae, baptismate, chrismate, patena et calice, oblationes offerre, et in altari disponere, sanguinem distribuere, mensam componere, crucem ferre.'
- B: 'Episcopale officium est presbiteros et alios ecclesiae ministros ordinare, virgines velare, baptizatos confirmare, crisma et oleum consecrare, ecclesias dedicare....'

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 147.

8. William Durandus, *Rationale*

In the *Rationale* William not only uses the *EL* extensively in his descriptions of the grades, but, unlike Peter and Sicard, cites Isidore specifically as his source. In some instances a common form of the *EL* is repeated. Elsewhere William expands on the *EL* and glosses the text or changes its original meaning, where it looked to

the Old Spanish liturgy, to fit a contemporary liturgical context. For example, in the verse for the psalmist, the *laudes* of the *EL* have become the *laudes Christi*. Hence, rather than following notions such as the one in the twelfth-century *Summa Parisiensis* to the effect that the *EL* was written for the Spanish liturgy and is no longer appropriate,¹⁷⁹ William simply reinterprets it in light of the practice he knows.

Edition: *Rationale divinatorum officiorum...*, Gulielmo Durando... (Naples, 1859), pp. 83-97.

Sequence of Grades:

- Ps: 'Ad ipsum namque pertinet, secundum Isidorum, officium canendi, dicere benedictiones, idest Benedicamus Domino, laudes, idest alleluia, vel Christus vincit, vel Christus regnat etc., sacrificium, idest offertorium, responsorium, idest officium Missae, et quicquid ad canendi peritiam spectat.'
- L: 'Ad lectores quoque pertinet lectiones, et legendas in matutinis pronuntiare, et ea quae prophetae vaticinati sunt, et Apostoli dixerunt, populis praedicare, idest legere.'
- E: 'Ad eum itaque pertinet ... imponere.' A complete text of the *EL*.
- A: 'Ipsi etiam praeparant pro Eucharistia suggesta, idest vinum et aquam, seu vasa in quibus ponitur aqua et vinum.'
- S: 'Subdiaconi debent, secundum Isidorum, oblationes ... aquam praebere.' A complete text of the *EL*.
- D: 'Ad eos ... crucem ferre, puta in processionibus, et praedicare, idest legere Evangelium, et Apostolum, idest Epistolam, puta subdiacono deficiente. Nam sicut ... praeceptum est... Ad ipsum quoque pertinet officium precum, idest dicere litanias, et recitatio nominum eorum qui ordinandi, vel etiam baptizandi sunt. Ipse praemonet aures adhibere ad Deum cum dicit: Humiliate capita vestra Deo, vel Humiliate vos ad benedictionem. Ipse hortatur clamare, dicendo, *κυριε ελεησον*, in rogationibus; ipse donat pacem, scilicet subdiacono, vel saltem cum dicit Dominus vobiscum, et annunciat festivitates.'
- B: '... ipse officia ... praeordinator est in cunctis ... ad Pontificem novem specialiter spectant, scilicet clericos ordinare, virgines benedicere, Pontifices consecrare, manus imponere, basilicas dedicare, degradandos deponere, synodos celebrare, chrisma conficere, vestes ac vasa sacrare.'

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 156.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani*, ed. Terence P. McLaughlin (Toronto, 1952), p. 25: 'Perfectis. Scribit ad Ludefridum qui factus erat episcopus. Et sciendum quod dicuntur secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Hispalensis dicta, non quod hodie teneant....'

III. Miscellaneous Vehicles of the EL: *Letters, Sentence Collections, and Theological Florilegia*

A. Letters

Among the many early medieval letters written on aspects of the liturgy, it is strange that the most widely distributed letter on sacred orders, the *EL*, was included in only a few. Although it is probable that more references to the *EL* can be turned up in the epistles of early medieval authors, only two have been uncovered thus far. They are in a letter of Lanfranc, who, incidentally, used the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae* to construct his own canonical collection,¹⁸⁰ and in a letter of Ivo, who used the *EL* in all of his canonical collections.

1. Lanfranc, Ep. 13

In this letter written in the 1070's to John of Avranches/Rouen Lanfranc deals with various liturgical practices, and especially with the subdeacon's vestments. After citing the ordination rubric from the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* for the subdiaconate he says:

Item Isodorus in epistola de sacris ordinibus, Ad subdiaconum, inquit, pertinet ... aquam praebere.

Given the title of the *EL* here which Lanfranc uses, it is tempting to suppose he was copying it from the *Decretum* of Burchard, manuscripts of which probably existed in the eleventh century in Normandy¹⁸¹ and Canterbury.¹⁸² If, however, he were using a single canonical source for this letter—and it is by no means certain that he was—it is more likely that the *EL* came from the *Decretales Ps.-Isidorianae*, which also contained the ordination rubrics from the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* or 'IV Council of Carthage', canons not found in Burchard's *Decretum*.

Edition: PL 150.521.

Literature: Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 109, 140 n. 1, 174.

2. Ivo of Chartres, Ep. 203

In a letter to Bishop Lisiard of Soissons Ivo dealt with the portions of the *mensa episcopalis* by citing the *EL*: 'Tamen sic inspiciamus epistolam Isidori Leufredo

¹⁸⁰ Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), p. 139, seems to have some doubt that Lanfranc himself was personally responsible for the *Collectio Lanfranci*.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), p. 265; and Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen, 1966), p. 336 [205].

¹⁸² Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 237, has dated London, Brit. Lib. Cotton Claud. C.vi to the eleventh century, and Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 227, 140 n. 1, now dates the obit book in the manuscript to the early twelfth century and notes that it is not certain at what time the manuscript came to Christ Church.

Cordubensi episcopo directam. ... Dicitur enim in epistola praefata, "Archidiaconus inquirat parochias cum iussione episcopi ... et episcopo deferat". In this citation the title of the *EL* reads much as it does in Ivo's own collections, and there is little reason to doubt that he based his text on his own compilations.

Edition: PL 162.208.

B. Sentence Collections and Theological Florilegia

Since the monumental studies of de Ghellinck and Fournier and Le Bras, the close relationship between late eleventh- and early twelfth-century canonical and sentence collections has been widely recognized.¹⁸³ The collectors of sentences used not only the theological and liturgical works of the *antiqui* and *moderni*, but also large extracts of canonistic material. Since the *EL* is one of the components of canonistic collections generally classified as theological or patristic, it is ironic that it was through the medium of the canonistic collections that it was introduced into its 'natural' context of sentence collections and theological tracts. Some of this transference has been noted already in florilegal manuscripts that are heavily liturgical, and it was in the twelfth century that the more strictly theological collections of sentences began to include the *EL* either in whole or in part. This was to reach a climax with its establishment as an integral part of Peter Lombard's discussion of the ecclesiastical grades in his *Sententiae*.

1. *Sentences of Sidon*

One of the first sentence collections to contain an almost complete text of the *EL* is the famous twelfth-century *Sentences of Sidon*. Some years back, Dom van den Eynde contended that the canonistic sections of the *Sentences* are drawn from Ivo's *Panormia*, and if one looks at the section on orders, it is, indeed, book 3 of the *Panormia* that provided the structure. But when it came to copying the *EL*, the compiler clearly used another tradition or modified his Ivonian model. In the title to the *EL* in the *Sentences* the only lower grades mentioned are the cleric, doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, and subdeacon, and in the text of the *EL* itself the lower grades follow the sequence of Burchard. Burchard, however, was clearly not the model since the text includes complete verses for the higher dignities of archdeacon, *primicerius*, and *thesaurarius*.

Manuscript Consulted: BAV, Vat. lat. 1345, fols. 145v-146v (s. XII).

Title: Quid pertineat ad clericum, ad hostiarium, ad lectorem, ad exorcistam, ad acolitum, ad subdiaconum, ad diaconum, ad presbiterum, ad episcopum, ad archidiaconum, ad primicerium. Incipit epistula Ysidori episcopi Hispalensis ad Ludofredum Cordubensem episcopum directa.

¹⁸³ Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire* 2.314-52.

Incipit: Perlectis sanctitatis ...

Sequence of Grades: Ps, H, L, E, A, S, D, P, B, Ad, Pr, T.

Explicit: preparatio luminariorum in sacrificio et sacrificii.

Literature: Damien van den Eynde, 'La "Summa sententiarum" source des "Sententiae Sidonis"', *Vat. Lat. 1345*, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 27 (1960) 136-41; and Anneliese Maier, 'Die Handschriften der "Ecclesia Sidonensis"', *Manuscripta* 11 (1967) 39-45.

2. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* 2.3.6-19

In his highly influential theological tract on the sacraments Hugh drew on many sources, and in his discussion of the ecclesiastical grades there are in each verse snippets from the *EL* mixed together with Ivo's *Sermo de excellentia*. The verses from the *EL* sometimes are found in a pure form, sometimes in highly modified forms. Since the text of the *EL* varies from verse to verse, the characteristics of each will be described in the Sequence of Grades.

Edition: PL 176.424-31.

Sequence of Grades:

- H: 'Ad officium ... infideles eiiciat.' This is a normal text of the *EL*, but the words *horis competentibus* have been added after 'ut claudat et aperiat'.
- L: 'Ex hoc ergo potestatem habent in Ecclesia coram populo propheticas et apostolicas lectiones recitandi.' Here the verse is reminiscent of the *EL*.
- S: 'Ad istorum [subdiaconorum] provisionem pertinet tantum de oblationibus ponere in altari, quantum sufficere possit populo Dei. Similiter ipsi corporales pallas et substratoria lavare, et aquam in baptisterium vergere debent: urceum quoque et aquam, manile et manutergium tenere, episcopo et presbytero, et levitis, pro lavandis manibus ante altare aquam praebere.' Here a text similar to the *EL* but in actuality drawn from Ivo's *Sermo de excellentia* (PL 162.516) has been attached to a fragment of text from the *EL* itself.
- D: 'Nam sicut ... preceptum est. ... Ad ipsos pertinet assistere sacerdotibus ... ipsi annunciant.' A sentence from the middle of the *EL* has here been placed before the body of the text from the *EL*.
- P: 'Ad ipsos pertinet ... dona Dei.' Normal text of the *EL*.
- B: 'Ad episcopum specialiter pertinet ... in cunctis.' Abbreviated text of the *EL*.
- Ad: 'Archidiaconus imperat subdiaconis et levitis, ad quem ista pertinent ministeria. Sollicitudo parochiarum et ordinatio, et iurgia ad eius pertinent curam. Pro reparandis dioecesanis basilicis ipse suggerit sacerdoti, ipse inquirat parochias cum iussione episcopi, et ornamenta vel res basilicarum, vel parochiarum; gesta libertatum ecclesiasticarum episcopo idem refert, collectam pecuniam de communione ipse accipit et

episcopo defert, et caetera quaeram episcopalis providentiae ministeria sub episcopo quasi in partem curae advocatus, in causis ecclesiasticis examinandis dispensat.' Here the text of the *EL* has been both abbreviated and expanded.

- Pr: 'Ad primicerium pertinent acolythi, exorcistae, lectores atque psalmistae, id est cantores. Signum quoque dandum pro officio clericorum, pro vitae honestate, et officium cantandi peragendi sollicite: lectiones, benedictiones, psalmos, laudes, offertorium et responsoria: quis clericorum dicere debeat. Ordo quoque et modus psallendi in choro pro solemnitate et tempore. Ordinatio quoque pro luminaribus deportandis, si quid etiam necessarium est pro reparatione basilicarum, quae quales sunt in urbe, ipse denuntiat sacerdoti. Epistolas episcopi pro diebus ieiuniorum parochianis per ostiarios dirigit. Clericos quos delinquere cognoscit, ipse distringit: quos vero emendare non valet, eorum excessum ad agnitionem episcopi defert. Basilicarios ipse constituit, et matriculas ipse disponit. Quando autem primicerius absens est, ea quae praedicta sunt ille exquirat, qui ei aut lege est proximus, aut eruditione his explendis certus.' This is a slightly modified text of the *EL*.

- T: 'Ad thesaurarium ... sacrificio et sacrificiis.' This is the normal text of the *EL*.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 142 f.

3. Theological Florilegia with the Hugonian Form

In the liturgical formularies it has been seen (p. 311) that verses from Hugh's *De sacramentis* were used in late medieval ordination allocutions. The same Hugonian form of the *EL* was also incorporated into theological florilegal manuscripts.

Manuscripts Consulted:

a) Tortosa, Bibl. Cap. 122, fols. 49v-51a' (s. XII). Here the text of the *De sacramentis* with its form of the *EL* has been repeated verbatim.

b) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 778, fol. 43r (s. XIII). This codex from Saint-Victor in Paris contains a florilegal tract on the sacred orders based largely on material from Hugh's *De sacramentis*. Most of Hugh's verses have been so abbreviated, however, that a fragment of the *EL* in the Hugonian form appears only in the verse for the doorkeeper.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 143.

4. Peter Lombard, *Libri IV Sententiarum* 4.24.6-11

The *De sacramentis* of Hugh of St. Victor provided one of the major sources for the Lombard's treatment of the ecclesiastical orders. One could, therefore, expect that the Hugonian form of the *EL* would be used. Peter, however, in the few verses

where he repeated the *EL* relied on the more traditional forms. The only exceptions are in the verse for the acolyte, where after *cereum portat* there is added the conclusion 'ipse urceolum cum vino et aqua suggesta pro eucharistia subdiaconis preparat', and in the diaconal verse where *recitatio nominum* of the Old Spanish liturgy has been modernized to *recitatio catechumenorum nominum*.

Edition: *Libri IV Sententiarum* 2 (Quaracchi, 1916), pp. 895-901.

Sequence of Grades: L, E, A, S, D, P.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 144.

5. Gandulf of Bologna, *Sententiae* 4.203-209

The collection of Gandulf of Bologna, although heavily dependent on Peter Lombard, uses more of the *EL* in the description of the orders than the Lombard did. Also, in each instance, Isidore is mentioned as the author with intrusions such as *ut Isidorus ait*. The verses from the *EL* follow the older forms, although such additions as *recitatio nominum catechuminum* reflect twelfth-century modifications.

Edition: *Magistri Gandulphi Bononiensis Sententiarum libri quatuor*, ed. Ioannes de Walter (Vienna-Breslau, 1924), pp. 500-504.

Sequence of Grades: H, L, E, A, S, D, P.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 146 f.

6. Guy d'Orchelles, *Tractatus de sacramentis* 8.184

Throughout his treatment of sacred orders in the *Tractatus* Guy uses both fairly pure and modified forms of the *EL*. Since the changes vary from verse to verse, the specific changes will be considered in the Sequence of Grades.

Edition: *Guidonis de Orchellis Tractatus de sacramentis ex eius Summa de sacramentis et officiis ecclesiae*, ed. Damian and Odo van den Eynde (Louvain, 1953), pp. 174 f.

Sequence of Grades:

- L: 'Secundus ordo est lectoris ad quem pertinet lectiones in Veteri Testamento pronuntiare et ea quae prophetae nuntiaverunt populo praedicare.' After giving a modified text of the *EL* here, Guy then explains the proper roles of the L and D.
- E: 'Tertius ordo est exorcistae, ad quem pertinet super energumenos et catechumenos manus imponere, et immundos spiritus fugare.' A modified text of the *EL*.
- S: '... cuius officium est calicem et patenam ad altare deferre et levitis tradere eisque ministrare.' A modified text of the *EL*.
- D: '... cuius officium est assistere sacerdotibus et ministrare in omnibus quae aguntur in sacramentis Christi, ut in baptismo, in chrismate, in patena, in calice. ...' A modified text of the *EL*.

- P: '... quorum officium est sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi in altari conficere, rationes dicere et dona Dei benedicere.' A fairly normal text of the *EL*.

Literature: Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 153.

7. Roland of Cremona, *Summa*

In his *Summa* Roland often cites the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, but his version of the *EL* is radically modified, sometimes to the point of being almost entirely revised. Again, since there are the major modifications in the text of the *EL*, the unusual features of the verses will be considered within the Sequence of Grades.

Edition: *The Tract on Holy Orders in the Summa of Roland of Cremona*, ed. Charles R. Hess (Rome, 1969), pp. 25-31.

Sequence of Grades:

- H: 'Unde ad tales pertinet aperire valvas templi. Et tales debent diligenter attendere quibus licet ingredi templum et quibus non, ut excommunicatos arceant ab ingressu templi. Debet ergo qui excommunicat (*sic*) aliquos, facere scire ostarios ut prohibeant eos ab ingressu templi.' This is a restatement of points in the *EL*.
- L: 'Debet enim legere lectiones Veteris Testamenti et recte pronuntiare et ea quae dixerunt prophetae populis praedicare ut dicitur in *Sententiis*. ... Iterum, illud nihil videtur esse quod dicit Magister in *Sententiis* quod ad lectorem pertinet praedicare dicta prophetarum populis...' This is a revision of the *EL* together with a repetition of the *EL* in Peter Lombard.
- E: '... ad quos pertinet de officio, per impositionem manus, liberare obsessos a daemone, adiurando eos per Deum ut exeant ab illis.' This is a revision of the *EL* tending toward the verse from the *DO7G*.
- S: 'Ad eum pertinet in mensa Domini ministrare, diacono calicem cum patena praeparare.' This is a restatement of the *EL* for the subdeacon, called by Roland the fifth grade, although he has not described the acolyte as fourth.
- P: 'Ad hunc ordinem pertinet mutare panem in corpus Christi et vinum in sanguinem eius per verba illa sacra quae Dominus dixit quando mutavit panem in corpus et vinum in sanguinem.' This is a restatement of points in the *EL*.

* * *

SEQUENCE OF GRADES IN THE *EL*
(Excluding Fragments)

Early Truncated Forms						Variant Burchardian Forms									
Primitive Form, p. 283															
Coll. hisp. sys., BN 11709, p. 285															
Coll. hisp. sys., BN 1565, p. 286															
Coll. Dion. Had., BN 3838, p. 286															
Coll. Dion. Had., Cambrai 485, p. 286															
Ps.-Isidorian Form, p. 287															
Burchardian Form, p. 291															
Coll. XVIII (1), p. 296															
Coll. XVIII (2), p. 296															
Coll. VL, p. 297															
Coll. can. barb.-Vall. F 54, pp. 297 f.															
Graz 772, p. 298															
Ivonian Form, pp. 299 f.															
Gratian, p. 303															
Polycarpus, BN 3881, p. 304															
Coll. Caesaraug., p. 304															
H	H	H	H	H	H	Ps	Ps	Ps	H	Ps	Ps	H	H	Ps	L-Ps
A	A	A	A	A	A	H	H	H	L	H	H	E	E	H	H
E	E	E	E	E	E	L	L	L	E	L	L	A	A	E	E
Ps	Ps	Ps	Ps	Ps	Ps	E	E	E	A	E	E	Ps	Ps	L	A
L	L	L	L	L	L	A	A	A	S	A	A	L	L	A	S
S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	D	S	S	S	S	S	D
D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	[D]	P	D	D	D	D	D	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	B	P		P	P	P	B
B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B				B	B	B	Ad
Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad					Ad	Ad	Ad	Pr
Pr	Pr	Pr	Pr	Pr	Pr							Pr	Ap	Pr	T
T	T		T		T							T	Pr	T	
Ec													T		
Pm															

No useful purpose would be served by pushing a detailed description of the diffusion of the *EL* into the later thirteenth century and beyond in theological tracts and commentaries on the *Sententiae*.¹⁸⁴ The published and manuscript texts investigated thus far suggest that for the most part the forms of the *EL* used were

¹⁸⁴ Later manuscripts with the *EL* are London, Brit. Lib. Royal 7.A.ix, fol. 68r-v and Sloane 2479, fol. 67r-v; Graz, Universitätsbibl. 655, fol. 60r-61r; and BAV, Barb. lat. 638, fol. 77v.

Cleopatra Form, p. 305	Robert Form, p. 305	Farfa Form, p. 306	Brescia Pontifical, p. 309	Kotor Pontifical, p. 310	Arezzo Pontifical, p. 311	Ambrosiana T 62 sup., p. 314	Peter of Roissy, p. 314	Sicard, p. 315	Durandus, p. 315	Sentences of Sidon, p. 318	Hugh of St. Victor, p. 319	Peter Lombard, p. 320	Gandulf, p. 321	Guy d'Orchesles, p. 321	Roland, p. 322
H	H	B	H	Ps	Ps	H	L	H	Ps	Ps	H	L	H	L	H?
A	Ps	P	L	H	H	L	E	L	L	H	L?	E	L	E	L
Ps	L	D	E	L	L	E	A	E	E	L	S	A	E	S	E?
L	E	S	A	E	E	A	D	A	A	E	D	S	A	D	S?
E	A	A?	S	A	A	Ps	P	S	S	A	P	D	A	P	S?
S	S	L	D	S	S	S	B	D	D	S	B	P	D		P?
D	D		P	D	D	D		B	B	D	Ad		P		
P	P			P	P	P				P	Pr				
B	B			Ad		B				B	T				
Ad				B		Ad				Ad					
Pr						Pr				Pr					
T						T				T					

those in the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard or modifications thereof. But to conclude this section on the diffusion of the *EL* it seems useful to present a table (cf. above) of the sequence of verses of the grades as they appear in the major forms that have been studied here.

CONCLUSION

The *EL*, an epitome of the clerical duties which we have seen was probably written in Visigothic territories in the late seventh or eighth century, is on the face of it a text that from the date of its composition should have been an extremely valuable source to early medieval canonists, liturgists, and theologians. Strangely, it appears to have enjoyed a very limited success for the first two centuries after it was written. Why this is so is not clear. It may be in part that some of the duties enumerated for the grades looked to the Old Spanish liturgy, which in the seventh and eighth centuries was confined largely to Spain and southern France and in the ninth century was suspect as a vehicle for adoptionism. While this cloud of suspicion did not seem to envelop the genuine and longer works of Isidore,¹⁸⁵ which

¹⁸⁵ Isidore's longer works were heavily used in the early ninth century by authors of the *expositiones liturgicae* and in the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*, on which see Roger E.

in part also reflected Old Spanish liturgical practices, it might have played some role in inhibiting the diffusion of a short epitome summarizing clerical duties. Early medieval writers could perhaps have afforded to shun the *EL*, but they could not afford to discard the longest and best patristic descriptions of the clerics as found in the *Origines* and *DEO*. Moreover, there already existed outside areas of Visigothic influence a brief epitome on the grades, the *DO7G*, corresponding more closely to Gallican liturgical practice than the *EL*. In any event, when the *EL* was accepted north of the Visigothic territories as an epitome of the clerical duties, it was the canonists who were responsible. Further, it was they who transmitted the text in its purest forms. The canonists might use different titles, alter the salutation, omit the exordium, change the sequence of the grades, truncate the text, or even add the description of the archpresbyter; but rarely did they split up the verses to be used separately with other texts describing the sacred orders or attempt to alter or update the text of individual verses to conform to liturgical practices as they knew them. Insofar, then, as the canonists transmitted the letter and maintained it in a relatively unchanged form, we owe to them one of our more valuable pieces of evidence of liturgical practice, theology, and ecclesiastical administration in early medieval Spain.

In the instances when the *EL* was modified, be it by canonist, theologian, or liturgist, the aim often seems to have been to make it conform to the theology of orders as it was evolving in areas within the Romano-Frankish orbit of liturgy and canon law. In Burchard's *Decretum* we have seen how the grades were ordered according to the sequence found in the Gallican *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. In the liturgical and theological tracts that described the ecclesiastical orders in this same sequence, the verses of the *EL*, dismembered, were handled in the same way. Moreover, in the Burchardian form and elsewhere we have seen how the descriptions of the somewhat exotic grades of *primicerius* and *thesaurarius* were omitted and how the verse for the archdeacon was highly abbreviated. Similarly, in the tracts of theologians, who often saw the bishop as the highest of the grades or orders, the *EL* was truncated before the ecclesiastical dignities were reached. Finally, we have found in some texts that the verse for the psalmist from the *EL* was omitted. This was almost undoubtedly a reflection of a widely held medieval notion that the lowest order of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the doorkeeper, the psalmist being merely a preliminary step something like the status of cleric.

All of the modifications in the *EL* can be found in the alteration of other patristic and early medieval texts on the ecclesiastical officers (the Ordinals of Christ, *DO7G*, and Isidore's *Origines* and *DEO*) as these works spread across Europe.

Throughout the Middle Ages the *EL* may have been valued and copied as an epistle written by the greatest of the doctors of Visigothic Spain to an obscure bishop of Córdoba, but insofar as it became one of the most important epitomes of the duties of the clerics, it was molded to conform to changing patterns of thought regarding the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

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BYRHTEFERTH AND THE *VITA S. ECGWINI*

Michael Lapidge

ST. Ecgbwine is known to us today as an early eighth-century bishop of Worcester who was the founder of the monastery of Evesham.¹ To judge from contemporary evidence, he was a very obscure saint indeed. Bede knows nothing of him.² He is nowhere mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. There are very few early charters, in which Ecgbwine is mentioned or appears as a witness, that are undoubtedly genuine.³ By the late Anglo-Saxon period, however, Evesham was a

¹ The principal accounts of St. Ecgbwine are: W. Stubbs, in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 4 vols. (London, 1877-87), 2.62-63; H. Dauphin, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 15 (Paris, 1963), cols. 32-33; and The Benedictines of Stanbrook, *St. Egwin and His Abbey of Evesham* (Worcester-London, 1904). For bibliography concerning St. Ecgbwine and Evesham, see D. C. Cox, 'Evesham Abbey: A Bibliography', *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers* 2 (1969) 11-25 and 3 (1971) 19-51.

² Bede (*Historia ecclesiastica* 5.19) mentions the journey of Kings Offa and Cenred to Rome in 709. The *vitae* of Ecgbwine, beginning with that found in ms. Cotton Nero E.i, state that Ecgbwine accompanied the two kings. Had Bede known of Ecgbwine's presence on the journey, he would surely have mentioned it. His silence suggests rather that Ecgbwine's presence was fabricated by the hagiographer (or his source) from the pages of Bede (see below, p. 344).

³ In the later Middle Ages Evesham was notorious for forging charters (cf. F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* [Oxford, 1955], p. 11), and any early charter purporting to record a grant of land to this monastery should be viewed with suspicion. Nevertheless, there are four charters which are agreed by students of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic to have some claim to be genuine. The charters are printed by W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium saxonicum*, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93), hereafter cited as *BCS*; bibliography pertaining to each charter will be found in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated Bibliography* (London, 1968), hereafter cited as Sawyer. The four charters are: *BCS*, no. 123 (Sawyer, no. 64), a grant of land by King Offa to Worcester that is witnessed by Ecgbwine; *BCS*, no. 137 (Sawyer, no. 102), a grant of land by King Æthelbald to Worcester that is witnessed by Bishop Ecgbwine; *BCS*, no. 76 (Sawyer, no. 1252), a grant of land by King Æthelred to Bishop Offor that contains a later endorsement by Ecgbwine; and *BCS*, no. 122 (Sawyer, no. 1177), a grant of land to Abbess Cuthwith that is witnessed by Ecgbwine. On the authenticity of this last charter, see the extensive discussion by P. Sims-Williams, 'Cuthwith, Seventh-Century Abbess of Inkberrow, near Worcester, and the Würzburg Manuscript of Jerome on Ecclesiastes', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976) 1-21, especially 6-13. From these charters—even if they had all been available to one hagiographer at one time—all that could have been learned about Ecgbwine was that he was a bishop and a contemporary of Kings Offa, Æthelred, and Æthelbald. The following charters which mention Ecgbwine are almost certainly spurious: *BCS*, nos. 91, 113, 116, 117, 118, 120, 124, 130 and 138 (Sawyer, nos. 22, 248, 54, 1174, 1175, 78, 79, 1250 and 97 respectively).

flourishing monastery, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries it rose to considerable preeminence. Not surprisingly, a number of legends concerning Ecgbwine began to circulate at this time. William of Malmesbury repeats a 'traditional' story ('quod tradit antiquitas') concerning Ecgbwine.⁴ In addition to collecting legendary material, conscientious historians attempted at this time to locate Ecgbwine in an eighth-century context: Florence of Worcester in his *Chronicon ex chronicis* assigned specific dates (692-717) to Ecgbwine's bishopric for the first time.⁵ At this period of Evesham's preeminence—and apparently not earlier—the life of its founder was committed to writing by a series of hagiographers,⁶ beginning with an anonymous *vita*⁷ in London, British Library ms. Cotton Nero E.i of the last half of the eleventh century, followed by Dominic of Evesham at the turn of the twelfth century,⁸ then Thomas of Marlborough in the early thirteenth century,⁹ and concluded by John of Tynemouth in the fourteenth century.¹⁰ However, all of the later *vitae* of St. Ecgbwine are derived directly or indirectly from that contained in ms. Cotton Nero E.i, and it is with this earliest life of St. Ecgbwine that the present article will be concerned.

The anonymous *Vita s. Ecgbwini* is found together with two other Anglo-Latin saints' lives at the beginning of British Library ms. Cotton Nero E.i, vol. 1. The bulk of this huge manuscript, together with its companion volume (Nero E.i, vol. 2) as well as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 9, constituted in medieval times an immense two-volume passional. The contents of this passional may be

⁴ *Gesta pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (RS 62; London, 1870), pp. 296-97.

⁵ [Florence] of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1848), 1.43-44, 46-47 and 49. These dates were apparently deduced from charters—whether genuine or not—which were available at Worcester at the time. Florence's dates for Ecgbwine are usually repeated by modern historians, but they are not trustworthy: see Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith', 9 n. 1, who demonstrates that Ecgbwine's predecessor Otfor must have died during the period 693 × 699, not in 692, which carries with it the implication that Ecgbwine could not have become bishop of Worcester before 693.

⁶ See discussion of the various recensions by M. Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgbwine', *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers* 6 (1977) 77-93.

⁷ Ed. J. A. Giles, *Vita quorundam Anglo-Saxonum* [sic!] (London, 1854), pp. 349-96 (hereafter abbreviated as *VSE*).

⁸ Dominic's *Vita s. Ecgbwini*, which had not previously been printed, is found in two manuscripts: Hereford, Cathedral Library P.vii.6 (s. xii²), fols. 234r-248r, and Dublin, Trinity College 172 (B.2.7) (s. xiii), pp. 317-34. I have now edited Dominic's *Vita s. Ecgbwini* in *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978) 65-104. See also J. C. Jennings, 'The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham', *English Historical Review* 77 (1962) 298-304.

⁹ Thomas' recension of Dominic's *Vita s. Ecgbwini* is found in a unique and probably autograph copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Rawlinson A.287 (s. xiii¹), fols. 123v-139r; it is printed by W. D. Macray, *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham* (RS 29; London, 1863), pp. 1-67, and has been translated by D. C. Cox, *The Chronicle of Evesham Abbey* (Evesham, 1964).

¹⁰ Ed. C. Horstmann, *Nova legenda Anglie*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901), 1.370-78.

reconstituted as follows: part I, January to September (Nero E.i, vol. 1, fols. 55-208; Nero E.i, vol. 2, fols. 1-151), and part II, October to December (CCCC 9, pp. 61-458; Nero E.i, vol. 2, fols. 166-180). This passional as it was originally constituted was written at Worcester near the middle of the eleventh century.¹¹ To this original passional were added the three Anglo-Latin saints' lives which now occupy Nero E.i, vol. 1, fols. 1-54. These three saints' lives are: a *Vita s. Oswaldi*, fols. 1r-23v; the *Vita s. Ecgwini*, fols. 24r-34v; and Lantfred of Winchester's *Translatio et miracula s. Swithuni*, fols. 35r-52v; the remaining two folios (53-54) contain hymns in honour of St. Swithun. The relationship between these three Anglo-Latin saints' lives and the original passional is not immediately clear, but it seems probable that they were also written at Worcester (Oswald and Ecgwine are Worcester saints), probably in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and that they were combined with the original passional before the end of the eleventh century.¹²

The collocation of the anonymous *Vita s. Oswaldi*¹³ with the anonymous *Vita s. Ecgwini* at the very beginning of the manuscript is striking: both Oswald¹⁴ and Ecgwine were bishops of Worcester. In each case, the *vita* preserved in Cotton Nero E.i is the unique surviving copy of that account of the saint. Furthermore, it may be determined from internal evidence that the two *vitae* were composed at approximately the same time: the *Vita s. Oswaldi* was composed between 995 and 1005,¹⁵ the *Vita s. Ecgwini* shortly after the year 1000.¹⁶ These coincidences have led earlier scholars to remark the stylistic similarities between the two works.¹⁷

¹¹ The constitution of the passional is discussed by N. R. Ker, 'Membra Disiecta, Second Series', *British Museum Quarterly* 14 (1939-40) 82-83. On the date of the manuscript (s. xi med.), see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 41 and 217; T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), p. 20 n. 1; and M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), 1.21 ff.

¹² Ker, 'Membra Disiecta', 83 n. 1. The scribe of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* also wrote Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ms. 9, pp. 17-26 (*Vita s. Salvii*) as well as parts of Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Hatton 113.

¹³ Ed. J. Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York*, 3 vols. (RS 71; London, 1879), 1.399-475 (hereafter abbreviated as *VSO*).

¹⁴ Oswald (ob. 992) was bishop of Worcester (961-972) and later York (972-992); he was a principal figure in the tenth-century monastic reform and the founder of the monastery at Ramsey; see J. A. Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester* (British Academy Supplemental Papers 5; London, 1919).

¹⁵ The dating is determined from the mention of Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury (p. 452), who held that see from 995 to 1005; cf. D. Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents I: c. 500-1042* (London, 1955), p. 839.

¹⁶ The author refers to himself as 'nos vero qui in ultima millenarii sumus parte et ultra progressi' (*VSE*, p. 387).

¹⁷ e.g., T. D. Hardy, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols. (RS 26; London, 1862), 1.416, and D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-monastic Reaction

Indeed, these stylistic similarities are so striking that further examination of the two works is necessary.

First, there are a number of parallel passages in the two works; I list here the most arresting of the parallels:

<i>Vita s. Ecgwini</i> , ed. Giles	<i>Vita s. Oswaldi</i> , ed. Raine
quis urbana fretus eloquentia potest pleniter investigare? (p. 349)	quis urbanitatis fretus eloquentia potest proferri? (p. 447); quis urbanitate fretus potest edicere? (p. 456; cf. p. 428: urbana fretus facundia)
Gregorii antistitis Romuleae urbis (p. 349)	egregii Romuleae urbis Gregorii patris (p. 433)
leviathan tortuosum serpentem (p. 352)	Leviathan serpentem tortuosum (p. 433)
genitores Jordanico sacro flumine tingui (p. 353)	Jordanico flumine abluti (p. 400; cf. p. 422: tincti Jordanico flumine)
quem ego levi petitione a rege ... adquisivi (p. 363)	quod leni [<i>sic</i>] a rege petitione adquisivit (p. 420)
rex autem armipotens Koenred (p. 378)	rex autem armipotens Eadgar (p. 425)
tum miles praecellens Christi... praesul quoque flagrans superno desiderio undisonos fluctus maris pertransit, et ad sanctorum limina pervenit gaudens apostolorum (p. 358)	miles praecellens Christi, flagrans superno desiderio, undisonos fluctus salsi maris pertransit, et ad sanctorum limina pervenit gaudens apostolorum (p. 435)
reversus almus praesul tripudians ad proprium solum, odas reddidit summo Ihesu, qui sibi destinavit suae sedis ministrum sanctum Raphaelem archangelum (p. 360).	reversus almus pater ad solum proprium, odas reddidit summo Ihesu, qui sibi destinavit suae sedis ministrum, Raphaelem archangelum (p. 436).

These parallels point incontestably to some close relationship between the two works, suggesting either that both *vitae* are the production of one author, or that the one author copied extensively from the other. The last possibility is excluded by a closer examination of the style of each work. At all levels of expression it is evident that the two works are the product of one mind, a mind which expresses itself in characteristic and recognizable ways. A recurrent series of phrases—one might almost say clichés—is common to both works: thus, for example, contemplation is always said to occur through the agency of *sagaci mente*;¹⁸ old age is invariably

in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950-52) 254-70, at 259 n. 18.

¹⁸ *VSE*, pp. 349, 354, 381; *VSO*, pp. 411, 423, 449. The phrase is derived from Arator, *De actibus*

cygnea canities,¹⁹ Rome invariably the *Romulea urbs*;²⁰ the sun is frequently *aureus sol*²¹ and the moon *vaga Lucina*;²² piety is frequently *multimoda pietas*²³ and the peccadilloes of secular clerics (in each case with reference to Edgar's monastic reform) are *neniae clericorum*;²⁴ and the difference between the terrestrial and celestial life is almost invariably characterized by the parallel phrases *in arvis/in astris*.²⁵ This list could be prolonged considerably.

Another stylistic similarity which the two works share and which again betrays the workings of one mind is the remarkable predilection for unusual vocabulary.²⁶ The largest proportion of this vocabulary is of Greek origin, derived almost certainly from glossaries. Thus in the *Vita s. Ecgwini* we find: *algema* (p. 364), *anastasis* (p. 387), *archiatros* (p. 396), *archiptes* (p. 379; perhaps corrupt), *archisterna* (p. 376; read *archisteria*?), *cataplasma* (p. 387), *epichidion* (p. 386), *epitaphion* (p. 386), *flebotoma* (p. 387), *glaucomia* (p. 364), *machaera* (p. 392), *onoma* (p. 377), *orgia* (p. 354), *oroma* (pp. 349 and 363), *podere* (p. 396), *prototestis* (p. 354) and *subthronizatus* (p. 355). A similar array of grecisms is found in the *Vita s. Oswaldi*: *anabibazon* (p. 427), *archisterium* (p. 413), *astismos* (p. 401), *cataplasma* (p. 422), *emplastra* (p. 422), *epicedion* (pp. 450 and 472), *geron* (p. 437), *machaera* (p. 402), *onoma* (p. 404); *orgia* (p. 424), *oroma* (p. 452), *podere* (p. 408), *soma* (p. 403), *subthronizatus* (pp. 453 and 465), *synaxis* (p. 415), and *theophilus* (p. 432). What is remarkable is the number of these otherwise uncommon words which are common to both works. A different aspect of the predilection for unusual vocabulary in the two works is the tendency to coin words. One striking coinage among many may be mentioned: the adjective *beelzebutinus* (apparently meaning 'devilish') is found in both the *Vita s. Ecgwini* (p. 393) and the *Vita s. Oswaldi* (p. 450), but, to my knowledge, nowhere else in Anglo-Latin literature.²⁷

apostolorum 1.404 (ed. A. P. McKinlay [CSEL 72; Vienna, 1951], p. 36); on another use of Arator see below, p. 341.

¹⁹ *VSE*, pp. 353 and 385; *VSO*, pp. 456 and 471. The phrase is derived from Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* 23 (ed. R. Ehwald [MGH Auct. antiq. 15; Berlin, 1919], p. 255).

²⁰ *VSE*, pp. 349, 350, 358, 359 (twice) and 379; *VSO*, pp. 406 and 433. The phrase is derived from Alcuin, *De sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* 1457 (ed. E. Dümmler [MGH Poetae aevi carolini latini 1; Berlin, 1881], p. 201).

²¹ *VSE*, pp. 349 and 354; *VSO*, p. 405. The phrase is derived from Virgil, *Georg.* 1.232 and 4.51.

²² *VSE*, pp. 349 and 354; *VSO*, p. 400.

²³ *VSE*, p. 360; *VSO*, pp. 410, 456 and 463.

²⁴ *VSE*, p. 395; *VSO*, p. 425.

²⁵ *VSE*, pp. 352 and 395; *VSO*, pp. 414, 420, 441-42, 448, 457, 471 and 472.

²⁶ I have investigated this aspect of the two *vitae* more extensively elsewhere: 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975) 67-111, especially 93-94.

²⁷ It is not recorded, for example, in the recent *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, fasc. 1 (Oxford, 1975). Nor does it occur in continental medieval Latin sources: it

Yet another aspect of this same lexical predilection is revealed in the use (it is virtually an abuse) of polysyllabic adverbs terminating in *-iter*. Although adverbs of this sort are used sparingly by most medieval Latin authors, they occur so frequently in the two works that there is seldom a sentence which does not have one. I list here only the most unusual of such adverbs (adverbs which occur in both works are printed in italics).

Vita s. Ecgwini: *digniter* (p. 358), *fiducialiter* (p. 362), *gaudenter* (p. 391), *inedicibiliter* (p. 349), *ineffabiliter* (p. 379), *immisericorditer* (p. 393), *magnanimiter* (p. 394), *muliebriter* (p. 383), *nequiter* (p. 392), *optabiliter* (p. 381), *pigriter* (p. 383), *pleniter* (p. 393), *regaliter* (p. 395), and *unanimititer* (p. 377).

Vita s. Oswaldi: *affabiliter* (p. 469), *agiliter* (p. 415), *amicabiliter* (p. 441), *concorditer* (p. 414), *dapsiliter* (p. 464); *digniter* (p. 405), *enerviter* (p. 405), *fiducialiter* (p. 448), *gaudenter* (p. 447), *honorabiliter* (p. 450), *indigniter* (p. 408), *inedicibiliter* (pp. 413, 422, 454, etc.), *ineffabiliter* (p. 453), *immarcessibiliter* (p. 417), *immisericorditer* (p. 451), *irreprehensibiliter* (p. 417), *memoriter* (p. 423), *muliebriter* (p. 417), *paternaliter* (p. 447), *praesentialiter* (p. 444), and *regaliter* (p. 425).

These lists do not include common adverbs such as *clementer*, *decenter*, *ovanter* and *potenter* which occur in profusion in both works. The use of such unusual adverbs betrays the stylistic obsession of one mind that is too self-indulgent to its own ingenuity.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the two works share a large number of grammatical and syntactical peculiarities. Within the brief compass of an article it is not possible to analyse carefully the syntax of the two works—and such analysis would be best postponed until more reliable editions are available—but two salient features may be mentioned. First, there is a pronounced tendency to confuse the active and passive forms of the infinitive in both works. For example, in the *Vita s. Oswaldi* we find 'quis roboratus ingenio Homeri potest exprimi?' (p. 434), where one would normally expect *exprimere*; on the other hand, in the *Vita s. Ecgwini* we find 'praecepit rex epistolam ostendere et legere' (p. 379), where one would expect *ostendi* and *legi*. Solecisms of this sort occur frequently in the two *vitae*. Secondly, both works display a tendency to clumsy (or is it mannered?) handling of the relative pronoun, which not infrequently leads to ambiguity and obscurity. For example, in the following sentence from the *Vita s. Oswaldi*:

victoriam reverentissimi patris agnoscentes, et eximium quod devicto hoste triumphum suscepit reminiscentes (p. 399),

the sense—namely, 'reminiscentes eximium triumphum quod, devicto hoste,

is unrecorded in the *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, ed. O. Prinz et al. (Munich, 1967—). I have discussed the many coinages in these two works in 'The Hermeneutic Style', 94.

suscepit'—is not in doubt, but could have been more directly expressed. A less transparent example of this same mishandling of the relative pronoun occurs in the *Vita s. Ecgwini*:

adeptus sedem apostolici culminis sanctus vir [*scil.* Ecgwinus] pro insita bonitate, omnes eum qui Deum timebant diligebant atque honorabant... (p. 355).

Here the sense is 'omnes, qui Deum timebant, eum [*scil.* Ecgwinum] diligebant atque honorabant'; and one wonders why the author did not say so. In any case, all these stylistic idiosyncrasies—the repetition of clichés, the use of grecisms, neologisms and adverbs in *-iter*, the confusion of active and passive infinitive forms, and the mishandling of relative pronouns—tend to confirm the impression created by the striking list of verbal parallels cited earlier: that the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Vita s. Ecgwini* are the production of one author.²⁸

I mentioned earlier that both these *vitae* are transmitted anonymously in ms. Cotton Nero E.i. However, some scholarly attention has previously been devoted to the *Vita s. Oswaldi* (though none, so far as I am aware, has ever been lavished on the *Vita s. Ecgwini*). In an article published in 1929, S. J. Crawford suggested that the author of the *Vita s. Oswaldi* was Byrhtferth of Ramsey.²⁹ Byrhtferth is otherwise well known as the author of the *Manual*³⁰—or the *Encheiridion*, as Byrhtferth himself calls it³¹—a didactic treatise partly in Latin, partly in Old English, which attempts to explain the complexities of computistical theory to an untutored audience. He also wrote the so-called *Epilogus*,³² a brief Latin preface to a manuscript of computistical works now known as the 'Ramsey Computus'.³³

²⁸ I have prepared an edition of both the *Vita s. Ecgwini* and the *Vita s. Oswaldi* (with translation and commentary) as part of a forthcoming volume of pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin saints' lives.

²⁹ 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Anonymous Life of St. Oswald' in *Speculum Religionis. Studies Presented to C. G. Montefiore* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 99-111.

³⁰ *Byrhtferth's Manual* (A.D. 1011), ed. S. J. Crawford (EETS OS 177; London, 1929, rpt. 1966). Crawford's second volume of introduction and commentary never appeared. Instead see the *corrigenda* by H. Henel, 'Notes on Byrhtferth's *Manual*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 41 (1942) 427-43, and the further studies by Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus* (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 26; Leipzig, 1934), and C. R. Hart, 'Byrhtferth and His *Manual*', *Medium aevum* 41 (1972) 95-109.

³¹ *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 132: 'We gesetton on þissum *enchiridion*, þæt ys *manualis* on Lyden ond handboc on Englisc, manega þing ymbe gerimcræft....' I henceforth refer to the work as Byrhtferth's *Encheiridion* rather than his *Manual*.

³² Ed. G. F. Forsey, 'Byrhtferth's *Preface*', *Speculum* 3 (1928) 505-22; it is also printed by Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual*, pp. 244-46. It has been argued that this *epilogus* was in fact intended by Byrhtferth to be the 'epilogue' of his *Manual*: H. Henel, 'Byrhtferth's Preface: The Epilogue of His *Manual*?', *Speculum* 18 (1943) 288-302. I do not find Henel's arguments compelling simply because *epilogus* in Anglo-Latin sources usually means 'prologue', not 'epilogue'; cf. the beginning of the *Vita s. Ecgwini*: 'Incipit Epilogus Episcopi et Confessoris' (p. 349).

³³ The manuscript is now Oxford, St John's College ms. 17; see C. R. Hart, 'The Ramsey Computus', *English Historical Review* 85 (1970) 29-44.

Byrhtferth was at Ramsey in the early eleventh century and was at work on his *Encheiridion* in 1011.³⁴ The *Vita s. Oswaldi* was also written at Ramsey in the years between 995 and 1005. On the basis of a long list of (very convincing) parallels between the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Encheiridion*, Crawford suggested that Byrhtferth was the author of both works. Although some minor reservations have been expressed,³⁵ Crawford's identification has generally been accepted by modern scholarship.

I do not propose to reinvestigate the relationship between the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Encheiridion*. However, if Byrhtferth, author of the *Encheiridion*, also wrote the *Vita s. Oswaldi*, and if, as suggested above, the author of the *Vita s. Oswaldi* was that of the *Vita s. Ecgwini*, one might reasonably expect that there would be some stylistic similarities between the *Encheiridion* and the *Vita s. Ecgwini*. In fact there are many such similarities, and these similarities in turn may be seen to corroborate Crawford's proposed identification of the author of the *Vita s. Oswaldi*. In considering parallels between the *Encheiridion* and the *Vita s. Ecgwini*, the great difference in genre between the two works should be borne in mind. What is most remarkable is that 'scientific' material (the subject proper of the *Encheiridion*) should appear in a saint's life at all, and that its unexpected appearance should bear any resemblance to expository passages in the *Encheiridion*. I begin with a few parallel passages:

Vita s. Ecgwini, ed. Giles

Byrhtferth, *Encheiridion*,
ed. Crawford

constat istius vita breviter edita, et in bis
binis partibus divisa; quae quatuor partes
demonstrant quid in pueritia vel adolescentia
sive in iuventute atque in senectute gessit
(p. 350)

sunt loca bis binorum temporum ... et
qualitates uel aetates hominum, id est, pue-
ritia, adolescentia, iuuentus et senectus (p.
10; cf. p. 204)

regali diademate ornatus (p. 374)

suffultus ... regali diademate (p. 204)

³⁴ The date 1011 is computed from Byrhtferth's statement about epacts and the age of the moon on 1 January in the present year: 'Nu to-geare, he wæs .xxiii., and hyt ys þæt fife ger on þam Easterlican circle' (*Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 166; cf. p. 156).

³⁵ J. A. Robinson ('Byrhtferth and the Life of Oswald', *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 [1930] 35-42) pointed to certain differences in the use of the relative pronoun in both works, and D. J. V. Fisher ('The Anti-monastic Reaction': see n. 17 above) has observed certain chronological errors in the *Vita s. Oswaldi*, such as the placing of the battle of Maldon before Dunstan's death, which would (perhaps) be improbable in a work produced at Ramsey. Fisher resolved these difficulties by suggesting that a life of Oswald by Byrhtferth was later revised in a Mercian centre. E. John (*Orbis Britanniae* [Leicester, 1966], pp. 290-91), however, has rightly noted that such chronological errors are not remarkable if the author was not working from a set of annals, and that mistakes in personal names may simply be due to scribal error.

in parte anatoiae quae est oriens duo principes ... mansitabant. in mysimbri climate, quae est merides, bini duces ... accumbebant. in disis loco, qui est occidens, complices duo manebant. in arctonis climate, quae est septentrio, dominatum possidebant bini comites (p. 382).

ipsi quoque orientem appellant *anathole*, et occidentem *disyn*, et aquilonem *arcton*, et meridiem *mysymbion* (p. 202).

A more striking connection between the two works may be seen from a passage in the *Vita s. Ecgwini*, where the author, after describing Ecgwine's death on 30 December, attempts to explain why there are six days between this date and the date of Christ's nativity on 25 December:

Senarius numerus perfectus est; quia eodem die formavit protoplastum, in quo et istum transmisit ad coeli gaudium. Si divideris hunc calculum quem quidam rhythmum, nonnulli laterculum dicunt, invenies fructum opimum et opipare quod nos splendide dicere possumus. Si unum detraxeris, significat unitatem quae est in Deo, quia unus est Deus; duoque sequuntur dilectionem Dei et proximi. Tres quoque fidem, spem et caritatem congruenter demonstrant (p. 386).

A passage such as this stands noticeably out of place in a saint's life. But each statement in this passage has an exact parallel in the *Encheiridion*. Thus the statement concerning the number six is there explained in more detail: 'Senarii igitur numerus sua magnitudine et sublimitate dignitateque excellit nostri sermonis elogium. ... Sexta die factus est homo ad imaginem Dei' (ed. Crawford, pp. 206-208). The difference in terminology between 'rhythmum' and 'laterculum' is stated at the very outset of the *Encheiridion*: 'Compotus, Grece ciclus aut rithmus, secundum Egiptios laterculus' (p. 2). The 'noble fruit' which is obtained by arithmetic is also explained in the *Encheiridion*, together with the characteristic gloss on the archaic and rare adverb *opipare*: 'uideat sinceritas studiorum qualiter fructuosus duodenarius numerus sit opipare, id est splendide, decoratus' (p. 222). Finally, the explanation of the components of the number five (three plus two) occurs nearly verbatim in the *Encheiridion*: 'Quinarius numerus perfectus est et in suis partibus constat diuisus, nam gloriatur se ternario atque binario esse comptum. Ternarius ad Sancte Trinitatis pertinet mysterium;³⁶ binarius uero ad dilectionem Dei et proximi'³⁷ (p. 204).

³⁶ The *mysterium Sancte Trinitatis* corresponds to the *unitas quae est in Deo* of the *VSE* passage. The explanation of faith, hope and charity is found under discussion concerning the number three in the *Encheiridion*: 'Sic et fidei, spei et caritatis dono roboramur' (*Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 200).

³⁷ Cf. *VSO*, p. 416: 'erat enim ... binis fulcitus columnis, id est dilectione Dei et proximi'.

The overwhelming concern with numerology which is evinced in the above passage is found throughout the *Vita s. Ecgwini*. As in the *Encheiridion*, where the numerical components of each number from one to twenty (plus 50 and 1000) are explained allegorically, so in the *Vita s. Ecgwini* each number mentioned in the course of narrative is explained in terms of its numerical components. The division of learning is said to be threefold, from which 'emerges fivefold and double education' (p. 353), namely, the seven liberal arts. When Ecgwine had reached the age of seven he was given over to the study of Scripture, and at this time he greatly desired to be 'sustained by fourfold and threefold columns' (= the seven liberal arts again): 'magnopere columnis quaternis ternisque concupierat fulciri' (p. 354). When Ecgwine was buried, his tomb was covered with five stones, and rightly so, for they represented the five senses which his body maintained after deposition: 'et non immerito, quia quinque sensus corporis sui sanctifice servavit positus terris' (p. 396). In a similar vein, Byrhtferth in his *Encheiridion* discusses at length the numerological significance of the thirty-, sixty- and hundredfold yield of fruit in the biblical parable (Mt 13:8); a nearly identical discussion is found in his *Epilogus*.³⁸ Interestingly, the same numerological explanation of 30, 60 and 100 is found in both the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Vita s. Ecgwini*.³⁹ This penchant for numerology is evidently the product of a single and habitual cast of mind.

Many other details confirm the impression that the *Encheiridion* and the *Vita s. Ecgwini* were written by one author. Several of the repeated expressions which were found to be common to the *Vita s. Ecgwini* and the *Vita s. Oswaldi* are also found in the *Encheiridion*: *mente sagaci*,⁴⁰ for example, or *aureus sol*.⁴¹ Other stylistic features which were common to the two *vitae*, such as the use of grecisms and of polysyllabic adverbs terminating in *-iter*, are also well attested in the *Encheiridion*.⁴² I would draw attention finally to one striking link between the *Vita s. Ecgwini* and the *Encheiridion*. Near the beginning of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* (p. 350), the author invokes the aid of the Holy Ghost in two hexameters:

³⁸ Byrhtferth's *Manual*, ed. Crawford, pp. 224-26; *Epilogus*, ed. Forsey, 'Byrhtferth's *Preface*', 516.

³⁹ *VSO*, p. 406; *VSE*, p. 355: 'post acceptum talentum ... adjungens tricesimum sexagesimumque fructum, et adjiciens perfectissimum calculi nummum, qui est centenarius'.

⁴⁰ Byrhtferth's *Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 220; cf. the use of the expression *mid fullum gesceade* in the English sections of the *Encheiridion* (pp. 6, 58, etc.).

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴² Excluding the specifically technical terminology of computus in the *Encheiridion*, I would note *bibliteca* (p. 8), *metron* (p. 210), *onoma* (pp. 200 and 202), *philacterion* (p. 40) and *senpecta* (p. 22), together with *oroma* in Byrhtferth's *Epilogus*. Of polysyllabic adverbs, *concorditer* is twice found in the *Encheiridion* (pp. 212 and 228), and *enerviter* in the *Epilogus*; both *concorditer* and *enerviter* also occur in the *VSO*. Less rare adverbs in *-iter* occur frequently and conspicuously in the *Encheiridion*, as for example in the following English sentence: 'On twam wisum ys se dæg gecweden, *naturaliter* et *uulgariter* þæt ys gecyndelice ond ceorlice' (p. 112); cf. p. 204 where *celeriter* is glossed *uelociter*.

Spiritus alme, veni, sine quo non diceris umquam,
Munera da linguae, qui das in munere linguas.

He describes the lines as *exordium meae orationis*; but these lines were not composed by the author of the *vita*. They were lifted whole from Arator's *De actibus apostolorum* (1.226-27). The first line as quoted in the *vita* differs from that found in any surviving manuscript of Arator: where the author of the *vita* wrote *sine quo* (erroneously), Arator manuscripts read invariably *sine te*. Now it is surely remarkable that the same two lines of Arator are *twice* quoted by Byrhtferth in the *Encheiridion*. On the first occasion, Byrhtferth makes the identical mistake which occurs in the *Vita s. Ecgwini*: he quotes the line as 'spiritus alme ueni quo non diceris umquam', erroneously omitting *sine* (Crawford, p. 134). On the second occasion the lines are quoted correctly and translated,⁴³ and they are described as 'oratio patris Byrhtferði'—an unmistakable reminder of the words 'exordium meae orationis' which introduce the same two lines in the *Vita s. Ecgwini*. It could not happen by coincidence that two authors independently and randomly lifted the very same two lines from a long poem, misquoted them in the very same way, and described them as their own *oratio*. The two authors must be one and the same.

In short, the sum of this evidence—the parallel passages, stylistic idiosyncrasies, common vocabulary and common solecisms, the predilection for numerology, the citation of identical excerpts and doctrines—suggests almost incontestably that Byrhtferth of Ramsey, author of the *Encheiridion* and the *Epilogus*, was also the author of the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Vita s. Ecgwini*.⁴⁴

We may now proceed to examine Byrhtferth's *Vita s. Ecgwini* in greater detail. Byrhtferth is known to have compiled his *Encheiridion* at Ramsey,⁴⁵ and the *Vita s. Oswaldi* was written there as well.⁴⁶ The *Vita s. Ecgwini*, on the other hand, would seem to stem from Evesham. The final paragraph of the work states that it was

⁴³ *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 150. Cf. the remarks of L. Whitbread ('Byrhtferth's Hexameters', *Notes and Queries* 193 [1948] 476), who suggests that Byrhtferth's translations of Arator's lines may be the earliest recorded attempt to compose English hexameters.

⁴⁴ In the Cotton manuscript a sixteenth-century hand has written at the beginning of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* (fol. 24r) 'Vita Sancti Egwini Wigorniensis Episcopi per Brithwaldum Glastoniensis monachum anno 731'. The text of the work itself refutes any suspicion that it could have been written by a monk of Glastonbury in 731 (see n. 16 above). However, the name Berhtwald may perhaps be a confused recollection (on the part of the sixteenth-century antiquary) of the name Byrhtferth. Giles's failure to distinguish between the main hand and the sixteenth-century addition in his printed text has misled a century of scholarship into believing that the work was written by 'Brithwald'.

⁴⁵ Byrhtferth notes at one point that he found the 'honey and incense' of wisdom at Ramsey: 'þas þing we gemetton on Ramesige þurh Godes miltisigendan gife' (*Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 14).

⁴⁶ As may be seen from many passages of the work; e.g., *VSO*, p. 431: 'De insulae positione philosophus Abbo veniens ex Floriaco glorioso arcisterio ad patrem nostrum (*scil.* Oswaldum) et inhabitando in eodem loco ... sic exorsus est', where a poem on the site of Ramsey follows.

expressly written for the Evesham monks: 'haec vobis, reverendissimi fratres Eoveshamenses, dicta sunt'.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the *Vita s. Ecgwini* is based on documentary material and local legend which would most probably have been available only at Evesham. It is worth asking about the circumstances which would have encouraged a Ramsey monk to honour an Evesham saint—to the point of travelling, so it would appear, to Evesham itself in order to perform the task. Perhaps the discrepancy is not as great as it might seem. Ramsey and Evesham were both at that time dependencies of Worcester, and one might surmise that Byrhtferth—no doubt the most distinguished hagiographer among the Worcester dependencies⁴⁸—had been invited by the monks of Evesham to write the *vita* of their saint. This conjecture may be pursued a step further: in about 1014 Ælfweard, who was a kinsman of King Cnut and who had previously been a monk at Ramsey, was appointed abbot of Evesham.⁴⁹ From other sources we know that Ælfweard occupied himself industriously in increasing Evesham's prestige: for example, it was almost certainly at Ælfweard's instigation that the relics of St. Wigstan were translated to Evesham, and it was Ælfweard who later purchased the relics of St. Odulf (of Brabant) for Evesham.⁵⁰ It would agree with what we know of Ælfweard's industry on Evesham's behalf if it were he who had first commissioned a *vita* of Evesham's founder, St. Ecwine; nor would it be surprising if he had invited Byrhtferth, a former colleague from his Ramsey days, to perform the task. The date at which Byrhtferth declares himself to be writing the *Vita s. Ecgwini*—'nos vero qui in ultima millenarii sumus parte et ultra progressi' (p. 387)—could square easily with the dates of the early years of Ælfweard's abbacy. But such conjectures, however plausible, cannot be proved.

At all events, Byrhtferth, perhaps at the invitation of Ælfweard, was the first hagiographer to undertake a *vita* of St. Ecwine. In the absence of any earlier *vita*, Byrhtferth was obliged to rely on whatever material the Evesham monks could supply him with. This material was of two sorts, documentary and legendary, as Byrhtferth himself states:

⁴⁷ ms. Cotton Nero E.i, vol. 1, fol. 34v. The text as copied by the main hand is incomplete, and ends on fol. 34v. Fortunately, an antiquary took the trouble to copy out the final paragraph perhaps from another copy (now lost) or possibly from a page now missing. The sentence quoted is from this final paragraph copied by the antiquary. Giles did not bother to print the ending as recorded by the antiquary.

⁴⁸ I take it that the *Vita s. Oswaldi* (995 × 1005)—which honoured the principal Worcester saint and therefore would have brought renown to its author among the Worcester dependencies—was written before either the *Encheiridion* (c.1011) or the *Vita s. Ecgwini* (c.1014 × c.1020?).

⁴⁹ On Ælfweard, see D. Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London* (London, 1975), pp. 32-34. On Ælfweard's recovery of Evesham estates, see D. C. Cox, 'The Vale Estates of the Church of Evesham, c.700-1086', *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers* 5 (1975) 25-50.

⁵⁰ *Chronicon abbatae de Evesham*, ed. Macray, pp. 36-38, 81-85 and 314.

Haec autem quae hic curtim impressimus, a fidelibus audivimus viris necnon in veteribus invenimus chartulis.⁵¹

First, let us consider the documentary source material, or 'ancient charters'. In the third part of the *Vita s. Ecgwini*, Byrhtferth quotes from what appears to have been an earlier charter, in which Ecgwine speaking *propria persona* lists the lands granted to him by various regents for his monastery at Evesham:

... 'quum maxime florere in diebus Æthelredi regis Merciorum, coepi eum benigniter precari ut mihi concedere dignaretur antiquum coenobium quod Fledanburg nuncupabatur; quod satis mihi libenti animo concessit sub testimonio heroum.... Intervallo facto modico a praedicti regis fratre, onomate Osuuardo, aliam terram cum ista adquisivi, id est viginti mansas in loco qui dicitur Æt Twyforda (pp. 376-77).

Ecgwine (still in *propria persona*) goes on to record other land transactions relating to Evesham (notably a donation by Æthelwulf, son of King Oshere), and states the total of land acquired by him for his monastery to be 120 *mansae*. He then proceeds to record the events of a journey to Rome by himself in the company of Kings Offa (Essex) and Cenred (Mercia) to obtain papal privileges for the Evesham monastery; and finally he records the proceedings of a synod convened by King Cenred at which Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, granted further privileges to Ecgwine's foundation. The privileges are sealed with the appropriate benediction and anathema, and Ecgwine's peroration (and presumably the charter) ends. Unfortunately, the original of the charter quoted by Byrhtferth has been lost, and we have no record of it but his own. It is clear that Byrhtferth was paraphrasing, not quoting verbatim: his version of the charter contains many polysyllabic adverbs (e.g. *benigniter*, *ineffabiliter*, *unanimiter*, etc.), as well as some characteristic Byrhtferthian phrases such as *rex armipotens* and *Romulea urbs*, and he omits the *testimonium heroum* or witness-list which must have been attached to the charter in question. Nonetheless, the outlines of this particular 'ancient charter' are clear from Byrhtferth's account of it, and its reliability as a source for Ecgwine's life must depend on whether it can be demonstrated to be authentic.

Concerning its form: the fact that it was written in Ecgwine's own person does not *per se* condemn the document as a forgery. Finberg points, for example, to a similar testament by Milburg, an eighth-century abbess of Much Wenlock and a contemporary of Ecgwine, that is preserved in the *Vita s. Milburgae* attributed to Goscelin.⁵² Finberg was inclined to see the Milburg testament as genuine, but his arguments were based on the dubious support of the Ecgwine testament in the *Vita*

⁵¹ *VSE*, p. 387; cf. also p. 350: 'non hic mea insero, sed quae in priscis inveni chartulis vel quae a fidelibus audiui'.

⁵² H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), pp. 201-206 and 214. Finberg printed this part of the *Vita s. Milburgae* for the first time.

s. *Ecgwini*. In any case, much of the content of Byrhtferth's 'ancient charter' marks it as spurious. For example, it states that Ecgwine went to Rome with Offa and Cenred, and that when they returned, Cenred convened a synod; but we know from the *Liber pontificalis* that both Offa and Cenred died in Rome soon after their arrival.⁵³ Bede, who records their journey in 709 (*HE* 5.19), makes no mention of Ecgwine. Furthermore, the charter adds that Wilfrith of York was present at the synod convened by Cenred; but—even supposing that the *Liber pontificalis* is in error—it is impossible that a synod could have been called quickly enough after their return from Rome to enable Wilfrith (who according to his biographer died at Oundle 24 April 709 after a terminal illness in Yorkshire⁵⁴) to attend. In short, this now lost charter, Byrhtferth's one historical source for the life of Ecgwine, was spurious; it presented precisely the sort of fabrication that a later forger, who had access to Bede but not to the *Liber pontificalis*, would have concocted.⁵⁵ The charter in question was probably earlier than Byrhtferth's presumed stay at Evesham (1015 × 1020?), and may have appeared to him to be a *vetus chartula*, but it cannot by any stretch of imagination have been a document contemporary with the life of Ecgwine himself.

Byrhtferth's desire to found his narrative on reliable sources led him to quote one other document which has no relevance whatsoever to Ecgwine, but which throws an interesting light on Byrhtferth's scholarship. After recounting the story of Ecgwine's first trip to Rome and the fact that Ecgwine brought back a letter of privilege from the pope, Byrhtferth goes on to say that at the same time another letter was brought from the pope to the English king (he does not imply, I think, that Ecgwine brought it):

Ea denique tempestate altera delata est epistola ad Anglorum regnum, quam gloriosus edidit papa Bonifacius et Eadbaldo regi Cantuariorum misit; quae postmodum a multis scripta est, quum ad correptionem multorum profuit virorum, maxime horum qui inique concubinas habebant, sicut praedictus rex faciebat (p. 360).

Byrhtferth's chronology is somewhat shaky: the pope in question is presumably Boniface V (619–625), and Eadbald was king of Kent from 616 to 640—scarcely *ea denique tempestate* as Ecgwine's trip to Rome! However, a few sentences later Byrhtferth quotes the opening of this supposed letter from Pope Boniface to King

⁵³ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. T. Mommsen (MGH *Gesta pontificum Romanorum* 1; Berlin, 1898), p. 225.

⁵⁴ B. Colgrave, ed. and trans., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), chap. 66, p. 140. The date 24 April is known from calendars; see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 278–79 and cf. discussion by K. Harrison, *The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D. 900* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 90–92.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869), 2.279–80.

Eadbald, and we see immediately that it is nothing of the sort. What he quotes is the opening of the famous letter from St. Boniface in Germany (dated 746-747) to Æthelbald, king of Mercia, chastising him for his licentious behaviour:⁵⁶

Gloriosissimo et in Christi amore caeteris regibus praeferendo inclyta Anglorum imperii sceptrā gubernanti Æthelbaldo regi, Bonifacius archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanae ecclesiae (p. 360).

We can scarcely surmise what led Byrhtferth to make so egregious an error. It is possible that he confused St. Boniface's condemnation of Æthelbald's incest with Bede's account of the incest of Eadbald, who, after the death of his father Æthelberht, had married Æthelberht's widow (*HE* 2.5); Bede also mentions in the same place that Pope Boniface IV (608-615) had sent a letter to King Æthelberht (*HE* 2.4). Byrhtferth may carelessly have assumed that this letter mentioned by Bede was the one he possessed and then mindlessly ignored the opening address of the letter as he was copying it. Whatever the explanation, the letter has nothing whatsoever to do with Ecgbwine.

These two documents—a spurious charter and an irrelevant letter—were the only source material pertaining to Ecgbwine and his age that Byrhtferth was able to acquire. He was therefore obliged to resort to oral traditions concerning the saint, and he was altogether more fortunate with regard to these traditions than he had been with documentary materials. Certain stories concerning miracles performed at Ecgbwine's tomb were probably conveyed to him by eyewitnesses: the story of the rustic who encroached on Evesham land and who was struck dead for his perjury, the criminal whose shackles miraculously burst from him, the seal which appeared in the river Avon on St. Ecgbwine's feast day and so provided the monks with their necessary meal of fish (!), the miraculous preservation of St. Ecgbwine's relics after the collapse of the church at Evesham during the time of Abbot Osweard (c.970-c.975). These stories presumably originated in Byrhtferth's own times. Other stories retailed by him, however, appear to have a lengthier ancestry. This is certainly the case with the story of Ecgbwine and the key. As Byrhtferth tells it, Ecgbwine shackled himself⁵⁷ before setting off for Rome, and threw the key to the shackles into the Avon. When he arrived in Rome he asked his companions to go fishing in the Tiber to see if they might catch a small fish. They did as he requested

⁵⁶ This letter is edited by M. Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* (MGH *Epist. selectae* 1; Berlin, 1916), no. 73 (pp. 146-55). The letter apparently had separate circulation in England, and the version cited by Byrhtferth differs somewhat from that printed by Tangl (who was unaware of Giles's edition of the *Vita s. Ecgbwini*); see further Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 280-81.

⁵⁷ The wearing of chains or shackles was a widespread penitential practice in the early Middle Ages; see C. Vogel, *La discipline pénitentielle en Gaule des origines à la fin du VII^e siècle* (Paris, 1952), p. 163.

and caught a middling salmon. He ordered them to eviscerate it and cook it; when the cook did this, he discovered the key to Ecgwine's shackles in the salmon's belly. So runs Byrhtferth's version of the story concerning Ecgwine and the key; but other versions were probably current. About a century after Byrhtferth, William of Malmesbury recorded a 'traditional' story according to which Ecgwine threw the key into the river, went to Rome, and on his return, while crossing the English Channel, a fish jumped into the boat, whereupon the key was discovered in the fish's liver.⁵⁸ It is not surprising that there should be variations in this story, since it is merely an adaptation of a common folktale or International Popular Tale⁵⁹ which is first recorded as early as Herodotus. In Herodotus (*Hist.* 3.41-43) the Samian tyrant Polycrates is advised to throw away a highly esteemed possession in order to propitiate the gods; he rows out to sea and casts away an emerald-studded ring; a few days later a fisherman presents to Polycrates a fish which he has caught, and the ring is discovered in the fish.⁶⁰ Versions of the same story are widespread in hagiography, occurring in the lives of St. Benno of Meissen, St. Gerbold of Bayeux, St. Ambrose of Cahors, and St. Maurilius of Angers.⁶¹ In insular hagiography variants of the story are found in Cogitosus' *Vita s. Brigidae*,⁶² a work (probably) of the mid-seventh century, and in the *Vita s. Kentigerni* (chap. 36) by Jocelyn of Furness, a work of the twelfth century which is based on much earlier tradition.⁶³ Given that so little was known about St. Ecgwine in later centuries, we need not wonder that an oral story of this sort should become attached to his name.

Byrhtferth relates another story concerning Ecgwine which likewise derives from popular tradition, but which, unlike the story of the key, may perhaps preserve a kernel of historical truth. The story concerns the foundation of the monastery of Evesham. Ecgwine acquired from King Æthelred some land at *Æthomme* which was thickly forested. He divided the forest into four sections and appointed a swineherd to invigilate each of these four sections: Eoves the eastern sector, Ympa the southern, Trottuc the western, and Cornuc the northern. The Virgin Mary appeared to Eoves in the sector under his jurisdiction; Ecgwine duly built a church on the site of the apparition (hence the name *Eoves-hamm*) and dedicated it to the

⁵⁸ *Gesta pontificum*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 296-97.

⁵⁹ See Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 2nd edition, 6 vols. (Copenhagen, 1955-8), motif no. B.548.2.1, and discussion of this motif by K. H. Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961), pp. 25-29 and 119.

⁶⁰ See R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, ed. J. Bolte, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1900), 2.209 n. 1.

⁶¹ See H. Delehay, *The Legends of Saints*, trans. D. Attwater (London, 1962), p. 24, and H. Bett, *English Legends*, 2nd edition (London, 1952), pp. 43-45.

⁶² PL 72.775-90; see J. Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin, 1955), pp. 53-56.

⁶³ Ed. A. P. Forbes, *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 159-242. See the extensive discussion of the ring motif by K. H. Jackson, 'The Sources for the Life of St. Kentigern' in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 273-357, especially pp. 322-24, 335 and 350-57.

Virgin. The point of the story is merely onomastic: Evesham is named after Eoves, Ecgwine's swineherd. But why should Byrhtferth have recorded the names of the other three swineherds, names which have no apparent relevance to the story?⁶⁴ It would seem that Byrhtferth, embarrassed by the paucity of his materials, was reluctant to reject any scrap of information, no matter how trivial or doubtfully relevant it might appear (this was certainly the case with the letter of St. Boniface to Æthelbald, discussed earlier). By chance, the story of the four swineherds appears to preserve some vestige of fact that can be verified by other sources. The original name of the site of the monastery, *Æthomme*, would seem to derive from the 'bend' (OE *hamm*) in the river there, and would originally have meant 'at the bend' (*ætt + hamm*). At a later time the element *ætt* was apparently replaced with the proper name *Eof*⁶⁵ (genitive *Eoves*), and it is not unlikely that this *Eof* may at one time have owned the land in question (whether or not he was really a swineherd is not important).

But what of Eoves's three colleagues: Cornuc, Trottuc and Ympa? There is a charter dated 706 which is arguably genuine⁶⁶ and which records a grant of land by Æthelweard to Ecgwine for his church at *Cronuchomme*, which is usually taken to be an early and alternative name for Evesham itself. The name *Cronuchomme* has been explained as deriving from OE *cranoc* (variously spelled *cornuc* or *cornoch*⁶⁷), 'crane', and meaning 'the bend in the river where cranes are found'.⁶⁸ I do not know if cranes were found at Evesham in Anglo-Saxon times; but is it not equally possible that *Cronuchomme* preserves the name of Eoves's colleague Cornuc, with simple metathesis of *-r-*? The existence of someone called Trottuc is more securely documented: two Evesham charters are witnessed by one 'Truttuc' (or 'Turtuc' in one charter: metathesis again) and one of these charters, or at least its witness-list, is arguably genuine.⁶⁹ Furthermore, it is possible that Trottuc's name survives in the modern Trotshill (formerly *Trottuswelle*⁷⁰), one mile east of Worcester. (Trotshill, by the way, is west of Evesham: recall that Trottuc was appointed by Ecgwine to supervise the western sector of the forest). The fourth swineherd, Ympa, does not

⁶⁴ One must, however, reckon with the possibility that the names of the swineherds recorded by Byrhtferth were the inventions of a later time, designed to reaffirm ownership of several Evesham estates (at Trotshill, Impney, etc.), rather than that Byrhtferth was preserving the actual names of former tenants of Evesham lands, as I suggest here.

⁶⁵ A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 263.

⁶⁶ BCS, no. 116 (Sawyer, no. 54). Byrhtferth did not know this charter or he would surely have cited it. Cf. also BCS, no. 118.

⁶⁷ See T. N. Toller's *Supplement* to J. Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1921; rpt. 1972), s.v. 'cranoc'.

⁶⁸ Mawer and Stenton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 263.

⁶⁹ BCS, nos. 116 and 124 (Sawyer, nos. 54 and 79 respectively).

⁷⁰ Mawer and Stenton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 176; Mawer and Stenton, however, suggest that the name is a compound of *wielle* and the personal name *Trott*.

appear to have witnessed any charters, but again it is possible that his name survives in that of the modern village Impney, one mile east of Droitwich. In the light of this place-name and charter evidence, it seems probable that Byrhtferth's story of the four swineherds derives from a genuine but faintly remembered tradition.

The documentary and legendary materials as I have described them constitute the sole sources from which Byrhtferth produced his *Vita s. Ecgwini*. In sum, these materials do not amount to very much. In order to produce a connected narrative of any length at all, Byrhtferth was obliged to invent. Because the saint's life normally exhibits a fairly fixed structure, the lines along which invention might proceed would be well established by convention. Thus a hagiographer would normally begin with a statement concerning the worthiness of the saint to be venerated as against his own unworthiness; the saint would then be introduced by means of a genealogical scheme whereby Christ's mission on earth would be seen as extending from himself to the twelve apostles, then to the martyrs and confessors, and ultimately to the particular saint in question; then the saint's life would be recorded in chronological sequence—his youth and the miracles during that time which marked him for future greatness, his adolescence and his acquisition of divine learning, his maturity, his promotion through the various ecclesiastical grades, and the miracles he was able to perform; then his old age and his retirement from active life in order to devote himself to contemplation, his prescience of his own death and his valediction to his followers, and finally his funeral; the *vita* would normally end with an account of the miracles performed at the saint's tomb. A pattern of this sort was accepted as conventional in hagiography throughout the Middle Ages, and it would apply as well to St. Cuthbert, whose *vita* was first compiled by a contemporary, as to St. Ecgwine, whose *vita* was only recorded three centuries after his death. Byrhtferth's task as hagiographer, then, was to adapt the scanty source material he had gleaned concerning Ecgwine to a structure resembling that outlined above. Byrhtferth would consequently have needed no source material to tell him (for example) that Ecgwine as a youth had first mastered the Psalter and then had proceeded to acquire competence in the seven liberal arts: the same might be said of virtually any Christian saint. Nevertheless, within the limits of the hagiographical framework, Byrhtferth—compelled no doubt by the scantiness of his sources—allowed himself considerable freedom of handling, and it is this freedom of handling which makes of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* so eccentric and idiosyncratic a document. Some of its more unusual features may be mentioned briefly.

Byrhtferth begins the *Vita s. Ecgwini* by explaining that the work is to be divided into four parts, and that these four parts will represent what Ecgwine did in each of the four stages of his life (*pueritia, adolescentia, iuventus, senectus*).⁷¹ Part I is taken

⁷¹ The numerological significance of this fourfold division is explained at length in the

up with the genealogy of Christ's mission, through the apostles, martyrs and confessors down to Ecgwine; it proceeds to note that Ecgwine was born of royal stock (*ex regali prosapia satus*: nearly every saint is alleged to come from either *regalis* or *nobilis prosapia*), that he was given over as a youth to daily study of the Scriptures, and that soon he became bishop of Worcester (Byrhtferth has already departed from his scheme of having the four parts of the *vita* correspond to the four stages of Ecgwine's life). The intermediary steps in this progression are (necessarily) omitted, although Byrhtferth might well have added that Ecgwine became *presbyter* and *leuita* before he was elevated to the Worcester bishopric. But Byrhtferth did feel compelled to add some detail concerning this early stage in Ecgwine's career, so he invented an occasion at which Ecgwine is depicted preaching to the people of Worcestershire concerning the Day of Judgment. Needless to say, Byrhtferth had no text of any such sermon delivered by Ecgwine. Instead, Byrhtferth simply inserted some twenty lines from Bede's poem *De die iudicii* and passed these lines off as Ecgwine's sermon.⁷² More remarkable is the fact that Byrhtferth uses this 'sermon' as motivation for Ecgwine's first trip to Rome: his castigation of the Mercians' vices in his preaching was allegedly so severe that they sought to have him banished. The king duly sent Ecgwine off to Rome to see if the pope would protect him. And at this point, Byrhtferth introduces the legendary story of Ecgwine and the key in the salmon's belly. Part I ends with the misunderstood letter of St. Boniface to King Æthelbald.

Part II is concerned with the founding of the monastery of Evesham. Here Byrhtferth merely retails the story of the four swineherds and the apparition of the Virgin Mary (as discussed earlier). It is embellished and amplified in characteristically Byrhtferthian fashion. The forest is said to be divided into four parts as Israel was divided by the tetrarchs. The sow which leads Eoves further into the forest on successive occasions (until the site of the apparition is reached) is described as

Encheiridion: 'est quaternarius adhuc humano bis bino septus stemate, id est, pueritia, adulescentia, iuuentute, senectute...' (*Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 204). The *Encheiridion* itself is similarly divided into four parts. Divisions in the *Vita s. Oswaldi* have been obscured by a careless scribe, but there appear to have been more than four.

⁷² *VSE*, pp. 356-57. Giles (the editor of Bede's complete works) did not recognize two of the hexameters embedded in the text nor, apparently, that all this section was derived from Bede. Bede's *De die iudicii* is edited by J. Fraipont in *Bedae opera homiletica et rhythmica* (CCL 122; Turnhout, 1955), pp. 439-48; the lines quoted by Byrhtferth are nos. 49-50, 51-55, 57-61, 66-67, 79-80 and 124-27. On the textual tradition and the certain ascription of this work to Bede, see L. Whitbread, 'A Study of Bede's *Versus De Die Iudicii*', *Philological Quarterly* 23 (1944) 193-221. In several places the text cited by Byrhtferth varies considerably from that of any extant manuscripts (as reported by Fraipont), but this may be due to scribal carelessness. On the later knowledge of Bede's poem, see L. Whitbread, 'After Bede: The Influence and Dissemination of His Doomsday Verses', *Archiv* 204 (1967) 250-66; Whitbread, however, was unaware of the extensive citations from Bede's poem in the *Vita s. Ecgwini*.

having litters of seven and then nine piglets. The story of the sow and piglets may possibly derive from a local, oral tradition;⁷³ but the numerological intrusion of the numbers seven and nine is unquestionably Byrhtferth's contribution: as we learn from the *Encheiridion*, seven represents the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and nine is a perfect number which represents the orders of the angels.⁷⁴

The entirety of Part III is taken up with Byrhtferth's paraphrase of his 'ancient charter', in which Ecgwine speaks *propria persona* about his second trip to Rome with Cenred and Offa, and the synod called by Cenred to ratify the pope's privilege to Evesham.

Part IV is largely concerned with the death of Ecgwine and with miracles performed through his intercession. This part too is greatly amplified by a piece of Byrhtferthian invention. Before recounting Ecgwine's death (and the numerological significance of its date), Byrhtferth attempts to represent allegorically Ecgwine's lifelong struggle with the devil and the eight deadly sins. The allegory proceeds (without any introduction or explanation) as follows: Ninus built a great fortress in Babylon (*scil.* Nineveh); and he stationed two guards at each gate (east, west, north, south) of the fortress while he himself retired to a central citadel within it. Meanwhile, King David, who had built the city of Jerusalem, decided to attack and overthrow Ninus' fortress, and in order to do so he called upon St. Ecgwine. Ecgwine duly attacks the fortress one gate at a time, vanquishing the eight guards as well as their wives (who are variously named Ira, Rixa, Fornicatio, Immunditia etc.). He eventually attacks the citadel itself and overthrows the leader, who by now is simply called Beemoth (the allegorical scheme having been abandoned), and here the allegorical interlude ends abruptly. Byrhtferth does not trouble to explain the significance of the allegory,⁷⁵ and passes on straightway to record Ecgwine's death and the miracles which follow it.

⁷³ There are some interesting Celtic parallels to the story of the finding of the site of Evesham by the swineherd Eoves. For example, a vision by a swineherd leads in an Irish story to the finding of Cashel and the coming of Conall Corc to the kingship of Munster (see discussion by A. and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage* [London, 1961], pp. 178 and 186, and by F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* [London, 1973], pp. 185-88). In Celtic myth, swine were often associated with the otherworld. A somewhat closer parallel to the story of Eoves is related about Glastonbury: a swineherd allegedly came by chance upon an eight-legged sow who was suckling her piglets under an apple tree, and this subsequently became the site of Glastonbury Abbey (see H. P. R. Finberg, *West-Country Historical Studies* [London, 1969], pp. 80-81). But foundation stories of this sort are not confined to Celtic sources: Virgil recounts a similar story involving a giant white sow and her piglets found in an oak grove on the site of the future Rome (*Aen.* 8.42-45, 82-85). Byrhtferth presumably derived his foundation story from an oral, rather than a literary, source.

⁷⁴ *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, pp. 210-12 and 216. Interestingly, in discussing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, Byrhtferth mentions (p. 212) that these gifts were possessed by Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, St. Peter and Oswald!

⁷⁵ The scheme is not as transparent as one might wish: at first glance it would seem reasonable to explain Ninus and his eight guards as Satan and the eight deadly sins. However, the guards are

I hope that the above outline will indicate something of the highly idiosyncratic nature of the *Vita s. Ecgwini*; this idiosyncrasy would no doubt be thrown into stronger relief by a detailed comparison of the *Vita s. Oswaldi*, where Byrhtferth was working from his own personal recollection and that of his colleagues about the recently departed Oswald, and the *Vita s. Ecgwini*, where no such recollections were available.

* * *

If the arguments presented above can be accepted, then the *Vita s. Ecgwini* and the *Vita s. Oswaldi* may now be added to the present canon of Byrhtferth's Latin writings, namely, the *Encheiridion* and the *Epilogus*. These proposed additions should be considered together with recently proposed additions to the canon of his Old English writings. Peter Clemoes has suggested, for example, that Byrhtferth was responsible for the compilation of the Old English *Hexateuch* as well as for translation into Old English of various parts of that *Hexateuch* (parts of Genesis, Numbers and Joshua, and the entirety of Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy).⁷⁶ It is also possible that it was Byrhtferth who made the Old English translations of the *Poenitentie Pseudo-Ecgberti* and the *Confessionale Pseudo-Ecgberti*.⁷⁷

To these works in a growing canon of Byrhtferth's writings I would add one more possibility. Giles in his edition of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* did not indicate that, at various places in Cotton Nero E.i, a series of glosses (some of which are in Old English⁷⁸) is found accompanying the text. These glosses deserve close study, because many of them appear to have been written by the author of the *vita* himself, and many of them are closely related to material in the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Encheiridion*. Some of the glosses are written in the first person and are expansions of the narrative rather than mere explanations of it. Thus the glossator adds the following

variously named Phariseus, Saduceus, Sabellius, etc.; and it is the guards' wives whom Byrhtferth specifically designates as the eight deadly sins (*VSE*, p. 384: 'quum ... bis quaternos duces bisque ternas et binas opprimeret eorum conjuges, octo principalia vitia dico...'). If this is the case, what do the eight guards represent? Byrhtferth apparently did not trouble himself about such details.

⁷⁶ 'The Composition of the Old English Text' in *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, ed. P. Clemoes and C. R. Dodwell (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 18; Copenhagen, 1974), pp. 42-53; cf. M. McC. Gatch, 'Beginnings Continued: A Decade of Studies of Old English Prose', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976) 225-43, especially 236-37. The canon of Byrhtferth's Old English writings (and the suggestions of Clemoes in particular) have recently been examined in an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Peter S. Baker, *Studies in the Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey* (Yale, 1978); the publication of Baker's important work will shed light on a number of difficult problems.

⁷⁷ Clemoes, *ibid.*, p. 52 n. 2; cf. R. Spindler, *Die altenglische Bussbuch* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 124, who suggests that the *Confessionale* is probably a Ramsey work.

⁷⁸ These few Old English glosses have been printed by A. S. Napier, *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished* (Oxford, 1900), no. 35.

gloss to the opening sentence of the *vita* concerning the glory which pertained to the three youths cast into the furnace by Nebuchadnezzar:

Sicut illis fuit gloria, quod quartus cum illis erat qui illis refrigerium prestabat, sic mihi, quod eum possum laudari, sciens eum esse unum in trinitate uerum Deum, et trinum in unitate plena fide fideliter firmiterque credens (fol. 24r).

The parallel between the boys (in the text) and the purpose of the work (in the gloss) reveals the intention of the author himself; and the two adverbs in *-iter* as well as the mistaken passive infinitive (*laudari*) suggest that this author is Byrhtferth. At another point where the text of the *vita* is explaining that the twelve-year-old Christ already had revealed his divinity, the glossator adds rather unpredictably:

scilicet, si ad .xii. montes bis .viii., fiunt .xxx.: sic fuit redemptor cum Iohannes eum Iordanico flumine perfudit (fol. 24v).

This inclination to provide numerological explanations is characteristic of the glossator even when, as here, there is no basis in the text for such numerology. The phrase *Iordanico flumine* meaning 'baptism' is noteworthy: it is also found in the text of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* and twice in the *Vita s. Oswaldi*.⁷⁹ In discussing the layout of his *vita*, Byrhtferth mentions the four ages of man through which Ecgwine passed; to this the glossator adds:

sicut sunt quatuor etates hominis, sic sunt quatuor uarietates mundi uel quatuor elementa, id est ignis, aer, humor, aqua [*sic*], uel tempora anni, id est uer, estas, autumpnus, hiemps (fol. 25r).

This gloss is virtually identical with a passage in the *Encheiridion*.⁸⁰ I noted above that a tendency to use adverbs excessively was characteristic of Byrhtferth. The glossator of the *Vita s. Ecgwini* similarly delights in adverbs. Above the four verbs in the sentence 'quomodo locum qui Eovesham dicitur adquisiuit, elegit, consecrauit, ditauit' (p. 350), the glossator has written: 'aduerbialiter iuste, apte, honeste, locuplete' (fol. 24v). This is verbal playfulness, and is not intended to explicate the text (the adverb *aduerbialiter* is itself something of a rarity!). Elsewhere the glossator has glossed the lemma *perluce* as *opipare uel ualde splendide* (fol. 24v); this gloss in turn recalls statements both in the *Vita s. Ecgwini* ('opipare quod nos splendide dicere possumus') and the *Encheiridion* ('opipare id est splendide').⁸¹

In short, I take it that the glosses accompanying the *Vita s. Ecgwini* in Cotton Nero E.i were written by Byrhtferth himself; with this in mind it would be

⁷⁹ *VSE*, p. 353; *VSO*, pp. 400 and 422.

⁸⁰ *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 204.

⁸¹ *VSE*, p. 386; *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. Crawford, p. 222; see above, p. 339.

worthwhile to reexamine the interlinear glosses accompanying the *Vita s. Oswaldi*⁸² in the same manuscript, as well as those accompanying the *Encheiridion* in the sole manuscript of that work (Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Ashmole 328).⁸³ When all these various writings have been assembled and studied together, it seems probable that Byrhtferth will emerge as one of the most prolific of the authors of the late Anglo-Saxon period whose works have survived to the present time.⁸⁴

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⁸² The glosses accompanying the *Vita s. Oswaldi* are printed by Raine, *VSO*.

⁸³ The glosses accompanying the *Encheiridion* are splendidly printed by Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual*. The suggestion made here (that the OE glosses in ms. Ashmole 328 are by Byrhtferth himself) has been confirmed by the detailed studies of Baker, *Studies in the Old English Canon*, pp. 51-57.

⁸⁴ I am very grateful to Peter Clemoes, David Dumville, and Patrick Sims-Williams for advice on a number of points. I might add, by way of postscript, that I have elsewhere discussed some further evidence of Byrhtferth's literary activity: 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham', *Medievalia et humanistica* 10 (1979), forthcoming.

TRACTATUS MAGISTRI JOHANNIS GERSON
DE MISTICA THEOLOGIA:
ST. PÖLTEN, DIÖZESANARCHIV MS. 25¹

Edmund Colledge, O.S.A. and J. C. Marler

ABOUT the middle of the fifteenth century, the Augustinian canons regular of St. Pölten in Lower Austria made considerable efforts to acquire a wide selection of the Latin works of John Gerson. His reputation as a theologian, moralist and statesman had in his lifetime spread throughout Europe, particularly in the lands where his 'moderate conciliarism' could win acceptance as a solution to the Church's troubles; and after his death in 1429 that reputation appears not to have declined. Some at least of the manuscripts which the St. Pölten canons acquired have not been lost. They are still preserved in the monastic buildings, as a part of the diocesan archives established after, in the late eighteenth century, the house was secularized and made the new headquarters of the episcopal see then transferred to St. Pölten from Wiener-Neustadt. No published catalogue or description of the manuscripts and incunabula to be found there yet exists. We owe it to the indefatigable researches of Paul Oskar Kristeller and of Stephan Kuttner² that a first notice of them appeared in modern times, and to the acumen and organization of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota³ that copies of them are now available for consultation. In May 1977 the present writers, seeking for evidence of the dissemination of the various Latin versions of and commentaries upon the writings of pseudo-Dionysius, discovered, at Collegeville, in ms. St. Pölten 25 (HMML Pr. no. 6263) an incomplete, only

¹ The writers are grateful to the Canada Council for generous subvention of Edmund Colledge's researches, which have enabled him to visit various European collections of manuscripts and them to work at Collegeville. They owe a special debt to Margaret Amassian for her interest, encouragement and kindness whilst this investigation has been in progress.

² P. O. Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*, 3rd edition (New York, 1965), p. 193.

³ We are indebted to this unique collection of microfilms of manuscripts, and especially to its Director, Julian G. Planté, for the facilities which we were given; and all who use the collection are obliged to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Northwest Area Foundation (formerly the Hill Family Foundation) for their support of this invaluable adjunct to classical and mediaeval scholarship.

partially drafted exposition of his *Mystica theologia* and of the 'First Letter to Gaius', which has been unknown to any of the scholars who have occupied themselves with Gerson's writings, among whom, in this century, André Combes and Palémon Glorieux rank first.

The debt which the scholarly world will always owe to Glorieux's ten-volume edition of Gerson's works⁴ is very great; but, as Combes never wearied of remarking, Glorieux did not attempt to edit them critically. Faced with the enormous residue of the proliferation throughout the fifteenth century of the chancellor's vast literary output, his editor chose to content himself with what the labours of his precursors and contemporaries, notably Louis Ellies du Pin and Combes himself, and his own random samplings suggested as the best single manuscripts of the corpus. No consistent attempt was made to evaluate the contents of every manuscript already identified, still less to search for others; so that, as this present find shows, his choice of method was not without its dangers.

It is very probable that from time to time other new works by Gerson will be found, for some are known to be lost. The sermon which he preached on 7 November 1406, defending the authenticity of the relic of St. Denis owned by Notre Dame in Paris, has disappeared.⁵ Combes notes that the first three items in the list of his writings by his brother John the Celestine are not today extant;⁶ and after the first of these, the 'Collatio in primo cursu theologiae', the catalogue given in ms. St. Pölten 25, fols. 260a-261c, based on that by John the Celestine but with additions and revisions, notes: 'De hijs incertum est si et vbi supersint'. This list also concludes: 'Obmissi sunt hic multi tractatus et opuscula varia quos et que idem doctor in Gallico compilauit'. Some of his works were written whilst he was abroad, and not only at Constance; DMTP,⁷ for example, was composed between 16 August 1407 and 26 January 1408 in Genoa, when he was a member of the mission sent by Charles VI and the French Church to the two rival claimants of the papacy.⁸ There

⁴ *Oeuvres complètes*, 10 vols. (Paris-Tournai, 1960-73), which will hereafter be referred to as 'Glorieux'.

⁵ Max Lieberman, 'Chronologie gersonienne', *Romania* 70 (1948) 51-57; 73 (1952) 480-96; 74 (1953) 289-337; 76 (1955) 289-333; 78 (1957) 433-62; 79 (1958) 339-75; 80 (1959) 289-336; 81 (1960) 44-98, 338-79; 83 (1962) 52-89; cf. 78 447.

⁶ *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1945-72), 1.829 nn. b, c, d.

⁷ The following title abbreviations will be employed:

AVHG = *Anagogicum de verbo et hymno gloriae*

CSM = *Collectorium super Magnificat*

DESMT = *De elucidatione scholastica mysticae theologiae*

DMTP = *De mystica theologia practica*

DO = *De oculo*

MT = (pseudo-Dionysius) *Mystica theologia*

NSQVD = *Notulae super quaedam verba Dionysii De coelesti hierarchia*

SCC = *Super Cantica canticorum*.

⁸ Lieberman, 'Chronologie', 78 438.

may have been many periods of his life, before the seclusion of his last years at Lyons, when his intense academic, literary and political activities left him and his secretariat little time for careful conservation.

Evidence that the St. Pölten canons were systematically collecting Gerson's writings is obtained by comparing ms. 25 with mss. 9, 20 and 22 of the archive. Mss. 9 and 22, written in a variety of hands, some of which closely resemble that of ms. 25, and with similar binding, contain, dispersed among the works of other authors, several texts known to and edited by Glorieux. In ms. 22, the scribe of one Gerson item dates its conclusion, fol. 71c, 19 September 1460. But ms. 20, which contains only, fols. 2a-207c, CSM, is by the same single scribe who also copied the whole of ms. 25, their contemporary bindings are by the same craftsmen, and their fifteenth-century labels on the outer front covers are in another, identical hand. None of these four manuscripts has any early library mark; but it is the expert opinion of the present St. Pölten archivist, Dr. Gerhard Winner, that all of them were written either in or for the monastery. Although the boards of the binding are worm eaten and its clasps and bosses are damaged or missing, the folios themselves are almost perfectly preserved, which suggests permanent, single, careful ownership. It must be added that the texts show singularly few marks of ever having been subjected to close study, still less of collation with other, superior copies. This is indicated by the very defective Eriugena versions of pseudo-Dionysius which are given, though, as will be seen, there are historical explanations of that.

The hand of mss. 20 and 25 is characteristically Austrian (rather than German) cursive of the mid-fifteenth century, fine, regular, careful and clear. The scribe has himself provided rubrics and smaller coloured capitals, leaving space for larger ones to be drawn and flourished, and only occasionally supplying guide letters (usually a sign that the whole work of production was being achieved under one roof, and that a codex was not to be sent out for decoration). Ms. 25 was so completed, not without some errors; the spaces in ms. 20 remain unfilled.

Ms. 25 has, as paste-downs and as fly-leaves now numbered as fols. 1 and 264, four vellum leaves from a c.1300 collection of decretals. Fols. 2-263 are paper, 210 × 290 mm., ruled 30 lines to the page. Fols. 2-191, 221-263 are written two columns to the page, the rest in single columns, apart from the parallel Eriugena text and Gerson commentary for chapter 1 of MT. At the time of binding the leaves were cropped, as the flourishing of capital letters shows, so that any signatures to the gatherings were lost; but the catchwords to fols. 13 (*recte* 12)v, 25v, 37v, 49v, etc. show that the gatherings are of six bifolia each. This is also witnessed by another feature; apparently in order to preserve the outer pages of each gathering from damage until after binding, it was enclosed and stitched together with the rest in a cover of written vellum, evidently discarded as scrap, which was thereafter excised, so that the stubs, often with fragmentary lettering on them, still remain.

The foliation is modern; but fols. 3-191 have also the scribe's Arabic page

numbers, 1-189. Fols. 1-2 contain the prologue (not found in the manuscript edited by Glorieux) to CSM, fols. 3-191 contain P's copy of that text, written (unlike the prologue) two columns to the page. This seems to indicate that the prologue and the text were copied from different codices.

The textual contents are as follows:

- (1) (fol. 2a) *Collectorium super Magnificat particulas habet expositas....* (fol. 2d) *Spectat ad hanc materiam Centilogium de gloria. Queratur in Collectorio vij sportarum.*⁹

- (2) (fol. 2d) *Sequitur prohemium super tractatibus in cantico Marie Magnificat magistri Johannis Gerson cancellarij Parysiensis eximij* (fol. 3a) *doctoris in sacra theologia anno domini 1429.*¹⁰

*Canticum Marie tractaturus in solacium peregrinationis mee*¹¹.... (fol. 191d) *superaddens ad canticum meum gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto sicut erat et cetera.*¹²

(The rest of fol. 191d blank, fol. 192r e.s. written in single columns.)

- (3) (fol. 192r) *Gloria in excelsis deo patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Nihil enim potest apcius preferri volentibus nobis de verbo et hymno glorie....* (fol. 205v) *deo et eidem gloriosissime virgini matri et filie cum qua supermagnificet anima mea dominum. Amen.*

*Explicit Anagogicum de verbo et hymno glorie a Johanne cancellario Parisiensi Lugduni anno 1428. Et continet quatuor particiones principales in quarum qualibet sunt x verba seu consideraciones et in quolibet versu multe notule seu verbula per litteras alphabeti usque ad numerum C iiij^{x<x>} <xv>*¹³ *presulatum tunc agente reuerendissimo patre domino Amadeo*¹⁴

⁹ This is the preface to CSM, as printed by Glorieux from his manuscript, 8.163-64.

¹⁰ This introductory sentence is not found in Glorieux.

¹¹ In his writings, Gerson constantly plays upon the resemblance of his name to that of 'Gersom' or 'Gerson', the son of Levi (Gen 46:11, etc.), and on its mediaeval etymology, Hebrew *ger*, n. and v., 'sojourner, to sojourn' (we are indebted to Gregory Campbell, O.S.A., for elucidation of this matter). In his *Josephina*, and in a letter to his Celestine brother from Constance, 1 January 1417, he describes how he would wish to be portrayed; he is to be shown with a 'mystic shield', marked with the Tau-cross, a well-known pilgrim's sign, and he is to have a pilgrim's hat, staff and scrip. These instructions are faithfully followed in what is commonly known as the *icon peregrini*, first found in the Strasbourg 1488 printed edition (Max Lieberman, 'Autour de l'iconographie gersonienne', *Romania* 84 [1963] 307-53). In the Constance sermon 'Obsecro vos tamquam adveni...', he says: '... imposuerunt nomina Gersan et Gerson quae interpretati sonant idem quod advena vel peregrinus' (Glorieux 5.398).

¹² The text of CSM; Glorieux 8.164-534.

¹³ Ms.: C iiij^{xv} 2x. Glorieux prints '190', but notes that his manuscript reads 'c iiij^{xx} xu'; and there are in fact 195 'notulae'.

¹⁴ Amadeus de Talara, nominated archbishop of Lyons 15 December 1417 (Conrad Eubel et al., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 8 vols. [Münster, etc., 1898-1958], 1.316); ob. 11 February 1444 (ibid. 2.201).

archipresule et comite Lugdunense primate Galliarum nostre peregrinacionis beniguoletissimo¹⁵ susceptore.

- (4) (fol. 206r) Incipit tractatus magistri Johannis Gerson De mistica theologia.... (A full account of these next folios will be given in the text which follows on pp. 362-70 below.)
- (5) ... (fol. 211r) Hoc est omnium ipsam esse et simpliciore (fol. 211v) et diuiniorem ymmo vero ipsam esse solam veram et vnam simplam diuinam scienciam et cetera.
Textus isti Dyonisij sunt incorrepti sed non inuenit alios scilicet dominus Johannes Gersonis expositor cancellarius Parisiensis presens. Querat lector cum expositoribus, specialiter Vercellensem, qui conformiter ad doctrinam Dyonisij studuit exponere Cantica canticorum onerans se allegacionibus more iuristarum.¹⁶
- (6) (fol. 211v) Opusculum ad elucidacionem scolasticam mystice theologie sub duodecim consideracionibus a Johanne cancellario Parisiense 1424 (*sic*) prima Junij. Prohemium.¹⁷
Uobis datum est nosce misterium regni celorum.... (fol. 215v) Hoc (*sic*) scripta sunt Lugduni ad elucidacionem scolasticam theologie mystice consistentis in amore.
Per Johannem cancellarium Parisiensem anno 1429 prima Junij etc.¹⁸ Nota quod hic desunt octo propositiones pro Centilogij¹⁹ complemento sed habentur ex Anagogico de verbo et ympno glorie.
- (7) (fol. 215v) Sequitur tractatulus De oculo. Prohemium.
Gauisi sunt discipuli viso domino. Quibus antea dixerat.... (fol. 218r) et docuerit hic magnus vocabitur in regno celorum vbi visio erit tota merces et gaudium plenum.
Explicit tractatulus De oculo a Johanne cancellario Parisiense et cetera.²⁰
(The rest of fol. 218 and fols. 219-220 blank.)
- (8) (fol. 221a) Amo te sacer ordo Cartusiensis quoniam amas me proximum

¹⁵ This blend of *benignus* and *benevolens* does not seem to be recorded in the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* or elsewhere.

¹⁶ Gerson had already praised Thomas Gallus' exposition in similar terms: he had written 'breviter et accomode apud eruditos in libris et doctrina Dionysii, non ita pro ceteris neque pro ignorantibus suas tot praecisas allegaciones more iuristarum quae vix correcte scribuntur aut notantur' (SCC, Glorieux 8.575).

¹⁷ DESMT, Glorieux 8.154, where, however, this title is not found.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 154-61.

¹⁹ Several of Gerson's works are entitled *Centilogia*. On the mediaeval fashion for such terms, see Rudolph Arbesmann, 'The Question of the Authorship of the "Milleloquium Veritatis S. Augustini"' in ΠΑΡΑΘΕΣΙΣ. *Studies in Memory of Edwin A. Quain*, ed. H. G. Fletcher III and M. B. Schulte (New York, 1976), pp. 169-70.

²⁰ DO, Glorieux 8.149-54.

tuum.... (fol. 258c) a dignacione dilecti mei nisi illud ab inicio osculetur me osculo oris sui.

Compleuit iste doctor eleuatus hoc opus egregium super Cantica canticorum apud Lugdunum Gallie anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo nono die sabbati nona mensis Julij. Duodecima vero die eiusdem mensis anno etatis sue lx^o vj^o inter verba oracionis spiritum deo deuote reddidit et dulcibus nunc, ut pie creditur, amplexibus et osculis dilecti sponsi sui perfruitur, de quibus in vltimis suis canticis tanta et tam sublimia mera (*sic*) subtilitate et affectus suauitate dulci gutture velut olor morte parata modulatus est et cetera.²¹

- (9) (fol. 258c) Sequitur carmen iocundum ad excitandum cor in superna ab eodem Johanne cancellario compositum.
Nouum tempus adest fac hylaresce (*sic*).... (fol. 259a) Tale mi Iacob respondeas amenum carmen amo te.²²
- (10) (fol. 259b) Epithafium de obitu Gersonis eximij doctoris sequitur.
Evocat ad plactus studium te Parysiense.... (fol. 259d) Imprecor ut redeat spiritus ad dominum et cetera. Amen.²³
- (11) (fol. 260a) Opuscula et tractatus ipsius magistri Johannis Gerson cancellarij Parisiensis etc.
Collacio in primo cursu theologie Parisius in regali collegio Nauarre et consequenter in secundo.... (fol. 261c) Obmissi sunt hic multi tractatus et opuscula varia quos et que idem doctor in Gallico compilauit et cetera.²⁴
(The rest of fol. 261 blank.)
- (12) (fol. 262a) Sequitur tractatulus De vna pretiosa margarita compositus Lugduni a Johanne cancellario Parisiense die sancte Margarite virginis et martyris. Prohemium.
Simile est regnum celorum homini negotiatori.... (fol. 263d) et scintillantes spiritus animales magnos interius et exterius effectus ostendunt maxime per oculos. Dum scintilla²⁵ (the rest wanting).

Before offering a text of the pseudo-Dionysius commentaries and our own glosses to them, we may here appropriately make some remarks on the general charac-

²¹ SCC, *ibid.*, pp. 565-639.

²² A version, with many unrecorded variants, of 'Epithalamium mysticum', *ibid.* 4.144-46.

²³ *ibid.*, p. xxvii.

²⁴ This resembles Glorieux's *Annotatio II*, 1.29-33; but it offers so many variants, some caused by scribal carelessness, others by revision and augmentation, that it presents problems which only experts in Gerson bibliography and chronology could solve. We have therefore judged it better to leave examination of this text to them.

²⁵ See Glorieux 2.252 *e.s.*, 'Gerson à Gérard Machet, Lyon, 10 juillet 1429, *Lettre-traité De una preciosa margarita*'. Fol. 263v ends in 'Consideration 35'; the total number is 40.

teristics of the whole contents of the codex. Chronologically and geographically it is remote from Gerson's Lyons, but none the less it seems to be an anthology of works written there in the chancellor's last years. Furthermore, it may be that his brother, John the Celestine, had some hand in its archetype's making, or that it was made from texts on which he had worked. He was the author of the colophon to SCC on fol. 258c, and in its perfect form that ends: 'Vale, mi domine et frater, et unici tui germani Coelestini quondam tibi cari in hoc coeno relictis curam apud dominum piam agere non desiste'.²⁶ Even more significant than this is the wholly unjustifiable appearance, on fol. 215v, of the rubric: 'Nota quod hic desunt octo propositiones....' This is written, by the scribe, in the space of two lines' depth which he had originally left blank to divide the end of DESMT, '... per Johannem cancellarium Parisiensem anno 1429 prima Junij', from the beginning of DO, 'Gausi sunt discipuli....' It has no place whatever here, for it is a garbled version of the note found in Marseilles, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 241, fol. 126v, which Glorieux considered to have been composed by John the Celestine.²⁷ In it he is describing how a *Collectorium septem sportarum*²⁸ could be edited from various other 'centilogia', one capable of being made 'ex libro de Canticis, parte ultima', and the six others already transcribed in the Marseilles manuscript, 'nisi quod octo propositiones desunt pro centilogii tertii (which is the *Centilogium de modis significandi*) complemento; habentur autem in septimo' (which is AVHG). It is impossible to say why anyone thought this note appropriate here, as the St. Pölten scribe has placed it; but he seems to have obtained it from an exemplar also showing John the Celestine's zeal in his role as his brother's editor-in-chief.

Yet there is another circumstance which helps to place and date the making of the archetype, namely, the note on fol. 211r at the end of the pseudo-Dionysius material, 'Textus isti Dyonisij sunt incorrupti....' This explains not only the many scribal errors in the text, but also that on fol. 208v the MT text breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and the 'First Letter to Gaius' begins without interruption (suppressing, we may guess, a space left blank in the archetype for the completion of MT). This was never done because, as the note states, the necessary texts were not available. The evident explanation of this is found in the chancellor's letter of November 1428 to the Celestines at Avignon.²⁹ On 14 December next he would celebrate his sixty-sixth birthday, and he was ailing; he was therefore sending his books, his own works and those of others, from Lyons to them, and they were to keep them in perpetuity but to allow them to be consulted. He had ordered a list to be made, which he would send to Avignon, of all the titles of books and tracts being

²⁶ *ibid.* 8.639.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. viii n. 1.

²⁸ See also *ibid.* 1.137.

²⁹ *ibid.* 2.334.

dispatched. This accords with the internal evidence that this new MT commentary was composed after AVHG, which is dated, with CSM, in 1428;³⁰ and John the Celestine tells us in his colophon to SCC that his brother (despite this lack of his library) continued to write until within a few days of his death. No trace of these manuscripts seems to have survived; and Léon-Honoré Labande, in his catalogue of the present Avignon collections,³¹ considered it virtually certain that they never reached their destination. The chancellor is not mentioned by the Celestines, in their martyrology or elsewhere, among the many benefactors of their library whom they commemorated. But it would seem that his books did pass out of Gerson's keeping; and this serves to date the projected composition of the pseudo-Dionysius commentaries roughly within the first six months of 1429. Whether the work was interrupted by his death or was abandoned we cannot tell.

No useful purpose would be served by reproducing exactly the scribe's arrangement of his copy. On fol. 206r, the incipit and titles to the treatise and its chapters are written across the width of the page; and wherever this is the case, folio numbers are given as 'r' and 'v'. For the first chapter of MT (the only one for which there is a completed commentary in connected prose), the scribe copies in parallel columns, fols. 206r-207r, Gerson's commentary in a narrower left-hand column, the Eriugena translation to the right. We have, however, printed the Eriugena text, on fols. 206b, 206d and 207b, first, and the commentary, on fols. 206a, 206c and 207a, second. Halfway down fol. 207r the Gerson commentary ends, and the rest of the Eriugena text of chapter 1 is copied across the width of the page, as are chapters 2-5 of MT and the other Eriugena pseudo-Dionysius texts. For the last four chapters of MT and for the 'First Letter to Gaius' the scribe has copied, in his minuscule hand, the brief interlinear and marginal notes which are evidently Gerson's indications of what he proposed to write but never completed; and these have been reproduced in situ in a smaller fount, so as to show their relation to Eriugena's text. With the end of the 'First Letter', at the foot of fol. 208v, these notes end; and the rest of the Eriugena translations (fols. 208v-211v, the remaining 'Letters to Gaius' and an excerpt from the *De divinis nominibus*) has not been printed below.

In presenting this material, the scribe's spelling has been retained, but not invariably his division of words and sentences. Since this manuscript may be unique, its state, including the scribe's own numerous corrections and additions, has been reported. Pointed and square brackets indicate respectively additions and deletions of words by the editors. In presenting the Eriugena translations, the

³⁰ *ibid.* 1.137.

³¹ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) 27 (Paris, 1894), pp. xxii-xxvi.

editors have been guided by the readings of Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek ms. 111, of the twelfth century, one of the earliest and best which they have until now examined. This codex, according to I. P. Sheldon-Williams,³² preserves a text of the first version made by Eriugena from the Greek which, Théry asserted,³³ is contained in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds grec 437. Unfortunately, the latter could not be used as a control, since, among other deficiencies, it today lacks both MT and the 'First Letter to Gaius'. Instead, for the Greek, Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Canon. gr. 97 (SC 18550) is cited, which is Grosseteste's manuscript; this was copied in the thirteenth century from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds grec 933, which, Delisle stated, is that brought from Constantinople in 1167 by William 'the Physician', later abbot of St. Denis.³⁴ It has been judged preferable to use these manuscripts rather than the often unreliable early Greek and Latin printed texts reproduced by Chevallier.³⁵

The texts, with Gerson's commentaries and glosses, now follow, and these sigla have been used:

H = Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibl. 111

O = Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Canon. gr. 97

P = St. Pölten, Diözesanarchiv 25.

(f. 206r) Incipit tractatus magistri Johannis Gerson De mistica theologia.

Dionysij Ariopagite episcopi Athenarum ad Thimoteum episcopum Ephesi De mistica theologia capitula quinque.

Primum capitulum: De mistica theologia: Quid diuina caligo.

5 Secundum capitulum: Quomodo oportet et vniri et hymnos referre omni causali³⁶ et super omnia.

Tercium capitulum: Que καταφατικαί theologie, que αποφατικαί,³⁷ id est que affirmaciones et que negaciones.³⁸

³² 'A Bibliography of Johannes Scotus Eriugena', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 10 (1959) 198-224.

³³ *Etudes dionysiennes* 1 (Paris, 1932), pp. 63-100.

³⁴ Ruth Barbour, 'A Manuscript of Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita Copied for Robert Grosseteste', *Bodleian Library Record* 6 (1957-61) 405 and n. 1. Some of the information available concerning ms. grec 933 and the other extant Greek pseudo-Dionysius codices which formerly belonged to the abbey of St. Denis is to be found in Roberto Weiss, 'Lo studio del greco all'abbazia di San Dionigi durante il Medioevo' in *Medieval and Humanistic Greek. Collected Essays by Roberto Weiss* (Padua, 1977), pp. 44-59 (reprinted from *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 6 [1952] 426-38).

³⁵ Philippe Chevallier, *Dionysiaca*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937-50).

³⁶ τῷ πάντων αἰτίῳ O, omnium cause H.

³⁷ ἀποφατικαί O, αποφατικαί H: antisφατικαί P.

³⁸ negacoes P.

Quantum capitulum: Quia nichil sensibilibus omnis sensibilis per excellenciam
 10 causalis; nichil est sensibilibus ipse deus qui est causa eorum, sic de
 intellectibus.

Quintum capitulum: Quia nichil intelligibilibus omnis intelligibilis per excellenciam
 causalis.

(The Eriugena text of MT chapter 1.)

Compresbitero Thimotheo Dyonisius presbiter.

15 Capitulum primum: Quid diuina caligo.³⁹

(f. 206b) Trinitas superessencialis et superdeus et superoptime, christianorum
 inspector theosophie, dirige nos in misticorum⁴⁰ eloquiorum superincognitum et
 superlucentem et sublimissimum verticem ubi noua et absoluta et inconuersibilia
 theologie misteria secundum superlucentem absconduntur occulte docentis silencij
 20 caliginem in obscurissimo quod est supermanifestissimum supersplendentem et in
 quo⁴¹ omne relucet⁴² et inuisibilibus superbeatorum⁴³ splendoribus superimplentem
 inuisibiles intellectus. Michi quidem hoc opto. Tu autem, o amice Thymothee, circa
 mysticas speculationes corroborato itinere et sensus desere (f. 206d) et intellectuales
 operationes et sensibilia et inuisibilia et omne non ens et ens et ad vnitatem ut
 25 possibile inscius restituere ipsius qui est super omnem essenciam et scienciam et a te
 ipso et omnibus inmensurabili et absoluto pure⁴⁴ mentis excessu ad superessen-
 cialem diuinarum tenebrarum radium omnia deserens et ab omnibus absolutus
 ascendens. Hic autem vide quomodo nemo indoctorum auscultet. Indoctos autem
 dico in hijs que sunt conformatos⁴⁵ et nichil supra existencia superessencialiter esse
 30 ymaginantes, sed hijs quidem quos videre ea que secundum seipsos est sciencia⁴⁶
 oportet tenebras latibulum eius. Si autem super hos sunt diuine in misteria intro-
 ductiones, quid quis⁴⁷ dixerit de alijs ardentibus quicumque omnibus super-
 positam⁴⁸ causam ex ipsis in hijs que sunt nouissimis caracterizant et nichil eam
 superare aiunt ab ipsis fictarum impietatum et multiformium formationum? In ipsa

³⁹ As stated, hereafter the text and commentary for most of chapter 1 are written in parallel columns. We print first the text, in the right-hand columns, then the commentary from the left-hand columns.

⁴⁰ mistorum *ante* misticorum *cancell. P.*

⁴¹ qua *H: om. O.*

⁴² ἀναφεῖ *O, relucet (super superscr. al. man.) H.*

⁴³ ὑπερχάλλων *O, superbonorum H.*

⁴⁴ pue ut vid. *P, fort. corr. al. man.*

⁴⁵ ἐνησχημένους *O: infirmatos (vel conformatos superscr. al. man.) H.*

⁴⁶ γνώσει *O, conscientia H.*

⁴⁷ τί ἄν τις *O, quis quis H.*

⁴⁸ ὑπερχειμένην *O, superpositam H: suppositam P.*

- 35 enim⁴⁹ oportet omnes existencium ponere et affirmare posiciones veluti omnium causa et omnes eas⁵⁰ potencius negare⁵¹ tanquam super omnia superexistente et non exstimari depulsiones oppositas esse intencionibus, sed multo prius ipsam super priuaciones esse que est super (f. 207b) omnem ablacionem et posicionem. Sic igitur diuinus Bartholomeus ait et multam theologiam esse et nimiam et euangelium
- 40 latum et magnum et iterum correptum. Michi videtur supernaturaliter intelligens quia et multiloqua⁵² est optima omnium causa et breuiloqua⁵³ simul et sine verbo, quomodo neque verbum neque intelligenciam habet, eo quod omnibus ipsa super-essencialiter superposita⁵⁴ est et solis incircumelate et vere manifesta polluta omnia et immunda transgredientibus et omnem omnium sanctarum⁵⁵ summitatum
- 45 ascencionem superascendentibus, et omnia diuina lumina et sonos et verba celestia superantibus et in caliginem occidentibus,⁵⁶ vbi vere est, ut eloquia aiunt, omnium summitas. Etenim non simpliciter diuinus ipse Moyses primum⁵⁷ mundari iubetur et <iterum>⁵⁸ ab hijs qui tales non sunt segregari, et post omnem purgacionem audit⁵⁹ multiuocas tubas et videt luminaria multa aperte fulgorancia et multum
- 50 fusos⁶⁰ radios. Deinde multis segregatur et cum electis sacerdotibus in summitatem diuinarum ascensionum precurrit.⁶¹ Et si sic eis manentibus fit deo coniunctus,⁶² contemplatur vero non ipsum, id est actu infinito,⁶³—inuisibilis enim—sed locum ubi stetit. Hoc autem arbitror significare diuinissima et sublimissima visibilium et intelligibilium ypotheticos quosdam esse sermones subiectorum omnia superanti,
- 55 per que super omnem intelligenciam ipsius presencia ostenditur intelligibilibus summitatibus sanctissimorum eius locorum supergrediens; et quod ipsis absoluitur visibilibus et videntibus et in caliginem ignorancie (f. 207v) occidit vere misticam,

⁴⁹ καί O, eciam H.

⁵⁰ αὐτάς O, eas H: ea P.

⁵¹ ἀποφάσκειν O, negare H: rogare P.

⁵² πολύλογός O.

⁵³ βραχύλεκτος O.

⁵⁴ ὑπερκειμένην O, superposita H: supposita P.

⁵⁵ ἁγίων in marg. O, sanctarum H: -orum P.

⁵⁶ At this point the commentary in fol. 207a ends, and the scribe copies the rest of the text across the whole page.

⁵⁷ πρῶτον O, primum H: primus P.

⁵⁸ αὐθις O, iterum H: om. P.

⁵⁹ post purgacionem add. qui talia finite cognosci possunt P. These words are not found in any other ms., and they seem to be an explanatory gloss, originally marginal or interlinear, and here misplaced. '1', '2', '3' and '4' are added above *primum* (l. 47), *post* (l. 48), *deinde* (l. 50) and *et* (l. 51) respectively in P.

⁶⁰ πολυχύτους O, multos fusos H.

⁶¹ φθάνει O, percurrit H.

⁶² *coniunctus* not in any other ms.; the only reading at all resembling this is Ficino's 'cum ipso quidem deo commercium habet' (Chevallier, *Dionysiaca* 1.575).

⁶³ *id est actu infinito* not in any other ms.

per quam docet omnes⁶⁴ gnosticas, id est noscibiles, recepciones,⁶⁵ et in qua
 mistica⁶⁶ omne relucet et in inuisibili innascitur, omnis qui est in omnium
 60 summitatem et a nullo neque a seipso neque altero omnino autem ignoto, omni
 sciencia in ocio, per id quod melius est intellectus et nichil cognoscendum super
 animum sic cognoscendum.

(Gerson's commentary on MT, chapter 1.)⁶⁷

Incipit ab oracione, quia non nisi supernaturaliter cognosci potest utiliter diuina
 caligo et vnio anime cum ea secundum optimam et altissimam simplicissimam et
 65 quietam sui posicionem, que uirgo semper manet, que dicere videtur Jeremias tercio
 capitulo: *Ergo saltem amodo*⁶⁸ *inuoca me: pater meus, dux virginitatis mee tu es*,
 secundum quam posicionem dei genus sumus et gloria. Sed hic est questio: si
 theologia mistica possit alicui inesse sine gracia? Quere alibi distinctionem, quia
 proprie accipiendo: nequaquam. Quere si amari possit hic deus immediate, licet non
 70 cognosci. Teneo quod sic: formaliter finite et obiectaliter infinite, sed clarius in
 prima, cum excessu pure mentis infinito (f. 206c) et inmensurabili per pondus
 caritatis increate cum creata. Sed eciam in actu tali semper cognitio perceptiua et
 practica comictatur et sequitur, licet non pure speculatiua. Nota pro hoc De Balma.
 Sicut amor naturalis anime rationalis ad deum non est nisi quedam coaptacio
 75 simplex ipsius ad deum sicut ad supremum bonum suum et quoddam centrum
 vltimum, sic vnio eiusdem anime ad deum per habitum gracie deiformem dicitur
 proportionaliter coaptacio simplex ad ipsum deum. Et potest describi quod est
 operacio uel accio deiformis ipsius anime ad deum continua simplex et quieta,
 scilicet habitus glorie uel gracie. Rursus addendum est qualiter ista habitualis
 80 operacio uel eciam naturalis uel apertibilis dicitur vita prima, sed operationes hinc
 elicite uel imperate dicuntur vita secunda; vita autem actualis glorie potest dici vita
 tertia et consummata. Applicetur ad hoc istud: *In ipso*⁶⁹ *uiuimus* quoad vitam
 primam, *mouemur* quoad vitam secundam, *sumus* quoad vitam terciam. Sic Christus
 est uia veritas et uita. Prima est continua simplex et⁷⁰ quieta, tertia similiter, sed
 85 secunda est hic in uia discontinua multiplex et inquieta propter necessitates et
 miserias. Verum est eciam quod vita prima gracie potest tolli, quod non sit operacio,
 sed ipsa manente dicitur semper (f. 207a) operacio continua simplex et quieta,

⁶⁴ *τὰς αὐτὰς* O, nos omnes H.

⁶⁵ omnes id est noscibiles gnosticas recepciones P; *id est noscibiles* not in any other ms.

⁶⁶ *mistica* not in any other ms. It may qualify an implied 'caligo', or it may be a scribal error for *mistiche* (adverb); in either case it is plainly a gloss.

⁶⁷ With the commentary, we revert to fols. 206a, 206c, 207a, written parallel to the text in double columns.

⁶⁸ a meo P.

⁶⁹ in ipso *bis ex h.* P.

⁷⁰ et *ex* est *corr.* P.

multo nobilius quam vita anime naturalis seu apertibilis ad deum. Sed vita glorie
 90 reducit ad hanc vitam nature quoad continuitatem simplicem et quietem, cum
 possessione securitatis eterne. Sic habemus tres beatitudines seu glorias anime
 respectu dei, ad cuius ymaginem et similitudinem et gloriam formata est per
 naturam, reformata est per gratiam, confirmata est et stabilita per gloriam. Sed pro
 statu isto, quoad vitam secundam nature uel gracie, sunt gradus absque numero
 95 secundum propinquitatem ad vitam glorie aut per elongacionem ab ipsa. Nam cum
 ipsa sit capax dei, tunc plus aut minus capit quo plus aut minus particeps eius
 efficitur in accione secundum naturam et gratiam et cetera.⁷¹

(Chapters 2-5 of the Eriugena translation with Gerson's marginal or interlinear
 comments.)

(f. 207v) Capitulum secundum: Quomodo oportet⁷² et vniri et ymnos referre
 omnium cause et super omnia.

100	luxta hanc nos fieri superlucentem oramus caligi-
105	nem, et per inuisibilitatem et ignoranciam videre et cognoscere ipsum superdeum et scienciam. Hoc non videre et scire idipsum est vere videre et cognoscere, superessencialem superessencialiter laudare per om- nium existencium ablacionem, sicut per seipsum na- turale agalma facientes auferunt ea que superadiecta ⁷³ sunt pura obculi visione ⁷⁴ vetancia et ipsam in seipsa ablacione sola occultam manifestant formam uel in manifestacionem ducunt. ⁷⁵ Oportet autem, ut arbitror, ablaciones in contrarium posicionibus laudare. Etenim 110 illas ⁷⁶ quidem a prestantissimis incohantes et per media in nouissima descendentes apponimus. Hinc vero a nouissimis ad principalissimas ascensiones facientes omnia auferimus, ut incircumelate cognos- camus illam ignoranciam ab omnibus ignorantibus in 115 omnibus existentibus circumuolutam et super- essencialem illam videamus caliginem ab omni ⁷⁷ in existentibus luce occultam.

⁷¹ As the Glorieux edition throughout attests, and as can be seen from the calendar of the contents of St. Pölten 25, it was the habit of Gerson (or of his early scribes) to conclude sections of a work with an 'et cetera' which signifies merely that the rest of what might be written will not follow.

⁷² q ante oportet cancell. P.

⁷³ ἐπιπροσθούντα O, superaddicta (vel adiecta superscr. al. man.) H.

⁷⁴ visionem ut vid. P.

⁷⁵ uel in manifestacionem ducunt not in any other ms.

⁷⁶ ἐκείνας O: illa P.

⁷⁷ I post ab cancell. P.

Capitulum tercium: Que sunt kata ϕ atikai theologie, que⁷⁸ apo ϕ atikai.⁷⁹

id est personis id est illa que sunt perfectissima

120 Tractasse hic se dicit de quadruplici theologia: prima est de trinitate et vnitate et de incarnatione verbi.

125

130 Secunda de diuinis nominibus que dicitur propria quam habemus.

135 Tercia simbolica non habetur apud nos sic ut prima.

140

Ponit notandam considerationem ex premissis.

In theologicis igitur caracteribus potentissima affirmatiue theologie laudauimus quomodo diuina et optima natura vnica dicitur, quomodo triadica,⁸⁰ que secundum ipsam dicta et paternitas et filioltas, quid vult declarare in spiritu theologia, quomodo ex⁸¹ immateriali et impartibili optimo in corde bonitatis germinata sunt lumina, et quomodo ipsius in ipso et in seipsis et inter⁸² se inuicem coeterne in germinatione mansionis seruauerunt reditum, quomodo superessencialis Ihesus humanis naturalibus veritatibus essencia factus est, et quecumque alia ab eloquiis expressa sunt secundum theologicos characteres. In eo autem qui est de diuinis nominibus quomodo optimus nominatur, <quomodo>⁸³ ωn,⁸⁴ quomodo vita et sapientia et virtus et quecumque alia intelligibilis sunt diuine nominacionis. In simbolica uero theologia que sunt a sensibilibus in diuina transnominaciones, que diuine (f. 208r) forme, que diuine figure et partes et organa, qui diuini loci et mundi, qui furores, que tristicie et inanite⁸⁵ id est insanie,⁸⁶ que ebrietates et crapule, que iuramenta et execraciones, qui sompni, que vigilie et quecumque alie symbolice sunt diuine similitudinis sacrefigurate formaciones. Et te arbitror considerasse quomodo verbis copiosiora magis sunt nouissima primis. Etenim oportuit theologicos carac-

⁷⁸ in marg. P.

⁷⁹ ἀποφατικά O, ἀποφατικά H: ἀλλοφατικά P.

⁸⁰ τριαδική O, triadica H: tradica vel tradita P.

⁸¹ ἐκ O, ex H: eciam P.

⁸² corr. P.

⁸³ πῶς O, quomodo H: om. P.

⁸⁴ Whereas the scribe of H writes 'on' indifferently here and at line 185, P's scribe distinguishes clearly between the omega and omicron. Many mss. retain this feature of Eriugena's practice, which was not to transliterate into Roman characters the Greek technical terms he retained. But in P the 'ωn' is surmounted with what resembles an 'a'-suspension, and the 'on' with a circumflex, probably showing that some scribe had attempted to copy Greek breathings and accents which he could not interpret.

⁸⁵ μῆνιδες O, manie H.

⁸⁶ id est insanie not in any other ms.

- 145 teres et diuinorum nominum reseracionem breuiorem
verbis esse simbolica theologia. Quoniam quidem
quantum ad superiora respicimus, tantum verba
contemplacionibus inuisibilium coartantur, sicut et
nunc in ipsam super intellectum occidentes caliginem
- 150 Nota uerbum occidentes.
non breuem sermonem, sed sermonis defectum et
nominacionis inueniemus. Et ibi quidem desursum ad
nouissima descendens, sermo iuxta quantitatem eius
que est vniuersaliter ad proporcionalem multitudinem
inuentus est. Nunc autem ab hiis que deorsum sunt ad
superpositum ascendens, secundum mensuram inuicem
id est sine via⁸⁷ corripitur et post omne inuicem totus sine
voce erit et totus adunabitur sono carenti. Quare autem
io chi
- 155 omnino inquis ex prestantissimo ponentes diuinas⁸⁸
posiciones, a nouissimis inchoamus diuinam abla-
cionem? Quia quid super omnem ponentes posicio-
nem, ex magis ipsi cognaciori condicionalem affirma-
cionem oportuit ponere; quod autem super omnem
ablacionem [est] auferentes ex magis ipso distantibus
aufferre. Aut nonne magis est vita et bonitas quam aer
id est insanie
- 160 aut lapis, et magis non crapule et manie⁸⁹ quam non
dici neque intelligi?
- 165 Capitulum quartum: Quia nichil sensibilibus omnis
sensibilis per excellenciam causalis.
- 170 In hijs duobus capitulis ponun-
tur exempla ablacionum.
Dicamus igitur sic: omnium⁹⁰ causa et super omnia
ens neque carens essencia est neque carens vita neque
irrationabilis est neque insensualis neque corpus est
neque figura neque species neque qualitatem aut
quantitatem aut tumorem habet neque in loco est
neque videtur neque tactum sensibilem habet neque
sentitur neque sensibilis est neque inordinacionem
habet neque perturbacionem a passionibus mate-
rialibus commota neque impotens est sensibilibus

⁸⁷ *id est sine via* not in any other ms.

⁸⁸ *θελας* O, diuinas H: diuina P.

⁸⁹ *vel inanite* P.

⁹⁰ *ca post omnium cancell.* P.

succumbens casibus neque indigens est lucis neque mutacionem aut corrupcionem aut particionem⁹¹ aut priuacionem aut fluxum neque aliud quid sensibilium est neque habet.

Capitulum quintum: Quia nichil intelligibilium omnis intelligibilis per excellenciam causalis.

(f. 280v) <I>terum⁹² autem ascendentes dicamus: on neque anima est neque intellectus neque fantasiam aut opinionem aut verbum aut intelligenciam habet neque ratio est neque intelligencia neque dicitur neque intelligitur neque numerus est neque ordo neque magnitudo neque paruitas neque equalitas neque similitudo aut⁹³ dissimilitudo neque stat neque mouetur neque silencium ducit neque habet virtutem neque virtus est neque lux neque viuut neque vita est neque hostia est neque seculum neque tempus neque tactus est eius intelligibilis neque sciencia neque veritas est neque regnum neque sapiencia neque vnum neque vnitas neque deitas aut bonitas neque spiritus est sicut nos scimus neque filiolitas neque paternitas neque aliud quid nobis aut alicui existencium cognitum neque quid non existencium neque quid existencium est. Neque existencia eam cognoscunt an ipsa sit neque ipsa cognoscit existencia aut existencia est neque verbum eius est neque nomen neque sciencia neque tenebre est neque lumen neque error neque veritas. Ecce quomodo est supra posicionem et ablacionem,⁹⁴ neque est eius vniversaliter posicio neque ablacio,⁹⁵ sed eorum que post eam sunt posiciones et ablaciones facientes ipsam neque⁹⁶

Nota scimus.

Nota.

Et hec omnia oportet referri non ad rem ipsam que deus est secundum modum suum existendi sed secundum modum nostrum cognoscendi. Et notauit hec cum dixit: Sicut nos scimus.

Epistola prima Gayo monacho: Quoniam incomprehensibilis est deus non per priuacionem sed per excellenciam.

⁹¹ *μερισμὸν* O, particionem H: participacionem P.

⁹² The rubricated I was never supplied.

⁹³ *disili post* aut *cancell.* P.

⁹⁴ *ecce quomodo ... ablacionem* not in any other ms.

⁹⁵ *ἀφαίρεσις* O, ablatio H: oblacio *ut vid.* P.

⁹⁶ This is how MT ends in P, with not even the break which has here been made between it and the 'First Letter to Gaius'.

Intellige, lector, per excellenciam in omni tali locutione illud idem per infinitatem qua soli deo propria est sicut ipsi Marie et anime Christi.

- 215 Sic intelligatur: Hec brevis epistola sufficit ad omnia secundum theologiam scolasticam explicanda et concordanda.
- Tenebre quidem obscure fiunt lumini⁹⁷ et magis multo lumini. Ignoranciam occultant sciencie et magis id est create infinito actu multe sciencie. Hec supereminenter sed non secundum simpliciter id est infinite priuacionem <accipiens>⁹⁸ approba supervere quia latet <habentes>⁹⁹ on lumen et vere sciencia secundum deum ignorancia et superposite¹⁰⁰ ipsius tenebre et velantur omni lumini et abscondunt omnem id est comprehendit scienciam. Et si quis videns deum intellexit quod vidit non ipsum contemplatus est sed quid eorum ab ipso existencium et cognitorum. Ipse autem super animum et essenciam supercollocatus vniuersaliter non cognoscendo neque videndo cognoscitur et ipsa secundum quod melius perfectissima <ignorantia>¹⁰¹ sciencia est eius super omnia cognita, quia per eam <non> cognoscitur esse deus infinitus et inaccessibilis actu finito nisi obiectaliter solum, non formaliter.¹⁰²
- 220 Tenebre id est 'infinite et inaccessibilem lucem dei'¹⁰³ secundum actum¹⁰⁴ simpliciter et formaliter infinitum, non solum obiective.
- 225

There is considerable evidence here to lead to the conclusion that Gerson worked on these texts on several different occasions. He seems first of all to have provided a number of explanatory glosses, which, originally written in the margins, or, more probably, between the lines, have been copied by a later scribe as if integral to the Eriugena translations. Notable examples of this are the readings:

- 49 qui talia finite cognosci possunt (see n. 59);
52 id est actu infinito;

⁹⁷ φωτι O, lumine H: luminum P.

⁹⁸ ἐκλαβὼν O, accipiens H: om. P.

⁹⁹ ἔχοντας O, habentes H: om. P.

¹⁰⁰ ὑπερκειμένον O, superposite H: supposite P.

¹⁰¹ ἀγνωσία O, ignorantia H: om. P.

¹⁰² quia per eam ... formaliter in the scribe's minuscule, to indicate that this also is Gerson and not Eriugena.

¹⁰³ Cf. 1 Tim 6:16 qui solus habet immortalitatem et lucem inhabitat inaccessibilem.

¹⁰⁴ actum ex acta corr. P, ut vid.

- 58 id est noscibiles;
 107-108 uel in manifestacionem ducunt;
 139 id est insanie;
 155-156 id est sine via;
 204 ecce quomodo est supra posicionem et ablacionem;

and these, as is observed in the footnotes, are not found in other known Eriugena manuscripts.

Several of these glosses show concern to provide theological explanations of what may be obscure in the Eriugena texts, and, to that end, to employ technical philosophical terms for non-philosophical ends. This appears most clearly in the brief commentary with which the 'First Letter to Gaius' concludes: '... since by unknowing, God is not known to be infinite and inaccessible by a finite act except as an object only, not formally.' But it seems that after these first attempts at clarification were completed and copied, together with the finished commentary on chapter 1 of MT, Gerson proceeded to use the new copy to provide further explanatory notes, and that what we now have in St. Pölten 25 is a later, careful transcript in which we can clearly distinguish between the states of the first and second commentaries. Of these second, perhaps the most significant is the statement in the margin of the 'First Letter to Gaius' that 'this short letter is sufficient to explain and harmonize everything according to academic theology'. How Gerson believes that this is so becomes apparent from his own conclusion, which appears in our text in smaller fount, to the 'First Letter'. We may ask whether the omission here of the phrase 'et est superessencialiter et super animum', found in the best of the Eriugena manuscripts, was deliberately made by Gerson because the expression *actu finito* may have been a cautious substitution, to safeguard against any possible appeal to a theory which would attribute an infinite act to man as constituting the possibility of deification. This is to say that Gerson is concerned to guarantee a doctrine of grace in the domain of mystical theology and, in so doing, to show that the divinization of man in God is strictly gratuitous and never according to necessity. Man and all his acts are finite, since his is a created nature, and union with God does not in any case bestow on man the character of uncreated being. The finite is never infinitized, either by itself or by the infinite God. Should what has just been remarked seem a plausible account of this passage, it may be thought to exhibit Gerson as a practical scholar, with concerns limited by the controversies and tendencies of his own times.

This discussion of the text has so far been based upon the assumption that its attribution in this apparently unique manuscript to John Gerson the chancellor is genuine. That the assumption is well founded can be shown from the many places in texts incontrovertibly by him which either parallel or elucidate the statements of these new pseudo-Dionysius commentaries. Other critics have observed Gerson's

repetitiveness. 'Disons encore une fois qu'en matière de chronologie l'expérience nous a convaincu qu'il faut se méfier de conclusions hâtives et imprudentes basées sur la réapparition d'un exemple, d'une citation, et même d'une idée; car le chancelier se répète souvent dans des ouvrages composés à intervalles considérables'.¹⁰⁵

The following resemblances have been observed, and seem especially congruent.

63 *Incipit ab oracione*: this repeats AVHG: '... praeexigit hominem esse fidelem christianum. Hujus signum est quod divinus Dionysius incipit hanc notitiam per orationem ad beatissimam Trinitatem: Trinitas, inquit, superessentialis et super Deus et superoptime...'.¹⁰⁶ In NSQVD we read 'Divine beatus Dionysius inchoavit doctrinam suam catholicam ab hoc nomine Pater...';¹⁰⁷ but Lieberman considers that this commentary, an essentially academic treatment, with many authorities adduced and erroneous opinions refuted, markedly different in style from AVHG and this St. Pölten text, is not by the chancellor but by his Celestine brother, and we cannot say which of the authentic texts he may have had in mind.

Non nisi supernaturaliter cognosci potest: this is also Gerson's teaching in SCC: 'sistit (theologia mystica) insuper in solo intellectu anagogico Dei et animae, nihil miscendo de allegorica desponsatione Christi et ecclesiae, quamvis unum proficit ad alterum dummodo se mutuo non confundant.' ¹⁰⁸

64-65 *Optimam ... posicionem*: for the chancellor, the notion of theological 'positio' implies limitation and imperfection, so that in AVHG he can write: 'Excelsus in verbo gloriae spiritus rationalis per hujusmodi defectionem super-admirabiliter reficitur, quoniam plus unitur Deo, sincerius atque sublimius sine quavis admixtione phantasmatum vel sordium et imperfectionum cujusvis creaturae quam per positionem. Quo pacto sic? Quia nimirum nullum est ibi medium inter Deum et spiritum. Privatur enim cognitio et amor cujuslibet alterius rei praeter Deum.' ¹⁰⁹ None the less, affirmation establishes 'positio', the term which Gerson learned from Eriugena's translations; e.g. '... in ipsa etiam oportet omnes existentium ponere et affirmare positiones...';¹¹⁰ which translates καὶ φάσκειν θέσκειν.¹¹¹

66 *Ergo saltem amodo inuoca me*: Jer 3:4. This is also quoted in DMTP, in a context which explains its use here. Gerson's 'slaves' are *incipientes*, his 'mercenaries' *proficientes*, his 'sons' and 'spouses' *perfecti*; but even if the soul be

¹⁰⁵ Lieberman, 'Chronologie', 78 441.

¹⁰⁶ Glorieux 8.541.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.* 3.219.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 8.575.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p. 552.

¹¹⁰ MT chapter 1; H, fol. 113v.

¹¹¹ O, fol. 194v.

moved only by servile fear, it can, in the language of Jeremias' allegory, turn back from its adulteries to its loving and forgiving spouse. 'Tu vero fornicata es ... tamen revertere ad me, et ego suscipiam te. Ergo saltem amodo voca me pater meus....' ¹¹²

67 'According to which thesis (*posicionem*) we can affirm that we are God's people and his glory.' It has been pointed out to us that the allusion here is to Ac 17:28-29, where Paul is first reported as advancing his thesis, 'In ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus...', after which he affirms that 'Genus ergo cum simus Dei, non debemus aestimare....'

67-68 *Si theologia mistica possit alicui inesse sine gracia? Quere alibi distinctionem*: this probably refers to SCC, 'Consideratio prima de amore gratuito', *inc.*: 'Amor gratuitus Dei actualis dicit influentiam divinam gratis datam in anima, quae formaliter reddit hominem gratum Deo et acceptum ad vitam aeternam.' ¹¹³ 'Mystical theology', the purest love of God, is itself a grace. In SCC he teaches that a gratuitous love translated into appropriate acts 'laudabilior est quam si quilibet stet in actu primo vel habitu tantummodo'.¹¹⁴ In DMTP, Gerson refers us to the conflicting commentators, when he approaches the *quaestio* from a somewhat different angle: 'At vero si notitia illa sit solum experimentalis in affectu supremo unito Deo per amorem, vel si possit dici intellectualis non quidem intuitiva sed abstractiva, dignissimum esset consideratione et inquisitione. Nam habet pars quaelibet suos elevatissimos defensores.' ¹¹⁵

69-70 *Si amari possit hic deus immediate, licet non cognosci*: this is what Gerson teaches his nuns in *La montagne de contemplation*: 'Une autre maniere de contemplation est qui tient principalement a amer Dieu et assavouer sa bonté sans grandement enquerir plus clere congnoissance qu'est celle de la foy qui leur est inspirée et donnée. Et a ce puent simples gens venir en laissant les cures du monde et en gardant leur cuer pur et net.... Ceste sapience et contemplation est celle principalement que enseigna saint Denis de France en ses livres de mystique theologie; et est la plus haulte sapience que nous puissons avoir sa jus; et li fut revelée et declarée par saint Pol.' ¹¹⁶ (The last sentence shows us that the chancellor accepted, as many critics, following Peter Abelard, did not, the 'legend of St. Denis'—with which the present writers intend to deal elsewhere—in its most extravagant form, in which 'Denis' has become, inter alia, not only Paul's Athenian convert but also the apostle of France, himself martyred in Paris.) The same teaching is expressed in DMTP: 'Habet hanc proprietatem mystica theologia quod in affectu reponitur, aliis omnibus scientiis repositis in intellectu.' ¹¹⁷ Later, Rom

¹¹² Glorieux 8.20-21.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 570.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 572.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 45.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.* 7.18.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.* 8.32.

11:33 is quoted: '... quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus et investigabiles viae ejus';¹¹⁸ and then Gerson writes: '... theologiam mysticam esse amorem extaticum qui consequitur ad intelligentiam ipsius spiritus....' ¹¹⁹

70 *Obiectaliter infinite*: cf. SCC: 'Porro amor fructivus et extaticus vel anagogicus et seraphicus, quia consistit in experimentalis perceptione conjunctionis animae cum supremo objecto suo et fine Deo, nullatenus tradi potest per doctrinam....' ¹²⁰

71-72 *Cum excessu pure mentis infinito et inmensurabili per pondus caritatis increate cum creata*: in DTM, 'Consideration 36', examining 'Amor rapit ad amatum et extasim facit', the chancellor explains, from Paul's case, how ecstasy is a purer motion than rapture, and then continues: '... similitudo amoris ad pondus quemadmodum unus ex sapientissimis dixit: Amor meus pondus meum, illo feror quocumque feror.' ¹²¹ In his Constance sermon, 'Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum', he names this 'one of the wisest': 'Pondus meum, inquit Augustinus, amor meus.' ¹²² He is quoting *Confessiones* 13.9, where Augustine continues: 'Dono tuo accendimur et sursum ferimur; inardescimus et imus.' ¹²³

72 *Sed etiam in actu...*: cf. DMTP: 'Nihilominus haec scientia ... hoc habet proprium ut speculativa in ea nec perfecte tradi possit neque plene intelligi nisi practicus praecesserit usus.' ¹²⁴

73 *Licet non pure speculativa*: Gerson makes the same point in DMTP, '... de differentia ejus (sc. mysticae theologiae) ad speculativam theologiam....' ¹²⁵ In DTM, 'Consideration 29', he writes: 'Theologia speculativa est in potentia intellectiva, cujus objectum est verum; mysticam vero reponimus in potentia affectiva cui pro objecto bonum assignamus.' ¹²⁶

Nota pro hoc De Balma: in DESMT Gerson quotes Hugh approvingly 'in tractatu De triplici via' (which is *Viae Sion lugent*), as showing that the *apex mentis* is through ecstatic love, without previous or concomitant knowledge;¹²⁷ but we shall later have occasion to show how qualified and halfhearted the chancellor's approbation of Hugh's doctrine in fact was.

74 *Amor naturalis anime rationalis...*: cf. AVHG: 'Dicitur autem anima rationalis secundum haec tria (memory, knowledge and love) naturaliter agi....' ¹²⁸

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 44.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 576.

¹²¹ *ibid.* 3.283.

¹²² *ibid.* 5.530.

¹²³ Ed. Pius Knöll (CSEL 33; Vienna, 1886), p. 352.

¹²⁴ Glorieux 8.18.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ *ibid.* 3.274.

¹²⁷ *ibid.* 8.155.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 548.

77 *Coaptacio simplex*...: cf. AVHG: 'Quid autem est aliud ista capacitas [*sc.* for God] et ista perceptibilitas nisi quaedam impressio primae et aeternae unitatis, veritatis et bonitatis prout anima naturaliter ex impressione prima configuratur et coaptatur ipsi beatissimae Trinitati in memorando, cognoscendo et amando suum primum principium efficiens, exemplans et finiens....' ¹²⁹ In DMTP, Gerson calls the *coaptatio* '... convenientiam ad ipsum quo rapitur.' ¹³⁰

78 *Continua simplex et quietata*: in DMTP Gerson outlines some of the conditions, in his list of the 'duodecim industriae' of the soul: '... quinta occupaciones effugere; sexta deponere curiositatem (later, he defines *curiositas* as 'studium circa inutilia' ¹³¹) ... undecima meditationibus piis affectionum generativis silenter insistere; duodecima spiritum a phantasmatibus amovere.' ¹³²

79-80 *Ista habitualis operatio uel etiam naturalis*: cf. AVHG: 'Est autem haec vita gratiae habitualis operatio supernaturaliter deiformis simplex et quietata.... Verbum gloriae ... tradit hominem reformatum esse in baptismo per gratiam infusionemque virtutum habitualium.' ¹³³

82 *Applicetur ad hoc istud: In ipso viuimus*...: this alludes to Ac 17:28, as previously, and as also in *Centilogium de impulsibus* 1.5: 'Impulsus nomen et quietis oppositae philosophos agnovisse, quorum allegat apostolus dictum egregium loquens Atheniensibus de Deo: In ipso vivimus, movemur et sumus....' ¹³⁴ Gerson in the dedicatory letter of *De vita spirituali animae*, addressed to Peter d'Ailly, writes: 'Nihilominus hiis lectionibus morem tractatus nunc imposui quantum fas exstitit, dividens eas in tres partes secundum triplicem materiam principalem et conformiter ad tria haec verba Apostoli infra commemorata et quasi ad quoddam thema: in ipso vivimus, movemur et sumus.' ¹³⁵ In the prefatory remarks of this work, he observes: 'Dicebat Paulus Atheniensibus allegans unum ex eorum poetis dum de Deo loqueretur'; and he goes on to explain how Paul's words are equally applicable to the 'corporal and visible life' and to the 'spiritual and invisible life'. This dictates the planning of the whole in six 'lessons', to which Gerson alludes in the prologue to *Centilogium de impulsibus*: 'Movel textus noster de cantico Mariae; movet et illud quod ab Apostolo positum pridem tractavimus per sex lectiones de vita quadruplici....' ¹³⁶

83-84 *Sic Christus est uia veritas et uita*: Jo 14:6. The apposition of this to the 'three lives' makes the same point as DMTP, that Christ alone is the teacher of

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 22.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³² *ibid.*, pp. 18-19

¹³³ *ibid.*, p. 548.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 134.

¹³⁵ *ibid.* 2.64.

¹³⁶ *ibid.* 8.134.

mystical theology, to which human industry cannot bring us, though we must not be idle, and that Christ gives or withholds light as he wills.¹³⁷

84-85 *Sed secunda est ... discontinua multiplex et inquieta*: this repeats AVHG: 'Transeamus mediam vitam peregrinationis istius, quae est utique discontinua, multiplex et inquieta....'¹³⁸ In DTM Gerson had written, 'Consideration 34': 'Speculativa (theologia) quippe si sola est, nunquam quietat, inquietat potius....'¹³⁹

89-90 *Cum possessione securitatis eterne*: cf. DTM, 'Consideration 34': 'Per theologiam mysticam sumus in Deo, hoc est stabilimur in eo et a mari turbido sensualium desideriorum ad littus solidum aeternitatis adducimur.'¹⁴⁰

90 *Tres beatitudines seu glorias*: in AVHG he constructs a similar triad: 'Fides igitur dirigit nos ad mysticas visiones; spes erigit; caritas porrigit et attingit; deinde sapientia reficit, pax sufficit, gloria perficit secundum inferius deducenda.'¹⁴¹ Later he writes: 'Et licet comparativus gradus et superlativus praesupponant positivum, verumtamen appropriamus positivum in gloria viae, comparativum in gloria patriae, superlativum in gloria aeternitatis divinae.'¹⁴²

91 *Ad cuius ymaginem et similitudinem et gloriam*: in AVHG he makes the same equation: 'Superest tandem quod assumatur in gloria spiritus noster, quamvis interim vita nostra abscondita sit cum Christo in Deo (Col 3:3); sed cum apparuerit Christus vita nostra, tunc et nos apparebimus cum ipso in gloria (cf. Col 3:4).'¹⁴³ Later he writes: 'Verbum gloriae secundum mysterium fidei nostrae tradit hominem formatum esse ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei. Unde et Apostolus dicit quod *vir est imago et gloria Dei* (1 Cor 11:7)....'¹⁴⁴

93 *Gradus absque numero*: cf. AVHG: 'Si ... inquiritur: possintne homines, tam viatores quam beati, cognoscere Deum et amare multis modis, fidelis huiusmodi non cunctabitur affirmativum dare responsum de utroque statu suo modo.'¹⁴⁵ In DMTP, Gerson had indicated some of these steps. A soul may be brought to the grace of compunction, and so of contemplation, by seeing and detesting its own vileness, others rather by the judgment of right reason, moved by love of truth and the perception of how fine it is to live in conformity with divine wisdom.¹⁴⁶

94-95 *Nam cum ipsa sit capax dei*: cf. AVHG: 'Consideremus in ea (sc. man's

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 18.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 548.

¹³⁹ *ibid.* 3.279.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *ibid.* 8.545.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p. 559.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, pp. 545-46.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 547-48.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 543.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

first creation) essentiam suam secundum quam per memoriam capax est Dei et per intelligentiam et voluntatem particeps ejus esse potest.' ¹⁴⁷

120 *Caracteribus id est personis*: see the comment below, *De quadruplici theologia*.

De quadruplici theologia: cf. AVHG: 'Gloria patri ... cognoscitur hic in via quatuor modis secundum quod dicit Dionysius in cap. 3 de mystica theologia, theologiam se quadruplicem tradidisse: unam propriam de divinis caracteribus, id est personis affirmative et de incarnatione Verbi; et hanc habemus. Alteram scripsit de divinis nominibus secundum essentiam divinitatis; et haec apud nos dicta est De divinis nominibus. Sub hac theologia propria continetur tertia pars de substantiis spiritualibus, sicut De coelesti hierarchia et ecclesiastica. Tertiam theologiam nominat symbolicam, qua caremus, nisi quod in locis plurimis tangit de symbolis, hoc est de similitudinibus translatis ad Deum. Quarto nominat mysticam....' ¹⁴⁸

170 *Exempla ablacionum*: cf. AVHG: 'Consideremus igitur Deum velut in latibulo tenebrarum secundum theologiam mysticam quae fit per abnegationem in gradu superlativo, ubi est veluti in monte condenso et umbroso et in desertis saeculorum et in montibus aeternis.' ¹⁴⁹

211 *Intellige lector*: cf. AVHG: 'Glorificatio Patris et Filii cum Spiritu Sancto conspicitur et diligitur fruitive et objectaliter in supremo comparativi gradus patriae ab anima Christi et Mariae, non tamen in superlativo formaliter et intrinsece quo beata Trinitas se cognoscit et diligit tam objectaliter quam intrinsece.' ¹⁵⁰

225 *Priuatue*: cf. AVHG: 'Et cum hoc (Deum attingit terminative vel objective) non fit per apertam visionem, necesse est quod fiat per caliginem. Est autem caligo privatio luminis seu cognitionis sicut et tenebra, prout etiam silentium dicit soni defectum privatio seu defectio vel tenebra seu silentium non dicuntur simpliciter et uniformiter, sed tantummodo respective ad superlativum cognitionis vel amoris gradum sancti privative cognoscunt Deum sub gradu supremo.' ¹⁵¹

It would be absurd to claim for this new Gerson text an importance which it does not possess. It is, as the analogues with AVHG especially show, little more than a reapplication to the pseudo-Dionysian texts of principles drawn from them, as Gerson chose to interpret them, and already carefully enunciated. Even had this commentary been completed, it would have added little to our understanding of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; and the editing of the Eriugena texts has shown that no one preparing a new critical edition of that translation could place reliance on the St.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 548.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 543.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 549.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 560.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 552.

Pölten 25 readings. So far as Gerson's own scholarly achievement is concerned, the new commentary is perhaps of chief importance because of the fresh reasons it provides for questioning seriously, as Albert Ampe has already done,¹⁵² Combes's theory concerning Gerson's 'conversion'. We shall see Combes suggesting that after this event the chancellor might have undertaken to provide, in the light of fresh spiritual insights, a new commentary on MT, furnished in AVHG with only partial success; what has been edited from St. Pölten 25 seems to show that in fact he did attempt this, but had little if anything fresh to say.

In *La théologie mystique*,¹⁵³ Combes expounded a highly dramatic thesis, using as his chief piece of evidence a letter which the chancellor wrote on 1 October 1425 to his brother, John the Celestine.¹⁵⁴ According to this theory, on that very day Gerson had undergone a change. He received the grace to perceive and understand that 'mystical theology' (by which, in such contexts, he always meant unitive prayer) is, as pseudo-Dionysius had taught, an affective process which may be quite independent of any intellection. As a result of this conversion, he thereafter took Hugh of Balma's *Viae Sion lugent* as his guide; and he might then have written a new *Mystica theologia*, a completely different assessment of pseudo-Dionysius, which undertaking he only partly carried out in AVHG.

The first criticism of this theory must be that it is hard to understand how Combes could treat this letter as a serious piece of theological comment. It begins by offering his brother the chancellor's opinions about Ubertino of Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*. Just as with John Ruysbroek's *Ornatus spiritualium nuptiarum* a quarter of a century before—Combes himself makes this point¹⁵⁵—what earlier, less careful reading had suggested to be spiritually fruitful is now seen, when more closely scrutinized, as erroneous and at least potentially dangerous. Gerson itemizes three such errors; but he cannot even pretend that Ubertino taught any one of them. Instead he is, once again, venting his hatred of what he had always believed, despite the evidence, to be the direction of the teaching in book 3 of the *Ornatus*; but this time he is providing us with the key to understanding at what, and at whom, his hatred is in fact directed.

In the *Arbor vitae* he has found, first, a 'gospel error', teaching of the world's three ages, the Father's, the Son's and the Holy Spirit's. Gerson labours the point, stressing that Ubertino was writing in the times and under the influence of Abbot Joachim (which last Ubertino freely admitted); but nowhere in the *Arbor vitae*, nowhere in the one section Gerson has singled out for comment, book 2, chapter 5,

¹⁵² Ruysbroec: *traditie en werkelijkheid* (Antwerp, 1975).

¹⁵³ *La théologie mystique de Gerson: profil de son évolution*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1963-64).

¹⁵⁴ 'Quia unum est necessarium' (Glorieux 2.259-63).

¹⁵⁵ *La théologie mystique* 2.489.

'Jesus redemptus parvulus', on the *Nunc dimittis*, is any such teaching to be discerned.

The second is the error 'de lege vel spiritu libertatis sub quo Begardi et Begardae nephanda et innominabilia perpetrarunt facinora'; and the chancellor gives a specific example of their monstrous beliefs:

Ponit error iste, quod anima perfecta, reducta ad Deum, perdit suum velle, ita quod nihil habet velle vel nolle nisi velle divinum quale habuit ab aeterno in esse ideali divino.¹⁵⁶

This seems to be a very direct allusion to the teaching of Margaret Porette in her condemned book, *Le miroir des simples ames*. Since Combes did not know Romana Guarnieri's 'edizione provvisoria' of the *Mirror*, which had appeared in 1961, he could not perceive this; and it was only in 1963 that she published her highly probable identification of the 'Marie de Valenciennes', whose 'incredibly subtle book', Gerson says in *De distinctione verarum revelationum*, he knew, with Margaret Porette.¹⁵⁷ His precise words merit quoting:

Amplius hanc ob causam inter caeteras videntur errasse Begardi et Begardae, ob indiscretam scilicet dilectionem nomine devotionis palliatam. Argumentum hujus rei est in quodam libello incredibili pene subtilitate ab una foemina composito, quae Maria de Valenciennes dicebatur; haec agit de praerogativa et eminentia dilectionis divinae, ad quam si quis devenit fit secundum eam ab omni lege praeceptorum solutus, adducens pro se illud ab Apostolo sumptum: Caritatem habe, et fac quod vis.... Etenim si praedicta Maria non de viatoribus utique praeceptorum divinorum impletioni ligatis, sed de statu beatorum, dilectionem quam describebat applicasset, vix altius quicquam de divina fruitione, quoad aliqua, dici potuerat; sed fallebat eam sua tumiditas animi tantae passioni dilectionis immixta. Putabat itaque iugiter se frui Deo dum vigeat haec passio fortis circa Deum in ejus animo, quantumcumque a divinis praeceptis longe esset.¹⁵⁸

Those familiar with the contents of the *Mirror* will agree with Romana Guarnieri that the resemblances here to its teachings are too close to be fortuitous. They include the *Mirror*'s 'Amye, amez et faites ce que vous vouldrez',¹⁵⁹ though Margaret does not attribute this, correctly, to Augustine,¹⁶⁰ or, incorrectly, to any apostle. As

¹⁵⁶ The text quoted here is that in *Essai* 1.837-38, which Glorieux reproduced.

¹⁵⁷ 'Il movimento del Libero Spirito: I. Dalle origini al secolo XVI' in *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 4 (Rome, 1965), pp. 453-54, 461-62; cf. Robert Earle Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 165-66 and n. 6.

¹⁵⁸ *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis* (Glorieux 3.36-56), pp. 51-52. Glorieux dates the covering letter to Gerson's brother Nicholas 'début 1402'.

¹⁵⁹ 'Il "Miroir des simples âmes" di Margherita Porete' in *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 4 (Rome, 1965), p. 534.

¹⁶⁰ *Tractatus in epistolam Johannis ad Parthos* 6.8.

to Gerson's error over her name, we must remember that all the *Mirror* manuscripts (apart from one which calls the book *Margarita*, probably deriving the title from the hint in the text¹⁶¹ that this was its author's name) are anonymous; no prudent owner would dare to possess a work containing evidence that it and its author had been condemned to the stake. It was not until 1946 that Romana Guarnieri identified the 'Margaret Porette' of inquisitorial records with the author of the *Mirror*, in a fashion leaving no room for doubt.¹⁶² Furthermore, the identification with Gerson's 'Maria' is given added probability when we recall that Margaret's first condemnation (when her book was publicly burned in her presence, and she was warned what would be the consequences, should she persist in publishing it) took place at Valenciennes, possibly, Romana Guarnieri considers, because that was her native town.¹⁶³

The evidence for the conclusion that Gerson is here using the *Arbor vitae* as a stalking-horse for an attack on the *Mirror* can be considered in detail. These heretics, the chancellor says, teach of an 'anima perfecta'; in the *Mirror*, Truth asks Love to show her 'une ame parfaite en cest estre' (that is, when the will is dead, and the Soul has lost the feeling even that she loves).¹⁶⁴ Such a perfect soul is 'reducta ad Deum'; Love says of his souls that it is for love of him that 'seulement elles sont exillees' ¹⁶⁵ (though there is no more in this than an allusion to the notion, held by teachers such as Augustine, of *regyratio*, back from the *regio dissimilitudinis*). The perfect soul 'perdit suum velle'; Love says that 'ceste Ame n'a point de voulement'.¹⁶⁶ This is 'ita quod nihil habet velle vel nolle'; the Soul says: 'Amour veult ... ce que je vueil ... ne il ne veult chose que je ne vueille'.¹⁶⁷ Nothing is left 'nisi velle divinum'; Love says that 'telles Ames n'ont point de voulement, fors ce que Dieu veult en elles'.¹⁶⁸ This will is that which such souls have had 'ab aeterno'; the Soul says: 'se je suis amee sans fin des trois personnes de la Trinité, j'ay aussi esté amee d'elles sans comancement', and when Reason reproves her for her rashness, she answers that it is Love, whom she has just identified with the Son, who has taught her this.¹⁶⁹ That was 'in esse ideali divino'; Margaret may teach this Pre-existencianism, as when she writes: 'Dieu ... qui les (Ames) a crees et rachetees, et par aventure maintes foiz recrees'.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶¹ "'Miroir'", p. 561: 'O tres bien nee, dit Amour a ceste precieuse marguerite'.

¹⁶² 'Lo "Specchio delle Anime Semplici" e Margherita Porette', *Osservatore Romano* 141 (16 June 1946), p. 3.

¹⁶³ 'Il movimento', pp. 388-89.

¹⁶⁴ "'Miroir'", p. 576.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 539.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 531.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 551.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 557.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 550-51.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 539.

When we consider the 'third error' with which Gerson deals in his letter, that a soul made perfect will be indifferent to whether salvation or damnation awaits it, we can see, even more clearly, that it is the *Mirror* at which he is aiming. On this matter Margaret Porette could not be more explicit, as when, in chapter 8, she writes:

Qui demanderoit a telles franches Ames, seures et paisibles, se elles voudroient estre en purgatoire, elles diroient que non; se elles voudroient estre en ceste vie certifiees de leur salut, elles diroient que non; ou s'elles voudroient estre en paradis, elles diroient que non. Mais aussy de quoy le voudroient elles? Elles n'ont point de voulement....¹⁷¹

Contrast this with what Ubertino, in the impugned chapter, has to say:

Dico tibi anima si hac uia incesseris, cito deus dissoluet a te colligationes impietatis et tollet peccatorum tuorum fasciculos deprimentes. Ratio autem maxima quietudinis mentis est quod anima que sic de deo in bonitate sentit, non dubitat quin eam dominus uelit ad uitam eternam. Et hoc reputat tantum donum et tam gratuite datum et ita congrue a deo dispositum in merito. Christi Jesu quod nihil uult nisi quod in eo disposuit, et eo loco, tempore et modo quo in ipso benedicto Jesu eternaliter dare decreuit.¹⁷²

That one of Europe's leading churchmen pretends to be unable to distinguish between indifference to one's own salvation, because one has no will (which is what Margaret professes, and what Gerson seems to be imputing to Ubertino), and a conformity of one's own will to the divine will so that one asks for nothing but what God will award, not through any merits of one's own but through those of Jesus Christ (which is what Ubertino is saying with theological precision), is plainly ludicrous. The *Arbor vitae* leaves no room for such malicious misrepresentation, for Ubertino, on the subject of abandonment to the divine will, had already written in the same chapter in language which could be directed at the *Mirror* itself (which, chronologically, is not impossible):

Sicut dicit illa caterua diaboli que spurcias innominabilis immonditie operans dicit in eis quiescente tanquam in operibus naturaliter delectatiuis et in usu membrorum a creatore conditorum, sed de hoc alias, quia istius secte et pessime nomen est mors et sequitur eam infernus.¹⁷³

So we are faced with precisely the same problem as in considering Gerson's criticism of Ruysbroek's *Ornatus*. For what reason does Gerson ignore Ubertino's own denunciation of the 'Free Spirit', and, at least by implication, impute to him bad faith? He gives no reasons. And how does he justify his attacks on book 3 of the *Ornatus* for teaching like errors, when, in book 2, chapter 71, 'De erroribus

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 527.

¹⁷² *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu* (Venice, 1485), fol. h iib.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, fol. h id.

istorum otiosorum quibus contrariantur tertio modo', Ruysbroek goes out of his way to make clear his own detestation of such 'liberty'? He writes:

Igitur propter naturalem quam in se sentiunt quietem et possident otiando dicunt se vere liberos esse deoque immediate vnitos.... Sic ergo pauperes sunt spiritu, quia voluntate extincta omnia pariter relinquerent. Omni quoque vacant proprie voluntatis arbitrio differenter aliquid eligendi, quoniam videtur eis se per intimum spiritus otium fore omnia supergressus, idque iam in quiete otij possidere ob quod est omnia cultus ecclesiasticus institutus.¹⁷⁴

Without naming the *Mirror* as his source—which it evidently was¹⁷⁵—Ruysbroek could hardly have been more explicit; and yet Gerson never relented in his view that Ruysbroek, with whom he now associates Ubertino, was tainted with 'liberty of the spirit' and false quietism.

Of Gerson's antagonism towards the *Ornatus*, Combes himself wrote:

... les failles logiques qu'une analyse morcelante n'a cessé de dénoncer dans le tissu de cette *Epistola I* se comblent sous l'action unificatrice et directrice de cette conclusion inattendue du lecteur mais inlassablement poursuivie par l'auteur. Oublis? Passions? Injustices? Incompréhensions? Approximations fallacieuses? Majorations illégitimes? Passages d'un sujet à un autre et changements inopinés de perspectives? Oui et non. En réalité, inquiétude profonde, sentiment très vif d'un danger singulièrement menaçant et rappel du seul remède qui puisse être efficace, par définition d'un ordre institutionnel où se concentre la vertu salvatrice de l'Eglise et que la témérité de dévots ignorants n'a que trop tendance à oublier ou à subvertir. Voilà ce qui sous-tend de bout en bout cette lettre....¹⁷⁶

The rhetoric of this passage betrays the writer's unease; and, stripped of the rhetoric, what it is saying is that Gerson acted unreasonably and untruthfully in pretending that what Ruysbroek taught, in book 3 of the *Ornatus*, had been condemned by the Church (whether in *Ad nostrum* or *Benedictus deus* we can ignore), and that his excuse for such unreasoning mendacity was his fear that the *Ornatus* might come into the hands of the ignorant or foolish, already disposed towards such errors, and likely to interpret—rather, to misinterpret—it as encouragement to their heretical tendencies. Better, in effect, to denounce a faithful Christian as a heretic than to expose the weak and seducible to further danger. The Church was the implacable enemy of heresy; and Gerson found it expedient to

¹⁷⁴ We have greatly benefited by G. B. Desoer's generosity in putting at our disposal his still unpublished critical edition of *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum*, William Jordaens' Latin translation, which Gerson used, of the *Brulocht*. We quote from Dr. Desoer's McGill Ph.D. dissertation (1977), p. 361.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Edmund Colledge and Romana Guarnieri, 'The Glosses by "M.N." and Richard Methley to *The Mirror of Simple Souls*' in *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 5 (Rome, 1968), p. 357.

¹⁷⁶ *Essai* 2.431-32; and cf. *Traditie en werkelijkheid*, pp. 58-59.

pretend that a man had incurred such enmity who had elsewhere written: 'In all things which I understand or feel or have written, I submit myself to the judgment of the saints and of Holy Church; for I will live and die as the servant of Jesus Christ, in the Christian faith; and I long to be by the grace of God a living branch of Holy Church'.¹⁷⁷

Next, we must examine in the light of the other evidence Combes's 'conversion' theory. It is quite true that on 1 October 1425 Gerson wrote to his brother, who evidently required (or was prepared to receive) his opinion on the spiritual merits of the *Arbor vitae*. The chancellor advertises three recent works of his which are relevant, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, *Super doctrina Raymundi Lulli* and *Super libro qui dicitur Clymacus De triginta gradibus perfectionis*; and he adduces a list of various heretical opinions prevalent in the circles in which such works may be read. He then continues:

Addatur praemissis haec consideratio, quod summa perfectionis in contemplatione devotorum consistit in unione cum Deo, sicut dicit Apostolus: qui adhaeret Deo unus spiritus est cum eo; et haec est theologia mystica super qua multi multa scripserunt et dixerunt, nonnulli ponentes eam in cognitione primae veritatis vel abstractiva in suis attributis, vel quodammodo intuitiva et experimentativa sentimentis. Constituerunt hanc alii in sola dilectione synderesis vel apicis mentis cum cessatione omnis operis intellectus, sicut aliquando credidit studiositas mea sequens vel insequi putans expositores beati Dionysii cum Bonaventura.¹⁷⁸

This, surely, should prepare us for a negation of the proposition. 'Once upon a time, when I was working hard, and following, or thinking that I was following the commentators upon blessed Dionysius, and Bonaventure, that was what I believed'. One expects: 'But now I know better than this...'; instead, however, there comes the 'conversion' affirmation:

... but now today for the first time I do not know how else the mystery is to be explained, if it should be expounded in academic fashion, than that it seems that this kind of mystical theology, teaching a union with God, consists neither in the work of the intellect nor the operations of the affections, however much they may be needed by the common law as necessary preliminary dispositions.¹⁷⁹

In what, then, does unitive prayer consist? There follows a complex sentence notably failing, as edited by Combes from the two manuscripts which he then used,¹⁸⁰ to give adequate sense (though we may dismiss as frivolous Combes's

¹⁷⁷ Edmund Colledge, 'John Ruysbroek' (James Walsh, ed., *Spirituality through the Centuries*, London, 1965), p. 208, translating from *The Little Book of Enlightenment*.

¹⁷⁸ Glorieux 2.261-62.

¹⁷⁹ *La théologie mystique* 2.536.

¹⁸⁰ *Essai* 1.841.

suggestion¹⁸¹ that it made no sense as Gerson had first written it); but the end towards which it moves is clear. Unitive prayer consists, as pseudo-Dionysius states in the *Divine Names*, in the soul being united in an untellable and unknown fashion to that which is untellable and unknown ('ineffabilibus et ignotis ineffabiliter et ignote conjunguntur').

This is another logical failure which Combes might well have added to his list; because though it is clear that the intellect can have no part in this union, by no means does it follow that the affections are similarly excluded. Since Gerson produces this as the statement of the superior knowledge which has superseded what he thought 'once upon a time', under the influence of the Dionysian commentators, he must be implying that the affection is so excluded; but he neither states nor justifies this. The new St. Pölten text, however, makes one thing very clear. Whatever Gerson's frame of mind may have been on 1 October 1425, by the time that he came to draft this new *Mystica theologia* commentary, his opinion has once again changed:

Sed eciam in actu tali semper cognitio perceptiua et practica comictatur et sequitur, licet non pure speculatiua.

Characteristically, he adds to this: 'Nota pro hoc De Balma'. It is part of Combes's thesis, in his 'profile of Gerson's evolution', that after the 'conversion', Hugh of Balma and his *Viae Sion lugent* became the chancellor's guiding lights; but he could maintain this only by ignoring completely one document highly inconvenient for him, the letter written from Lyons in 1428 to Oswald of Corda, vicar of the Grande Chartreuse. This is what Gerson has there to say about Hugh and his teachings:

Liber cui titulus est *Viae Sion lugent*, quem composuit Hugo de Balma cartusiensis ... videtur utilis pro quolibet homine tendente ad devotionem secundum tres vias jeronimiticas: purgationem, illuminationem, et unionem seu perfectionem.

Apparet autem mihi curiosa illa quaestio ultimo formata: si affectus possit fieri in Deum sine cognitione praevia vel comite, et determinat quod sic, quod si referamus ad divinam potentiam non est negandum, si autem ad institutionem cursus sui contradicit natura rerum, contradicit omnis doctor nedum philosophicus sed theologus, quantumcumque fuerit aliquis ex hiis quae viderim instructus in theologia mystica. Scio tamen quod pie potest interpretari; sed de hoc jam in XII Considerationibus scriptum est, et alias poterit annotari.

Consilium autem est quod legatur, immo studiose ruminetur. Totus in tertia via finis suus est ut affectus noster in Deum transferatur, et certe nihil melius, nihil supra. Si autem intellectus comitetur aut sequatur potest absque periculo non agnoscere.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ *La théologie mystique* 2.468 e.s.

¹⁸² *Glorieux* 2.320.

These criticisms follow a course which we have seen to be habitual. They begin with a general, patronising commendation: 'videtur utilis'. Then comes the specific complaint: why did Hugh raise the difficult question (if that is what is meant by *curiosa*, and not 'superfluous', 'trivial'—we have already seen one of his definitions of *curiositas*) of whether the affection can be raised toward God without cognition, and why did Hugh make his qualifications? But here, writing 'Et determinat quod sic, quod si referamus...', he completely misrepresents Hugh (as Oswald could see for himself, if he consulted a text of *Viae Sion lugent*, though one has the impression, here as often, that Gerson does not expect his correspondents to question the veracity of his statements). Nowhere does Hugh appeal to divine omnipotence; he examines the problem 'secundum viam scholasticam communem',¹⁸³ producing first the arguments against the proposition (which include Ps 38:4, 'In meditatione mea exardescit ignis', and Augustine, 'Invisa possumus diligere, incognita autem nequaquam'¹⁸⁴), and then refuting them, chiefly with the aid of pseudo-Dionysius and Thomas Gallus, and so making Gerson's observation, 'contradicit omnis doctor nedum philosophicus sed theologus', merely risible. In this St. Pölten commentary, he is adopting the same tactics. 'Sed etiam in actu tali semper cognitio perceptiva et practica comictatur et sequitur, licet non pure speculativa' does represent Hugh's arguments against the proposition, but ignores how he then opposes them, e.g.: 'Ergo primo affectus movetur in Deum sine cogitatione praevia intellectus, sed potius ipsum sequitur'.¹⁸⁵

Perhaps nowhere, in all the documents dealing with this matter, which, clearly, plagued Gerson throughout his intellectual life, does he come closer to speaking his whole mind than in this letter to Oswald: '... potest absque periculo non agnoscere'. He did not know; and that should not have been hard to admit, when we are concerned with what, we have seen, he himself calls a *mysterium*. But now, in this new *Mystica theologia* commentary, he has forgotten both his previous confessions, and he is seeking to reopen a question about which it seemed impossible for him to remain of one mind. To use his own terminology, one suspects that the problem was for Gerson one not of the intellection but of the affections.

Despite the many differences between the intellectual climate of the West in Gerson's day and that of the East during the previous century, John Meyendorff has pointed to the remarkable analogies to be seen between the role played by William of Ockham in developing a Nominalist philosophy which 'prepared the way for the

¹⁸³ Adolphe Charles Peltier, ed., *S. Bonaventurae ... opera omnia* 8 (Paris, 1866), p. 52; in the lack of the critical edition promised by Sources Chrétiennes, one must use this sometimes deficient text.

¹⁸⁴ This is a summary of, not a direct quotation from, *De trinitate* 10, chaps. 1 and 2. By late mediaeval times, it had become a commonplace among spiritual writers. See Pius Künzle, ed., *Heinrich Seuses Horologium Sapientiae* (Freiburg, 1977), p. 383: 'O amantissima sapientia ... tu manifeste scis quod nemo possit amare incognitum....'

¹⁸⁵ Peltier 8.49.

secularism of the modern age and established the doctrinal foundations of the Protestant Reformation' and that of the monk Barlaam in his interventions in the hesychasm and 'Filioque' controversies.¹⁸⁶ Faced by the threat of Barlaam's 'theological agnosticism', his chief adversary, Gregory of Palamas, had responded with an authentic contemplative spirituality, to which posterity has accorded the same respectful consideration as that which Ruysbroek gained for what he produced to combat in the West the errors of the 'Brethren of the Free Spirit'. Gerson lacked the perceptions which might have shown him that Ruysbroek and Ubertino of Casale, far from promoting any such 'agnosticism' or any other aberration, were the strongest defenders, among spiritual teachers, of the orthodoxy which the Paris chancellor used all his political authority and literary prestige to uphold, that they were to be counted most faithful expositors of *sapientia Christianorum*.

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¹⁸⁶ *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence (London, 1964), pp. 237, 43.

THE SIEGE OF CHERNIGOV IN 1235

Martin Dimnik, C.S.B.

THE winter of 1234/5 witnessed the start of one of the fiercest inter-princely rivalries for control of Kiev. The princes of Smolensk, the family of Rostislavichi descended from Rostislav Mstislavich (d. 1168) the grandson of Vladimir *Monomakh*, had controlled the principality of Kiev since 1214. In that year they had driven out the princes of Chernigov, the family of Ol'govichi descended from Oleg Svyatoslavich (d. 1115), the main opponent of Vladimir *Monomakh* before 1097. However, by 1230, chiefly during the reign of Vladimir Ryurikovich who became grand prince in 1224, the fortunes of the Rostislavichi declined considerably owing to the deaths of several princes, to military setbacks, to internal dissension and to natural calamities.¹ The misfortunes which weakened the

¹ The political superiority of the Rostislavichi declined with the deaths of such important princes as Grand Prince Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev in 1223 ('*Lavrent'evskaya letopis*'), *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* [abbr. *PSRL*] 1, 2nd edition [Leningrad, 1926], col. 446), Mstislav Mstislavich 'the Bold' (*Udaloy*) of Galicia in 1228 (*ibid.*, col. 450; concerning the correct dating in the *Lavrent'evskaya letopis*', see N. G. Berezkhov, *Khronologiya russkogo letopisaniya* [Moscow, 1963], p. 108), and Mstislav Davidovich of Smolensk in 1230 ('*Sofiyskaya pervaya letopis*', *PSRL* 5, 2nd edition [Leningrad, 1925], p. 209 and '*Novgorodskaya chetvertaya letopis*', *PSRL* 4 [Petrograd, 1915], p. 212 and elsewhere).

The Rostislavichi also suffered severe military setbacks. Since they were the most powerful family of princes in Rus' in 1223 at the time of the Tatar invasion, they sent, presumably, the largest number of troops into the field against the Tatars and consequently suffered the largest losses at the Kalka battle. Later, in 1228, Grand Prince Vladimir Ryurikovich experienced a serious setback when he and his ally Mikhail Vsevolodovich attacked Daniil Romanovich of Volyn' at the town of Kamenets, on the eastern boundary of his principality, but were driven off ('*Ipat'evskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 2 [Spb., 1908], cols. 753-54). During the 1220's the raids of the Lithuanians on the lands of Smolensk sapped the resources of the Rostislavichi; see *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshogo izvodov* (abbr. *NPL*), ed. A. N. Nasonov (M.-L., 1950), s.a. 1223, pp. 61, 263; s.a. 1224, pp. 61, 264; s.a. 1225, pp. 64, 269; s.a. 1229, pp. 68, 275.

The authority of the Rostislavichi was also weakened by the succession crisis of 1230 to 1232 during which time Rostislav Mstislavich, who succeeded his father Mstislav Davidovich in 1230, ruled illegally, having usurped power from his cousin and the rightful heir Svyatoslav Mstislavich (see M. Dimnik, 'Russian Princes and Their Identities in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century', *Mediaeval Studies* 40 [1978] 166-68). Finally, the famine which struck most of Rus' for two years, 1230 and 1231, decimated the population of Smolensk, the patrimony of the Rostislavichi; some

power of the Rostislavichi gave the Ol'govichi of Chernigov, for the first time since 1214, the opportunity to renew their claims for supremacy in southern Rus'. In the early 1230's, therefore, Mikhail Vsevolodovich, prince of Chernigov, challenged Vladimir Ryurikovich for the 'golden throne', thereby compelling the latter to turn for support to his former enemy Daniil Romanovich, prince of Volyn' and Galicia in southwest Rus'. Towards the end of 1234 and at the beginning of 1235 Mikhail and the grand prince engaged in several campaigns which completely altered the balance of power in Rus'.

The first significant battle between the rival princes took place at the beginning of 1235 when Grand Prince Vladimir and his ally Daniil of Volyn' attacked Chernigov but were repulsed by its inhabitants and forced to retreat to Kiev. Unfortunately, the chronicles are not consistent in their information concerning the prince who defended Chernigov against the attackers: most sources claim that it was its rightful ruler, Mikhail Vsevolodovich, who defended the town; one source, however, states that it was his cousin, Mstislav Glebovich, the second senior prince in the family,² who was prince in Chernigov.

Conflicting information in the sources has caused historians to interpret incorrectly the crisis which flared up in Kievan Rus' in the middle of the 1230's. The purpose of this article is to investigate the contradictory information in the accounts of the siege of Chernigov at the beginning of 1235 and to propose an explanation for the misunderstanding which exists concerning the prince who defended the town against Grand Prince Vladimir of Kiev and his ally Daniil of Volyn'.

Only a handful of chronicles contain information concerning the attack on Chernigov in 1235. Most of these repeat the account given by the Novgorod First Chronicle (abbr. N1) and state that Mikhail Vsevolodovich defended Chernigov. According to this account Grand Prince Vladimir and the troops from Kiev, along with Daniil and the forces from Galich, the capital of the principality of Galicia, marched against Mikhail in Chernigov. While the princes were pillaging the environs of Chernigov, Mikhail's ally Izyaslav Vladimirovich (the senior prince

32,000 inhabitants of the town are said to have perished; see '*Sofiyskaya pervaya letopis*', PSRL 5, p. 209, '*Novgorodskaya chetvertaya letopis*', PSRL 4, p. 212, '*Moskovskiy letopisnyy svod kontsa XV veka*' (i.e., the Moscow *svod* of 1479), PSRL 25 (M.-L., 1949), p. 125 and elsewhere.

² During the first half of the thirteenth century the families of princes in Rus' did not follow ordinarily the right of primogeniture but a rota or lateral method of succession. Power passed from brother to the next eldest brother and, after the death of the last brother, to the eldest eligible nephew (i.e., only those nephews were eligible whose fathers had ruled as senior princes). The senior prince of a family ruled in the capital town of the principality which, in the case of the Ol'govichi, was Chernigov.

among the Igorevichi, a cadet branch of the Ol'govichi³) 'fled' for reinforcements to the nomadic tribes of Polovtsy living in the steppe south of Kiev. Meanwhile, during the course of the siege, Mikhail came out of Chernigov and by means of a trick killed many of Daniil's troops and drove off the attackers. Daniil barely escaped with his life and Vladimir was forced to withdraw to Kiev.⁴ When Prince Izyaslav finally arrived with a large force of Polovtsy he was joined by Mikhail and his troops from Chernigov. Together they marched on Kiev and captured it, and the Polovtsy took the grand prince and his wife prisoner.⁵

The only other source which describes the siege of Chernigov in 1235 is the Hypatian Chronicle (abbr. HC). It is an important source since it has the most detailed information concerning the rivalry for Kiev beginning in 1234 and ending with Mikhail's occupation in 1236. Unfortunately, its dating is not reliable and it contradicts the accounts of the other chronicles which claim that Mikhail was prince of Chernigov. In its account under the year 1234, HC states that while Vladimir Ryurikovich was ruling in Kiev he sent his son Rostislav to Galich where the latter concluded a peace treaty with Daniil Romanovich. In spite of this agreement which boded ill for the Ol'govichi, Mikhail and his ally Izyaslav Vladimirovich 'continued their hostile action against him'. As Mikhail once again prepared to lay siege to Kiev, Vladimir summoned Daniil to his aid and Mikhail was forced to withdraw. In retaliation Vladimir and Daniil proceeded to march against Chernigov. But, the chronicler declares enigmatically, Mikhail's cousin Mstislav Glebovich 'came to them' (*pride k nima*). After pillaging the principality and sacking many of the towns along the Desna river, including Khorobor, Sosnitsa and Snovsk, 'they' returned to Chernigov. Vladimir and Daniil concluded peace with Mstislav and the inhabitants of Chernigov. Then, somewhat unexpectedly, the chronicler proceeds to depict the fierce siege of the town. He states that the princes set up a catapult (*aran*) outside the walls which hurled stones the distance of a bowshot and a half; each stone was so heavy that it took four strong men to lift it. The chronicler does not report the

³ For a detailed discussion on the identity of Izyaslav Vladimirovich, see Dimnik, 'Russian Princes', 170-77.

⁴ Only the eighteenth-century Russian historian V. N. Tatishchev, who may be quoting an unknown source, gives more detailed information concerning the 'trick' by which Mikhail drove off the attackers. He states that Mikhail, having mustered all the soldiers who were available, came out of Chernigov and spoke to Daniil 'with much flattery'. He promised him many gifts if the latter would abandon the grand prince and persuade him to end the attack. Daniil listened to Mikhail and attempted to induce Vladimir to lift the siege. Then at night Mikhail attacked Daniil and killed many of his troops so that Daniil himself barely escaped. After that the grand prince returned to Kiev (*Istoriya Rossiyskaya* 4 [M.-L., 1962-68], p. 372).

⁵ *NPL*, pp. 73-74, 284. The few other sources which refer to the attack on Chernigov in 1235 all state that Mikhail was prince and defended the town: see the sixteenth-century '*Vladimirskiy letopisets*', *PSRL* 30 (Moscow, 1965), p. 87; the seventeenth-century '*Gustinskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 2 (Spb., 1843), p. 337; and cf. Tatishchev, *Istoriya* 3, 229.

outcome of the siege, but concludes by saying that from there they returned to Kiev in peace. However, Izyaslav, who had gone for reinforcements, 'did not cease [his hostile action]' and brought the Polovtsy against Kiev.⁶

The account continues with a new entry describing the battle with the Polovtsy. However, it also includes information relevant to the attack on Chernigov. The chronicler explains that Daniil and his troops were war-weary because he had ravaged the territories of Chernigov, campaigning from the feast of the Epiphany on 6 January to the feast of the Ascension on 14 May until, finally, he had concluded peace and returned to Kiev. Daniil, the chronicler repeats, was exhausted from his campaigning and wished to return home through the 'wooded lands', but Grand Prince Vladimir persuaded him to remain and fight the pagan Polovtsy. Their armies clashed near the town of Torchesk south of Kiev and the Polovtsy were victorious. Vladimir and the boyar Miroslav were captured, explains the chronicler, owing to the treachery of many boyars. Daniil succeeded in escaping to Galich.⁷

A comparison of the accounts given by HC and by N1 (as well as later sources which repeat the latter's information) shows that they do not agree concerning the prince who defended Chernigov. Although it is not stated where Mikhail went after withdrawing from Kiev before Daniil arrived with reinforcements in the winter of 1234/5, N1 suggests that he retreated with his army to Chernigov his patrimony. However, HC contradicts this information and claims that Mikhail's cousin, Mstislav Glebovich, 'came to' Grand Prince Vladimir and Daniil when they marched into the principality of Chernigov; later Daniil and Vladimir concluded peace with Mstislav and the inhabitants of Chernigov. This information implies that Mikhail had been displaced as the rightful ruler or that he had delegated control of the town to another prince.

M. Hrushevsky was one of the first historians to question the credibility of the text in HC and to propose an explanation for the inconsistency of its information with the generally known facts of the period. Convinced that Mikhail was the prince of Chernigov in 1235, he concluded that there must be a mistake in the chronicle account, and suggested instead that both princes, Mikhail and Mstislav, were involved in the events of 1235. According to Hrushevsky the phrase 'he came to them' (*pride k nima*) should be interpreted to read that Mstislav Glebovich (whom he calls Gleb Mstislavich) 'joined' princes Vladimir and Daniil in order to pillage

⁶ For the text, see below, p. 394.

⁷ *PSRL* 2, cols. 772-74. The chronicle has all this information under the year 1234. It appears, however, that Mikhail attacked Kiev either in the autumn or the winter of 1234, when Daniil came to Kiev in reply to the summons of the grand prince. It may be assumed that Daniil came to Kiev in December 1234 at the latest since HC states that he and Vladimir campaigned in Chernigov from the feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1235, until the feast of the Ascension, 14 May. After their failure to take Chernigov, they returned to Kiev in May. Izyaslav came with the Polovtsy after the princes had returned to Kiev, and the attack must have occurred some time after May in 1235.

the lands of Chernigov. He also believed that the compiler had erred when speaking of the prince who defended Chernigov and suggested, therefore, that in the entry 'Mstislav' should probably read 'Mikhail' for the prince who drove off the attackers and concluded peace with them.⁸

On the basis of his supposition that Mikhail was the prince of Chernigov during the siege, Hrushevsky later expanded his explanation in the following manner: Mikhail came out of the town because he was not able to withstand the attack; after his departure the inhabitants of the town surrendered; then Daniil appointed Mstislav Glebovich prince of Chernigov. Hrushevsky explains that Mstislav probably had 'joined' Daniil and Vladimir on their campaign in the hope of becoming prince of Chernigov. But, after their victory, as Daniil and Vladimir were preparing to depart from Chernigov, Mikhail tricked Daniil and attacked him; he killed many of his troops so that Daniil barely escaped.⁹ Hrushevsky was right to question the role which the chronicler attributed to Mstislav during the siege of 1235 but his interpretation of the events is not correct.

A close analysis of the descriptions in HC of the events of 1234 and 1235—Mikhail's attack on Kiev, Vladimir's request to Daniil to send military assistance, their joint attack on Chernigov, the battle near Torchesk and the sack of Kiev—shows that this account is neither continuous nor homogeneous but, rather, a patchwork of entries joined together by several compilers. The evidence demonstrates that information concerning various events came from different sources.

The most obvious hiatus in the account comes immediately after the entry that Izyaslav Vladimirovich returned with the Polovtsy and marched against Kiev. This statement is followed by a terminal sign (i.e., four dots forming the shape of a diamond ∙∙∙). There is a glaring discord between the tenor of the entry before, and that of the entry after, the terminal sign. The first entry which, for the most part, describes the siege of Chernigov explains that both Vladimir and Daniil attacked the town; the second entry which also refers to the siege completely fails to mention Vladimir's part in the campaign. Instead, if one were to judge solely from information given in the second entry, it would appear that Daniil alone besieged Chernigov.¹⁰

There is also inconsistency in the two entries concerning Mikhail's ally Prince Izyaslav. The first entry mentions Izyaslav twice: once in the opening statement of the account of the siege when it states that Mikhail and Izyaslav continued their

⁸ *Ocherk istorii Kievskoy zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV stoletiya* (Kiev, 1891), p. 284.

⁹ *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi*, 2nd edition, 2 (L'vov, 1905), p. 247.

¹⁰ For example, the author of this entry states that Daniil and his troops were exhausted because: (a) *he* pillaged the lands of Chernigov; (b) *he* campaigned from 6 January to 14 May; and (c) *he* made peace and then returned to Kiev (PSRL 2, col. 773).

aggression against Vladimir so that he was forced to ask Daniil for assistance; and later, in the concluding remark just before the terminal sign, when it states that Izyaslav brought the Polovtsy against Kiev. Surprisingly, the second entry does not once mention Izyaslav's complicity in the attack on Kiev even though it was he who brought the Polovtsy. Instead, one is led to understand that the Polovtsy attacked the town solely on their own initiative. Thus it can be concluded that the compiler of the account had at least two sources at his disposal. One source—that which served as the basis for the information concerning Mikhail's attack on Kiev, the grand prince's alliance with Daniil and their attack on Chernigov—probably originated either in Chernigov or in Kiev. The second source, which was concerned exclusively with the activities of Daniil and the boyars of Galich, obviously was written in southwest Rus'.

However, the first entry which contains information concerning Kiev and Chernigov has further traces of editing done by a subtler hand and done before the time of the Hypatian chronicler. The edited material, significantly, is the description of the siege of Chernigov. It becomes evident that this account has been tampered with when one discovers that its information concerning Mstislav Glebovich and the use of catapults is identical to information found in various sources describing a similar event in 1239; in that year the Tatars besieged Chernigov and captured the town. It is necessary, therefore, to have a more detailed look at the latter event.

The first Tatar attack on Rus', which was directed against the principalities of Ryazan' and Murom in the east and Vladimir in the northeast, came during the winter of 1237.¹¹ The second attack came against the territories of southern Pereyaslavl' and Chernigov in 1239. One source states that the Tatars stormed Chernigov, pillaged the town, killed many of its inhabitants and looted the monasteries. According to this account the princes of Chernigov fled to Hungary but Bishop Porfiry was captured and taken to the town of Glukhov (located east of Chernigov on the northern bank of the Seym river), where he was released. From Glukhov the Tatars returned to their camps in the steppe.¹² HC, which also has information of this event, has a somewhat different account. It reports that when

¹¹ Ryazan' capitulated on 21 December 1237; see N1 (*NPL*, pp. 75, 287). The Tatars reached Vladimir on 3 February 1238; see '*Lavrent'evskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 1, col. 461. After taking the capital they proceeded to sack fourteen other towns in the district of Rostov-Suzdal', all in the month of February (*ibid.*, col. 464).

¹² *PSRL* 1, col. 469. Chernigov was sacked on Tuesday 18 October 1239. This information is found in the Smolensk chronicle, '*Letopis' Avraamki*', *PSRL* 16 (Spb., 1889), col. 51, in the *Tikhonovskiy spisok* of the Pskov First Chronicle (*Pskovskie letopisi* [abbr. *Pskov*], ed. A. N. Nasonov, 1 [A.N. SSSR, 1941], p. 12), in the *Stroevskiy spisok* of the Pskov Third Chronicle (*ibid.* 2 [1955], p. 79) and in the '*Sokrashchennaya Novgorodskaya letopis', ot nachala zemli slavyanskoy do vzyatiya Moskvy Takhtamyshem v 1382 godu', Suprasl'skaya rukopis'*', ed. M. A. Obolensky (Moscow, 1836), p. 31.

Mstislav Glebovich was informed of the Tatar attack he marched against them, was defeated and many of his men were killed.¹³ The Tatars captured the town and set it on fire; they also took the bishop captive but, sparing his life, brought him to Glukhov.¹⁴

The most detailed account of the Tatar attack on Chernigov is found in two chronicles which stem from the so-called hypothetical 'svod of 1448', namely, the Sofiyskiy First Chronicle (abbr. S1) and the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle (abbr. N4).¹⁵ They state that Khan Baty sent 'another' army against the town of Chernigov.¹⁶ When Mstislav Glebovich heard of the Tatar siege, he 'attacked them' (*priide na nya*) with his troops who conducted themselves bravely. There was fierce fighting around Chernigov and the Tatars set up catapults (*tarany*) which hurled stones the distance of a bowshot and a half; each stone was so heavy that four strong men had to lift it. Finally Mstislav was defeated and many of his soldiers were killed. The Tatars occupied the town and set fire to it; they captured the bishop but, sparing his life, took him to the town of Glukhov. And from there (Glukhov? Chernigov?) the Tatars came to Kiev (i.e., to Grand Prince Mikhail Vsevolodovich¹⁷) with offers of peace; they concluded peace with Mstislav and Vladimir and Daniil.¹⁸

Almost identical accounts of the Tatar attack are found in other chronicles. The account in the Moscow *svod* of 1479 is the closest to that given by S1 and N4.¹⁹ However, all the other chronicles which repeat the material found in the Moscow *svod* of 1479 differ with it on one point: they state that it was the inhabitants of

¹³ One ms. of the *Ermolinskaya letopis'*, the *Ermolinskiy spisok*, states that Mstislav Glebovich 'came out of Chernigov' (*priide ... iz Chernigova*); see *PSRL* 23 (Spb., 1910), p. 77. But the *Uvarovskiy spisok* of the same chronicle and also the *L'vovskaya letopis'* (which is almost identical to the *Ermolinskaya letopis'*) state that he came 'to Chernigov' (*k chernigovu*); *ibid.*, p. 77, variant 11 and *PSRL* 20 (Spb., 1910), p. 158. Hrushevsky believed that Mstislav was killed by the Tatars while he was defending Chernigov (*Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi* 2.252) but various mss. of the *Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'* (i.e., the Nikon Chronicle) state that Mstislav 'barely escaped' (*edva ubezha*); see *PSRL* 10 (Spb., 1885), p. 114.

¹⁴ *PSRL* 2, col. 782. The chronicle misplaces this entry under the year 1237; for the text, see below, p. 395. Cf. the seventeenth-century '*Gustinskaya letopis'*', *PSRL* 2 (1843 edition), pp. 338-39.

¹⁵ See Ya. S. Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisi XIV-XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1976), pp. 67 ff.

¹⁶ The first army sent out against southern Rus' by Khan Baty destroyed Pereyaslav'; see S1 and N4 (*PSRL* 5, p. 218 and 4, p. 222). According to the Pskov Chronicles the town was captured on Thursday, in the middle of the week commemorating the feast of the Veneration of the Holy Cross, that is, 3 March 1239; see the Pskov Chronicles (*Pskov* 2, s.a. 1230, p. 79 and 1, p. 11); see also '*Letopis' Avraamki*', *PSRL* 16, col. 51.

¹⁷ Mikhail became grand prince in 1236; see HC (*PSRL* 2, col. 777) and the seventeenth-century '*Gustinskaya letopis'*', *PSRL* 2 (1843 edition), p. 338; cf. the Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL* 10, s.a. 1238, pp. 113-14).

¹⁸ For the text of S1 (*PSRL* 5, pp. 218-19), see below, pp. 395-96; the text of N4 is identical (*PSRL* 4, pp. 222-23).

¹⁹ *PSRL* 25, p. 130. One copy of the Nikon Chronicle, the *Golitsynskiy spisok*, has an identical account except for the term *tarany* (catapults); instead, it uses the term *poroky* (*PSRL* 10, pp. 114-15).

Chernigov who set up catapults (*tarany*) against the Tatars.²⁰ Significantly, *all* these sources, including the Moscow *svod* of 1479, fail to mention the Tatar peace treaty with the three princes. This omission suggests that their information derived from the same source. However, since it did not have the information concerning the peace treaty, their source cannot be the '*svod* of 1448'. It has been suggested by A. N. Nasonov that this other source was the 'Common Russian chronicle *svod* of 1464-1472 of Metropolitans Feodosiy-Filipp'.²¹

Below are the accounts which must be investigated in greater detail.

HC 1234

... Mikhail zhe ne sterpev otide ot Kyeve. Danil zhe poide. ko Volodimerou. i poidosta Chernigovou i pride k nima. M'stislav Glebovich', ottouda zhe poidosha plenicha zemlyu. poimasha grad mnogy po Desne tou zhe vzyasha i Khorobor i Sosnitsyu. i Sno-vesk'. inyi grad mnogii. i priidosha zhe opyat' Chernigovou stvorisha zhe mir so Volodimerom. i Danilom. M'stislav. i Chernigov'chi. lyuto bo be boi ou Chernigova. ozhe i taran na n' postavisha. metasha bo kamenem'. poltora perestrela. a kamen' yakozhe mozhakhou. d. mouzhi silnii podyati. ottouda s mirom preidosha Kyevou. Izyaslav zhe. odinako ne prestaashe vozvel be Polvtse na Kiev :-

SI 1239

... Inuyu zhe rat' posla na Chernigov. Pri-shedshe zhe, poslanii ostupisha grad Chernigov v sile tyazhtse. Slysha zhe M'stislav Glebovich napadenie inoplemenykh na grad i priide na nya s svoimi voi. Bivshesya im krepko, — lyut bo be boi u Chernigova, — ozhe i tarany na n' postavisha i metasha na n' kameniem poltora perestrela, a kamen' zhe, yako zhe mozhakhou 4 muzhi silnii pod'yati. I pobezheno byst' M'stislav; mnozhestvo ot voi ego izb'eno byst'. I grad vzyasha i zapalisha ognem, a episkopa ostavisha zhiva i vedosha i v Glukhoy. A ottole priidosha k Kievu s mirom i smirivshasya s M'stislavom i Volodimerom i s Danilom.

²⁰ See the '*Ermolinskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 23, p. 77; the '*L'vovskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 20, p. 154; most copies of the Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL* 10, pp. 114-15, n. ***; the '*Tverskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 15 (Spb., 1863), col. 374; and the '*Kholmogorskaya letopis*', *PSRL* 33 (Leningrad, 1977), p. 67.

²¹ He postulated that the Moscow *svod* of 1479 and the '*Ermolinskaya letopis*' had a common source which he called the 'Common Russian chronicle *svod* 1464-1472 of Metropolitans Feodosiy-Filipp' (see 'Moskovskiy *svod* 1479 i ego juzhnorusskiy istochnik', *Problemy istochnikovedeniya* 9, pp. 350-85 and 'Moskovskiy *svod* 1479 i Ermolinskaya letopis', *Voprosy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoy istorii i istochnikovedeniya perioda feodalizma v Rossii. Sbornik statey k 70-letiyu A. A. Novosel'skogo* [Moscow, 1961], pp. 218-22). J. L. I. Fennell suggested that the terminal dates of this hypothetical *svod* might be 1448-72, and that, like the Moscow *svod* of 1479 and the '*Ermolinskaya letopis*' (and the '*L'vovskaya letopis*'), the Nikon Chronicle also derived from it; see 'The Tale of the Murder of Michail of Tver', *Studies in Slavic Linguistics and Poetics in Honor of Boris O. Unbegaun* (New York-London, 1968), p. 36 and 'The Tver' Uprising of 1327: A Study of the Sources', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Heft 2, 1967, pp. 168 ff. Since then he has revised his opinion and holds that these dates can be limited more precisely to 1472 and to 1479. Ya. S. Lur'e also holds this view but calls the hypothetical *svod* a 'special recension of the *svod* of 1448' (*osobaya obrabotka svoda 1448 goda*); see *Obshcherusskie letopisi XIV-XV vv.*, pp. 150-56.

HC 1237

...v to zhe vremya posla na Chernigov.
ob'stoupisha grad v sile tyazhtse. slyshav
zhe M'stislav Glebovich'. napadenie na grad
inoplemen'nykh. pride na ny so vsimi voi.
bivshimsya im. pobezhen bys M'stislav. i i
mnozhestvo ot voi ego izb'enym bys. i grad
vzyasha i zapalisha ogn'm' episkopa osta-
visha zhiva. i vedosha i vo Gloukhov.

A comparison of the account taken from the 'svod of 1448' with the one in HC describing the attack on Chernigov in 1235 clearly shows that the two have readings in common. The question that must be answered is: which of the two accounts has borrowed readings from the other? As we have seen, there are reasons to suggest that HC has the spurious information. It used several sources and assembled their information in a patchwork manner. Also, unlike all the other sources which agree with the generally accepted facts of the period (i.e., that Mikhail was prince of Chernigov in 1235), HC contends that it was Mstislav Glebovich. Although there are reasons for suspecting the veracity of the account in HC, there is no reason to doubt the credibility of the information given by the two sources which are derived from the 'svod of 1448'. Their account of Mstislav's defence of Chernigov in 1239 is corroborated by all other chronicles which record the Tatar attack on Chernigov and which did not obtain their information from the 'svod of 1448'.²² To be sure, HC itself has information concerning Mstislav for 1239 but, predictably, it misplaced it, under 1237. Furthermore, it has been noted that Mikhail became the grand prince of Kiev in 1236²³ and that, according to the lateral method of succession, he should have been replaced on the throne of Chernigov by the next senior prince among the Ol'govichi, namely, Mstislav. These observations, therefore, are the key to deciphering the spurious text in HC and to unravelling the confusion surrounding the identity of the prince who defended the town against Vladimir and Daniil.

Below is a juxtaposition of the material common to HC for 1235 and to S1 and N4 for 1239 and given in the sequence found in each account.

The account in S1 and N4

1. *M'stislav Glebovich ... priide na nya*
(Mstislav Glebovich attacked them, i.e., the
Tatars)

The account in HC

1. *i pride k nima. M'stislav Glebovich*
(and Mstislav Glebovich came to them, i.e.,
to Vladimir and Daniil)

²² See nn. 19 and 20.

²³ See n. 17.

2. *lyut bo be boi u Chernigova, — ozhe i tarany na n' postavisha i metasha na n' kameniem poltora perestrela, a kamen' zhe, yako zhe mozhaakhu 4 muzhi silnii pod'yati.* (the battle was fierce around Chernigov,—and they even set up catapults against it which hurled stones the distance of a bowshot and a half, and the stones were so large that it took four strong men to lift them)

3. *A ottole priidosha k Kievu s mirom* (and from there [i.e., Chernigov?] they [the Tatars] came to Kiev in peace)

4. *i smirivshasya s M'stislavom i Volodimerom i s Danilom.* (and they concluded peace [i.e., the Tatars] with Mstislav and Vladimir and Daniil).

4. *stvorisha zhe mir so Volodimerom. i Danilom. M'stislav. (i Chernigov'chi)* (Mstislav and the inhabitants of Chernigov concluded peace with Vladimir and Daniil)

2. *lyuto bo be boi ou Chernigova. ozhe i taran na n' postavisha. metasha bo kamenem'. poltora perestrela, a kamen' yakozhe mozhakhou. d. mouzhi silnii podyati.* (the battle was fierce around Chernigov, and they even set up a catapult against it which hurled stones the distance of a bowshot and a half, and the stones were so large that it took four strong men to lift them)

3. *ottouda s mirom preidosha Kyevou.* (from there they [Vladimir and Daniil] came in peace to Kiev).

An analysis of the material common to the two accounts shows that the events describing the Tatar attack in 1239 flow logically, whereas this is not the case in the HC account. According to information derived from the 'svod of 1448' Mstislav Glebovich was informed of the Tatar siege of Chernigov and 'attacked them'. A fierce battle ensued around Chernigov, during which the Tatars used catapults to break through the walls. The town was taken and many of Mstislav's soldiers were killed. From there the Tatars went to Kiev with offers of peace, presumably made to Mikhail Vsevolodovich who was grand prince. But, instead, they were able to conclude peace with only Mstislav, Vladimir and Daniil.

The HC account, however, is confusing and at times illogical. It states that on hearing of the attack on Chernigov by Vladimir and Daniil, Mstislav 'came to them' (but it is not clear whether he came as an ally or an enemy). From there 'they' (Vladimir, Daniil and Mstislav?) went on to pillage the lands of Chernigov and later returned to Chernigov. Then Mstislav and the inhabitants of Chernigov concluded peace with Vladimir and Daniil (but why was this necessary if Mstislav had 'come to them' earlier?). After stating that peace was concluded, the chronicler, very illogically, recounts the fierce siege of Chernigov during which the attackers used catapults. He fails to mention the outcome of the battle but states that 'they' (Vladimir and Daniil?) came to Kiev in peace. Then he immediately contradicts himself by stating that Izyaslav Vladimirovich (Mikhail's ally) continued his hostile action against 'them' and marched on Kiev with the Polovtsy.

Furthermore, as has been noted, HC's contention that Mstislav was prince of

Chernigov contradicts generally accepted facts of the period. Mstislav could have ruled in the town only if Mikhail had been deposed or if the latter had delegated control of the town to him. On the one hand, it is known that after Mstislav Svyatoslavich, Mikhail's uncle and senior prince among the Ol'govichi, was killed by the Tatars at the Kalka battle in 1223,²⁴ Mikhail succeeded him as prince of Chernigov. Nowhere is it mentioned in the sources that Mikhail was deprived of his seniority or deposed from the throne of Chernigov.²⁵ On the contrary, his position must have been extremely secure, to judge from the fact that after the crisis of 1234 and 1235 he emerged as the most powerful prince in Rus', a feat which he could not have achieved unless he had the allegiance of all the Ol'govichi. Consequently, when he withdrew from Kiev in the winter of 1234/5, he must have retreated to Chernigov. On the other hand, it is unimaginable that at the time when Mikhail renewed the claims of the Ol'govichi to supremacy over Rus', he would have stayed inactive and delegated the defence of his own capital to another prince.

The mention of the use of catapults (*tarany*) during the siege of Chernigov in the HC account is also noteworthy, for it is further proof that the reference is to the Tatar attack of 1239. First, the term *taran* is found in the chronicles only in relation to the Tatar capture of Chernigov. Significantly, all the sources which note the use of catapults during the siege refer to them as *tarany*,²⁶ the only exception is HC, which uses the term in relation to Vladimir's and Daniil's attack on Chernigov in 1235. Given the similarity of the accounts concerning the two attacks of 1235 and 1239 and the fact that this is the only occurrence of the term, it is clear that the reference to the use of *taran* in HC must be to the Tatar attack.

There is a second reason which confirms that the reference to *taran* is to the Tatar attack. To judge from chronicle information, the princes of Rus' did not use catapults for storming towns. Indeed, the chronicler's explanation that the Tatars 'even set up catapults' against Chernigov probably reflects his surprise and amazement at witnessing a novelty (the catapults 'hurled stones the distance of a bowshot and a half, and the stones were so large it took four strong men to lift them').

The chroniclers refer to only three occasions during the first half of the thirteenth century when catapults or battering devices were employed, and in each case they were used by foreign armies. The first reference is to the fall of Constantinople in 1204. During the siege of the town the attackers used catapults, i.e., *poroky* (the

²⁴ The '*Lavrent'evskaya letopis*'. PSRL 1, col. 446 and S1 (PSRL 5, p. 206).

²⁵ The only occasion on which Mikhail was faced with an internal crisis was in 1226 when Oleg Svyatoslavich of Kursk challenged him because he wished, apparently, to deny Oleg the right to rule in the town of Novgorod Severskiy, north of Chernigov on the Desna river. However, the crisis was resolved without any bloodshed; see the '*Lavrent'evskaya letopis*', PSRL 1, col. 448. For a detailed discussion of this controversy, see Dimnik, 'Russian Princes', 158-65.

²⁶ See nn. 18, 19, 20 and 27.

term commonly used by the chroniclers when speaking of battering devices except for the above-mentioned use of *taran*²⁷), which were mounted on boats.²⁸ The second instance concerns the Tatars who, during their invasion of Rus' from 1237 to 1240, used *poroky* while besieging the town of Vladimir in the northeast in 1238²⁹ and in attacking Kiev in 1240.³⁰ When they moved west from Kiev to Vladimir, the capital of the principality of Volyn', the chronicler states that the Tatars also used *poroky* against the town of Kolodyazhen in the principality of Kiev.³¹ And, as was already mentioned, they used catapults (*tarany*) to capture Chernigov in 1239.³² The third occasion was in 1245 when the Hungarians and the Poles used *poroky* while besieging the town of Yaroslavl' on the river San.³³ Since the princes of Rus' apparently never employed catapults, and since the Tatars used such machines as a matter of course, it appears that the reference to catapults in HC is misplaced; originally, the information must have been in the account of the Tatar attack in 1239.

Finally, there is one entry in HC which is unique. It states that 'from there (?) they captured the land and occupied many towns along the Desna river where they captured Khorobor, Sosnitsa, Snovsk and many other towns' (*ottouda zhe poidosha plenicha zemlyu. poimasha grad mnogoy po Desne tou zhe vzyasha i Khorobor i Sosnitsyu. i Snovesk'. inyi grad mnogii*). According to the compiler of HC the reference is to the princes Vladimir and Daniil. However, information given by N1 states that the two princes did much pillaging around Chernigov and burned the trading quarter outside the town (*i mnogo voeva okolo Chernigova, i posad pozzhe*);³⁴ and this, to judge from the entry, was the extent of their campaigning in the principality of Chernigov.

The inconsistency of the information given by the two sources concerning the

²⁷ There is evidence to suggest that the term *poroky* probably replaced the use of *tarany* for 'catapults' at a later date. It has been observed (see n. 19) that the *Golitsynskiy spisok* of the Nikon Chronicle has an account of the Tatar attack almost identical to that of the Moscow *svod* of 1479 which is the closest to the accounts given by S1 and N4 (i.e., the 'svod' of 1448'). Whereas the original version taken from the 'svod of 1448' used the term *tarany* for 'catapults', a later compiler of the *Golitsynskiy spisok*, who apparently had access to identical information, changed the term to *poroky*; see PSRL 10, pp. 114-15, and cf. S1 (PSRL 5, pp. 218-19).

²⁸ N1 (NPL, pp. 48, 243).

²⁹ The 'Lavrent'evskaya letopis', PSRL 1, col. 462.

³⁰ HC (PSRL 2, col. 785).

³¹ *ibid.*, col. 786.

³² As has been noted (see above, pp. 393-94), several later chronicles state that the inhabitants of Chernigov used catapults (*tarany*) against the Tatars. This, no doubt, is an error. Not only do the late chronicles contradict the information given by earlier sources but, as we have seen, the Tatars used *poroky* as a matter of course in their attacks on the towns of Rus'.

³³ HC (PSRL 2, cols. 800-802). The chronicle misplaces the information under the year 1249.

³⁴ NPL, pp. 74, 284. The seventeenth-century *Gustinskaya letopis'* states explicitly that 'they could not take the town; they occupied only the trading quarter, set fire to it and pillaged the environs of Chernigov' (PSRL 2, 1843 edition, p. 337).

extent of the pillaging by the attackers again raises doubt concerning the unique passage in HC. Although the detailed nature of the material (it states that 'they captured the land' and it gives the names of the towns sacked) speaks for authenticity, the divergence of this information with that found in N1 raises doubts concerning the accuracy of the dating. Since this passage in HC is preceded and followed by spurious information, that is, information referring to the Tatar attack of 1239, it appears that the entry concerning the towns also was borrowed from the latter episode.

There is good reason to believe that the towns of Khorobor, Sosnitsa and Snovsk, situated along the northern bank of the Seym river east of Chernigov, were in fact pillaged by the Tatars rather than by Princes Vladimir and Daniil. The order in which the towns are listed presumably reflects the sequence in which they fell to the attackers. Significantly, the towns of Khorobor and Sosnitsa, which are located east of Snovsk, were captured before the latter. This suggests that the attacking forces came from the east. Also interesting to note is that in 1239 the Tatars took the bishop of Chernigov with them to the town of Glukhov which, apparently, they had already occupied before they took Chernigov. Glukhov is in a direct line east of the other three towns named in the HC account; this suggests that when the Tatars invaded the principality of Chernigov (i.e., the 'other' army sent out by Khan Baty against southern Rus'), they came along the northern bank of the Seym river and besieged the towns of Glukhov, Sosnitsa, Khorobor, Snovsk and finally Chernigov. If, however, these towns (aside from Glukhov) had been razed by Princes Vladimir and Daniil as HC contends, it is surprising that HC fails to mention even one town west of Chernigov along the route taken by the two princes and their armies. Consequently, it may be concluded that the passage in HC regarding the towns devastated in the principality of Chernigov was also taken from the account of the Tatar attack in 1239.

By excising from the HC account all the information emanating from the year 1239 we are left with the original version of Vladimir's and Daniil's attack on Chernigov. It states simply that Daniil of Volyn' went to Grand Prince Vladimir and together they marched on Chernigov. But Izyaslav Vladimirovich brought the Polovtsy and marched against Kiev. This is the extent of the information given by the original chronicler of the event. A later editor took the laconic entry and incorporated it into his redaction, which for convenience sake will be called the Kievan *svod*, but also added to it the spurious information concerning Mstislav Glebovich, the towns captured, the siege of Chernigov with catapults and the peace agreement.

The compiler of the Kievan *svod* probably incorporated the spurious information erroneously. As we have seen, he had little material in his original entry concerning the siege. It informed him that Vladimir and Daniil attacked the town but it did not tell him who defended it. However, the compiler of the Kievan *svod* also had access

to two accounts describing the capture of Chernigov by the Tatars in 1239. The first version gave a sketchy description of the attack, mentioning that the town, which was defended by Mstislav Glebovich, was pillaged and that the bishop was captured and taken to Glukhov. The second version had a more detailed description of the siege but, more important, it stated that Princes Mstislav, Vladimir and Daniil concluded peace. Since his original account of 1235 gave him no information describing the actual siege of the town, the compiler of the Kievan *svod* presumed that the account which spoke of the peace agreement with three princes must refer to the siege of 1235. He already knew that Daniil and Vladimir made the attack, and it was natural for him to conclude, wrongly, that Mstislav, the third prince named by this version, must have been the one who defended Chernigov.

Working from the erroneous premise that the second version describing the Tatar attack in 1239 was, in fact, an account of the siege by Princes Vladimir and Daniil, he transposed its information into the account of 1235. In editing this material to suit the circumstances of 1235, the similarity of the two attacks enabled him to fuse the details of the separate events by making two incorrect assumptions. Since his original account did not tell him who defended the town, the compiler presumed that Mstislav Glebovich was prince of Chernigov in 1235. He also concluded, probably because of the reference to the three princes in the peace agreement, that the attackers alluded to in the account of 1239 were Vladimir and Daniil instead of the Tatars. The adulterated version of the Kievan *svod* was later incorporated by the compiler of HC into his account of 1235.

Since it has been shown that the information concerning Mstislav Glebovich in HC is spurious, it may be concluded that the description of the attack in 1235 given by N1 is the true one. The following, therefore, is the correct version of the events which transpired towards the end of 1234 and the beginning of 1235. In the winter of 1234 Mikhail Vsevolodovich, prince of Chernigov, attacked Kiev but had to withdraw to Chernigov when Grand Prince Vladimir Ryurikovich summoned Daniil Romanovich of Volyn' and Galicia to his aid. The latter two retaliated by attacking Mikhail in Chernigov early in 1235. Although they pillaged the territory around the town, they failed to take it. While the princes were besieging Chernigov, Mikhail's ally Izyaslav Vladimirovich rode to the Polovtsy to recruit reinforcements. Mikhail, by means of a ploy, tricked Daniil and defeated his troops, thus forcing him and the grand prince to withdraw to Kiev—without any peace agreement having been reached. When Izyaslav arrived with a large contingent of Polovtsy, he was joined by Mikhail and his troops from Chernigov and together they marched on Kiev. They clashed with the grand prince and Daniil near Torchesk, a town south of Kiev, where Vladimir and Daniil were defeated. Mikhail, Izyaslav and the Polovtsy marched on Kiev, captured it and the Polovtsy took the grand prince and his wife captive.

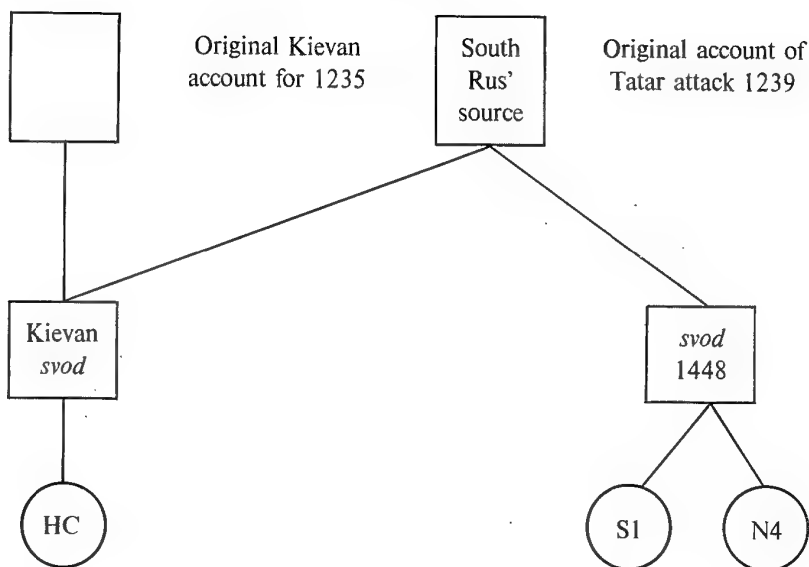
In the light of the above reconstructed events of 1234 and 1235, several important observations can be made. First, it is significant to have established that Mikhail Vsevolodovich was prince of Chernigov in 1235 rather than his cousin Mstislav Glebovich. This confirms the generally accepted information for this period that the Ol'govichi adhered faithfully to the method of lateral succession and that there was no internal dissent in the family of princes as HC suggests.

The fact that Mikhail successfully defended Chernigov and drove off the attackers gives us an insight into his talent as a strategist. Furthermore, his rout of Vladimir and Daniil was important for his subsequent victory over his opponents near Torchesk. Prior to this major battle, the Hypatian chronicler twice remarked that Daniil and his troops were war-weary and that they did not wish to engage in any more battles but instead desired to return to Galich. Clearly Mikhail had inflicted heavy losses on Daniil's troops at Chernigov, so much so that the latter no longer believed he had an army which he could take into the field of battle.

By establishing that HC lists towns which were sacked by the Tatars in 1239, we have unearthed new information concerning the Tatar invasion of the principality of Chernigov. As well as giving the names of some of the towns which the Tatars pillaged, this information also suggests the route which they followed during their conquest of the principality. It appears that Khan Baty's 'other' army restricted its activities to the territories of the northern bank of the Seym river.

The unique passage which names the towns also gives valuable information concerning the sources used by HC. It has been seen that most of HC's description of the siege of Chernigov was borrowed from the account of the Tatar attack in 1239. The spurious information is identical with that found in the '*svod* of 1448' (i.e., in S1 and N4). However, since the unique passage in HC referring to the towns captured by the Tatars is not found in the '*svod* of 1448', this suggests that HC or, more correctly, the Kievan *svod* which was later incorporated by the compiler of HC, did not derive its information from the '*svod* of 1448'. Rather, the Kievan *svod* and the '*svod* of 1448' apparently had a source in common. But, the '*svod* of 1448' neglected to copy the names of the towns captured by the Tatars. Consequently, we can posit the stemma on p. 402. (Note that squares represent hypothetical sources.)

Significant also is the peace agreement referred to by HC and by S1 and N4. Contrary to the account given by HC, the princes did not make peace in 1235. As we have seen, the information is spurious and belongs to the account of the Tatar attack on Chernigov. Furthermore, it is evident from the events themselves that the princes did not conclude peace. Although HC states that Vladimir and Daniil returned to Kiev 'in peace', it discredits the information when it states that Mikhail, Izyaslav and the Polovtsy attacked Kiev soon after. This view is corroborated by N1 which, although it has the most accurate account of the siege of Chernigov in 1235, makes no reference to a peace treaty.



It is obvious that the reference to a peace agreement in HC and in the 'svod of 1448' must be in connection with the Tatar attack in 1239. The Tatars came to terms with Mstislav Glebovich of Chernigov who had defended the town unsuccessfully, with Vladimir Ryurikovich who died soon after³⁵ as prince of Smolensk,³⁶ and with Daniil Romanovich of Volyn' whose principality had not yet been pillaged. There can be no doubt concerning the authenticity of this information since both HC and the 'svod of 1448', which obtained their material independently of each other, record the event. This important information has been either overlooked or ignored by historians.³⁷ It shows that in 1239, although the Tatars came to terms with the rulers of three of the most powerful principalities in Rus', they failed to negotiate peace with the grand prince of Kiev, Mikhail Vsevolodovich. This development had significant consequences in inter-princely relations. First, it undermined any hope which the grand prince may have entertained of

³⁵ See the Pskov Chronicles (*Pskov* 1, p. 12 and 2, p. 79).

³⁶ 'Rodoslovnaya kniga', *Vremennik Obshchestva istorii i drevnostey Rossiyskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, book 10 (Moscow, 1851), p. 13.

³⁷ S. K. Cherepanov states that this 'unintelligible and improbable' information concerning the Tatar peace agreement with 'Daniil, Vladimir ... and Mstislav' must have been misplaced by the compiler of the 'svod of 1448' from which S1 and N4 derived their information. He suggests that the reference to a peace treaty must be to the agreement reached between the princes in 1235 after Daniil and Vladimir attacked Mstislav in Chernigov; see 'K voprosu o yuzhnom istochnike Sofiyskoy I i Novgorodskoy IV letopisey', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* 30 (1976) 281-82.

preserving a united front against the Tatars. Second, Mstislav's agreement with the Tatars created a serious rift among the Ol'govichi since, it appears, he concluded peace contrary to the wishes of his senior prince, Mikhail.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the description of the attack on Chernigov in 1235, found in HC under the year 1234, is spurious for the most part. It was taken from the account of the Tatar siege of Chernigov in 1239. In 1235 Mikhail Vsevolodovich, as prince of Chernigov, successfully defended the town against the attack of Grand Prince Vladimir Ryurikovich of Kiev and Daniil Romanovich of Volyn' and Galich. The victory was, perhaps, the turning point in his struggle for supremacy over southern Rus'. It enabled him to follow up his success by marching against Vladimir and Daniil and by defeating them decisively near Torchesk.

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PARALLELISM AND POINTING IN ROLLE'S RHYTHMICAL STYLE¹

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THE English prose writings of Richard Rolle in manuscript present an interesting case for the examination of mediaeval punctuation. The rhythmical style, familiar to students of mediaeval devotional literature, is characterized by parallelism of various sorts: repetitive figures of sound, such as alliteration, rhyme, and cadence; the varieties of verbal repetition catalogued by the textbooks of mediaeval rhetoric; and such 'figures of sense' as antithesis, comparison, and pairing or listing. Parallelism in style invites scribal recognition by pointing, whether to show by a pause-mark that one segment is to be heard alongside another, with something like the isochronism of verse, or to draw attention to the ends of segments where special sound effects are most likely to be heard. A text like *The Form of Living*, furthermore, survives in enough manuscripts—thirty-eight listed by Hope Emily Allen²—to make possible an extensive comparison of scribal habits as applied to basically the same material. A further advantage to examining the text of the *Form* closely from this point of view is the incidental light such examination casts on the particular style of the writer. With the help of the interpretive markings of the scribe, it is easier to recover the text's aural character and its combination of sound and sense, much as one penetrates the structure of a poem through line- and stanza-division. Conversely, rhythmical prose, directed as it so evidently is to the

¹ This study is an extended outgrowth of two papers given at the Ninth and Tenth Conferences on Medieval Studies sponsored by The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, on 9 May 1974 and 6 May 1975.

² Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series 3; New York, 1927, rpt. 1966), pp. 257-61, 268. Except when otherwise specified, the text of the *Form* used will be that edited by Allen in *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford, 1931; rpt. 1963), pp. 85-119. I have, however, usually substituted mediaeval punctuation, edited from the manuscripts, for Allen's punctuation. Her edition is based on Cambridge, University Library ms. Dd.5.64, collated with Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Rawlinson A.389. See n. 9 concerning manuscripts not listed by Allen.

ear as well as to the understanding, helps to reveal both the oratorical and grammatical aspects of the mediaeval system of punctuation.³

In section I of this study, close analysis will be made of a brief, representative section of *The Form of Living*, to illustrate in detail the parallelism that is a characteristic feature of Rolle's style. Section II shows how the scribes as a group articulate the structure of the passage, and intensify its stylistic effects. In section III the examination of pointing in relation both to grammatical structure and rhythmical style is extended to a substantial portion of the *Form*, specifically to three preceding chapters of the *Amore langueo* section, from which the short passage is taken.

I

Parallelism has a special suitability for meditative texts, such as *The Form of Living* and Rolle's other English epistles, *Ego dormio* and *The Commandment*, may in part be taken to be. Memory is aided, attention focussed, and the effect of incantation produced through the reiterative style. The *Form*, overtly a letter of

³ The intentionally limited study of Peter Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1952), is still one of the more comprehensive examinations of mediaeval punctuation known to me. Some years ago I made use of it in connection with a study of the Middle English rhythmical prose text, *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God*; see 'A Talkyng of þe Loue of God' and the Rhythm of Meditation (Diss. Bryn Mawr, 1967), pp. 90-136, for a survey of mediaeval punctuation theory, and an application of the teaching concerning *positurae* or *distinctiones* to the pointing of *A Talkyng* in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Eng. poet. a. 1 (the Vernon ms.). The introduction to the text in this manuscript mentions 'right pointing' as related to perception of the treatise's style. Brief but useful accounts of pointing in English manuscripts are to be found in L. C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents*, 2nd edition (London, 1966), pp. 45-49, and N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 46-49. Ker appends on pp. 58-59 a summary account of punctuation in Carthusian and Cistercian manuscripts of the fifteenth century, from instructions in contemporary manuscripts. A more specific recent study is Peter J. Lucas' 'Sense-Units and the Use of Punctuation-Markers in John Capgrave's *Chronicle*', *Archivum linguisticum* N.S. 2 (1971) 1-24, wherein Lucas comments on the paucity of studies that have attempted to elucidate the 'highly varying systems of punctuation' of Middle English manuscripts, 'even in different manuscripts of the same works' (p. 1). Among others he cites Margery Morgan's on *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God*: 'A Treatise in Cadence', *Modern Language Review* 47 (1952) 156-64; but Morgan's connecting of punctuation with *artes dictaminis* and specifically with *cursum* may be misleading. See my dissertation cited above, pp. 91-93, and n. 8 below. Much of Mindele Treip's survey of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century punctuation in *Milton's Punctuation and Changing English Usage 1582-1676* (London, 1970) is relevant to any study of punctuation and most particularly to a study of punctuation in relation to literary texts. Treip rightly describes punctuation as 'a valuable tool for the analysis of style' (p. xi), and advocates, especially for Milton, the studying of each punctuation variant as well as each stop individually in context (pp. 5-6), for significance and relationship to system of pointing. Although the tracing of punctuation in both its breath-related and structure-related functions is thorough for the period in question, the study does not set the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century teaching within the longer tradition of which it is obviously a part (see, for example, Mulcaster on 'Distinctions', quoted on p. 26, or Butler and Jonson on the kind of 'perfection', i.e. completeness, proper to a colon, on p. 42).

instruction in the religious life, is divided into two parts by an explicit shifting of subject between chapters 6 and 7, from *how þou may dispose þi lyfe, and rewle it to Goddes will*, to *some special poynt of þe luf of Jhesu Criste, and of contemplatyf lyfe* (pp. 102-103), and the opening words of chapter 7, *Amore langueo. ... I languysch for lufe*, signal the focus of the second part as well as its emotional tone. That these later chapters have as much a meditative as instructional character is suggested by the designation of excerpts from them as 'Five Meditations' in one catalogue entry.⁴ Chapter 10, where Rolle addresses a series of questions about love, is typical both of the author's emotional approach to his subject and of his resorting to cumulative description in lieu of straightforward exposition. The text chosen for analysis is the first part of the answer to the question, what is love?, as given in Cambridge, University Library ms. Dd.5.64.⁵ This portion, building toward the eventual, climactic exclamation, *Se how gude lufe es.*, has a simple element of coherence in repetition of the phrase, *Lufe es*, varied once by *God es*. Each repetition begins a new prose 'stanza', and each of these stanzas has its own internal coherence, as well as links to the whole structure, other than through epanaphora, that is, the repetition of the initial phrase.⁶ The arrangement on pp. 407-408 of a few of these stanzas is intended to emphasize by vertical alignment some of the reiterative elements.

Asking and answering form the core of the first unit: *What es lufe / Luf es.* ... An internal rhyme or near-rhyme (vowel plus *r*) runs through the whole stanza, from *ffyrst* in the first line to *sykernes* at the end; but correspondence is perhaps most marked in *byrnand/zernyng*, where it is reinforced by the repeated stress-pattern and by the following *n*. (It should be noted that metathesis of vowel and *r* in *byrnand* obscures this harmony in other manuscripts than the preferred Cambridge one, used as my basis here. Some of these manuscripts make up for this loss by reading *brennynge/zernnyng*—if they do not substitute *desire* for *zernnyng*.) A less noticeable instance of the rhyme is *wonderfull/sykernes*. *askyng* and *zernyng* are

⁴ Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, p. 261. In *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974) P. S. Jolliffe distinguishes writings for use in affective prayer, such as *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God*, from manuals of guidance, the general designation that would include *The Form of Living*. But Jolliffe acknowledges (pp. 29-30) that instruction and material for meditation often occur together in the same tract. Whether he would agree with the description of chapters from the *Amore langueo* section of the *Form* (chapters 7 and following) as 'meditations' is another matter. In his check-list, he includes a text inclusive of chapter 9 of the *Form*, and a text related to the *Form*, under category 'I. General Positive Teaching'. The complete *Form*, being a 'widely known' treatise, is excluded from the check-list (see pp. 31-32).

⁵ I am grateful to the Cambridge University Library for permission to transcribe portions of this manuscript.

⁶ For convenience of reference, I include parenthetically names of rhetorical figures from [Cicero] *Ad C. Herennium De ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass., 1954; rpt. 1968), book 4, pp. 275 ff.

I	þe ffyrst	askyng es:		
		What es lufe.		
	And	I. answer.		
		Luf		
		es		
		a byrnand		
		3ernyng	in god:	
			with a wonderfull	delyte
	and			sykernes.
II			God	
		es		
				lyght:
	and	byrnyng.		
				Lyght
			clarifies oure skyll:	
		byrnyng		
			kyndels oure couayties.	
	þat	we	desyre noght bot hym.	
III			Lufe	
		es		
		a lyf.		
		copuland togedyr.		
		þe lufand:		
	and	þe lufed./		
	ffor			mekenes
			makes vs swete to god.	
				Purete
			ioynes vs tyll god.	
			Lufe	
			mase vs ane with god.	
IV			luf	
		es		
		fayrhede. of al vertues.		
		Luf		
		es		
		thyng. thurgh þe whilk god		
		lufes vs:		
	and		we god.	
	and		ilk ane of vs	
			other.	
V			Lufe	
		es		

desyre. of þe hert;
 ay thynkand til þat. þat
 it lufes.
 And when it hase þat
 it lufes;
 þan it ioyes.
 and na thyng may make
 it sary.
 VI Lufe
 es
 a stryng of þe saule.
 for to luf god
 for hym self;
 and all other thyng for god;
 þe whilk lufe.
 when it es ordayne in god;
 it dose away.
 all inordinate lufe. in
 any thyng þat es noght gude.⁷

bound by identity of ending (homoeoteleuton), and *lufe* and *delyte* by alliteration of stressed syllable.

Stanza II has several aural links to the first unit: in the repeated word *God*, in the repeated syllable *byrn-*, and in the alliteration on *de-* and on *l-*. It also has internal linking in the repetition of *lyght* and in the alliteration and similar endings of *clarifies*, *kyndels* (homoeoptoton), and *couayties*. Through the parallels a reciprocal relationship is sketched: from one side, as described in the first stanza, man's love, a *byrnand zernyng* to God; from the other, God as *lyght and byrnyng* directed back towards man, and effective in him. Internally, in stanza II, there is a balanced definition and explanation:

God es lyght; and byrnyng.
 Lyght clarifies oure skyll;
 byrnyng kyndels oure couayties. (isocolon)
 þat we desyre noght bot hym.

by which the reader or listener is brought back around to the conclusion of the first unit, now strengthened and made more pointed. *zernyng in god with ... delyte and sykernes* in stanza I leads to *we desyre noght bot hym* in stanza II.

⁷ Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd.5.64, fols. 15v21-16r10.

Stanza III elaborates on the union, climaxing in the word *ane* at the end, in the third of three parallel clauses (isocolon again), and alliterating with thrice-repeated *vs*:

makes *vs* swete ...
ioynes *vs* tyll ...
ma[ke]s(e) *vs* ane. ...

Besides the repetition of initial syllable in *Lufe*, *lufand*, *lufed* that binds this unit to the first discussed, and also the threefold repetition of *god* (antistrophe) that binds stanza III to both preceding ones, there is continuing alliteration on *l-* (*lyf*) and on *c-* (*copuland*). Sustaining the pattern of the second stanza, with its *Lyght clarifies* and *byrnyng kyndels*, are the answering *mekenes makes* and *Purete ioynes*, and finally, summing up, *Lufe makes vs ane*.

In stanza IV, both the unity and the reciprocity previously emphasized get further play, among other, aural echoes: *luf* and *god*, of course, but also *vs* and *ane* (alliterating here with *ilk* and *other*). One might be inclined not to include the *-yng* rhyme of *thyng* among these echoes, as being too far from *zernyng* and *byrnyng*, except that stanzas V and VI have *thynkand*, *thyng* three times, and *si[i]lyng*.

In addition to rhyme, the use of rhythmical endings or cadence is apparent. Although it is possible to categorize some of the endings as *cursus*, the applicability to English of 'rules' developed for Latin is sufficiently uncertain that it is more appropriate simply to note repetition of pattern, of whatever sort.⁸ One pattern of stress that becomes noticeable in the set formed by the first two stanzas is the three-syllable phrase with stress-unstress-stress: *Whát es lufe* opening the subject, and *Gód es lyght* corresponding in pattern, at the outset of stanza II. The conclusion of the two-stanza set repeats the rhythm: *þat wé desýre / nóght bot hy'm*. There is another pattern that ought to be mentioned, namely, the separation of the stresses by more than one unstressed syllable (for those who seek *cursus* in vernacular texts, one may note that some endings of this sort would qualify, most frequently as *planus*): *zérnyng in gód, wónderfull delyte, clárifies oure skýll, kyndels oure cóuayties*. (I am leaving out of account possible secondary accents, which if emphasized would in some instances change the rhythm to alternating stress and lack of stress.)

Going on to stanzas III and IV, we find both types of pattern repeated further: *mdkes vs swéte to gód, m[ke] s(e) vs dne with gód* on the one hand; but more

⁸ See my article 'Cursus in Middle English: *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God* Reconsidered', *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975) 387-406. A convenient summary of the rules for both French and Italian styles of *cursus* may be found in Ann Dalzell's recent article, 'The *Forma Dictandi* Attributed to Albert of Morra', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977) 440-65. Dalzell draws attention (pp. 457-58) to the somewhat misleading modern use of the term 'cursus' exclusively for the rhythmic cadences at the conclusion of *membra*. Mediaeval practice notwithstanding, theorists applied the term to the rhythm of the period as a whole, as well as, sometimes, to the cadences.

prominently, *Lúfe es a lyf, cōpuland togédyr, þe lufand and þe lufed* (perhaps also *ióynes vs tyll góð*, although emphasis on *tyll* seems warranted by position after *vs*, a position occupied by a stressed word in the companion clauses); then, in stanza IV, *fáyrhede of al vértues*, and *dne of vs óther*, concluding the stanza. Just preceding the conclusion is a striking juxtaposition of stresses that may be regarded as climactic. They come in a sequence of three-member phrases, starting off with the familiar rhythm, stress-unstress-stress: *Luf es thyng, thúrgh þe whilk*, but *gód lufes vs*, and *wé gód*, and *ilk dne*, leading to the ending already noted, *dne of vs óther*.

This rhythmic analysis is not intended to demonstrate calculation of effect by the author, but rather his sensitivity to yet another way in which parallelism may be achieved, namely, by repetition of stress-pattern, amid variation.

Since four sections of Rolle's definition have been examined in detail, it should be sufficient to note only a few features of the succeeding units, before proceeding to correlate punctuation with the results of the analysis.

Casual word-play (paronomasia) and more deliberate 'phrase-play' characterize the next part, although certainly the continuing repetition of the key-words *luf* (once with transplacement) and *god* is at least equally notable. In the area of word-play, there is, in stanza VI, *god* and *gude* (which a few manuscripts change to *god*, thus making a simple repetition: *any thyng þat es noght (god)*); also *ordaynde* and *inordinate*, and possibly *thynk-* (*thynkand*) and *thyng* in stanza V.

As phrase-play, one might recognize the sequence of phrases in the fifth stanza pivoting upon *it* (including an instance of transplacement), beginning with *ay thynkand*, and referring back to the newly introduced word *hert*; also the *for*-phrases in the sixth stanza, beginning with *for to luf god*; and further the sentence containing the *ordaynde/inordinate* and *god/noght gude* contrasts.

Rhythmically, the first of these two sections is linked internally by repetition of the spaced stress (or cursus) pattern, with overlapping cadences, given here as though the central word were repeated: *Lúfe es desyre, desyre of þe hért, thynkand til þát, þát þat it lufes, hāse þat it lufes, lufes þan it ióyes*; and then the variant, ending the stanza: *and nd thyng may make it sdry*. The next stanza continues this rhythm, varying it significantly in three places with juxtaposed stress: *for to luf gód, þe whilk lufe* (as I would read it), and *þat es nóght gúde*. Otherwise, the phrases follow the general pattern of cursus: *Lúfe es a sáfryng, sáfryng of þe sáule, inórdinate lufe*. The phrase *dll other thyng for gód* may be considered a mid-stanza variant of these (corresponding in rhythm to the last phrase of stanza V), or it may be thought to parallel two later phrases, in stanza VI, with stress/unstress: *ordaynde in gód* and *it dóse awáy*.

II

Confronted with the rhythmical, repetitive manner of Rolle's expression, how do the scribes respond? First of all, the extent of pointing varies greatly in the manuscripts⁹ of the *Form* that contain the portion of text analyzed. Setting aside the slight differences that variant readings would produce in a short excerpt—omission or expansion of a phrase, for example—one finds that the number of points ranges from sixty-four in a fifteen-line excerpt from the Vernon ms. down to sixteen in the equivalent portion of Huntington ms. 127. The punctuating is so sparse in the latter manuscript that the rhythmical character of the text is obscured. It may be of interest that this manuscript offers a garbled version of the text as well. Despite variation among the manuscripts both in the placement of points and in their form, there is observable an underlying consistency, provided a few principles are not ignored. It is useful to divide a group of manuscripts such as these into the more and less punctuated (no clear dividing line, to be sure), and then reasonable to expect that only those in the first category should regularly punctuate mediate segments of expression, whether syntactical, oratorical, stylistic, or some combination of these. Further, one probably ought to recognize that in the matter of punctuation, omission is generally of less consequence and therefore more routine than truly gratuitous insertion.

⁹ The only manuscript of those listed by Allen that I had not been able to consult at the time of writing was ms. Amherst 135 (*sic*), located by Allen as belonging to Sir Leicester Harmsworth, but sold in 1945 and later acquired for the Foyle family collection at Beeleigh Abbey (Maldon, Essex). Dr. A. I. Doyle informs me that 'Amherst 135' is ms. 29 described on p. 135 of the *Handlist* of the Amherst Library (1906). I am also indebted to Dr. Doyle for the information that Allen omitted from her list Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 17 (353) and, with extracts, London, Lambeth Palace 853 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 302. Other manuscripts that include the 'what is love?' passage are, in descending order of frequency of punctuation, Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. poet. a.1 (SC 3938) (V); London, British Library Add. 22283 (S); Cambridge, University Library Dd.5.64 (Dd); London, British Library Lansdowne 455 (Ln); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 669 (646) (Ci); Cambridge, Trinity College O.1.29 (1053) (T⁹); Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2125 (M); London, British Library Harley 1022 (H); Oxford, University College E.97 (U); Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.285 (SC 12143) (Rc); London, Westminster School 3 (W); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 3390 (G); Hereford, Cathedral Library P.i.9 (Hf); Dublin, Trinity College 154 (A.6.12) (T⁹); Manchester, Chetham's Library Mun A.7.1 (6690) (Ch); Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.38 (322) (T⁹); Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 110 (SC 1963) (B⁹); Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 938 (SC 3054) (B⁹); Cambridge, University Library Ff.5.40 (Ff); Cambridge, University Library Hh.1.12 (Hh); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.818 (Mr); Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson A.389 (Ra); Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 18 (SC 1619) (D); Warminster (Wilts.), Longleat House, Library of the Marquess of Bath 29 (L1); Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 210 (SC 1292) (La); Dublin, Trinity College 155 (C.5.7) (T⁹); San Marino (Calif.), Huntington Library HM 127 (Hn). London, British Library Add. 37790 (BL) and Cambridge, University Library Ii.6.55 (Ii) have fragments of the passage only. I have examined most of these manuscripts in the original, and all in photostatic or microfilm copies.

Another element to bear in mind when assessing consistency is the flexibility of the system of signs. A simple point may function as the signal for any break, from the slightest in mid-phrase to the most final, at paragraph's end. Although other marks are used, most commonly the punctus elevatus (a point with check above), virgule or slash, and paragraph sign, they are largely supplementary rather than essential. The simple point will suffice, and even it may often be omitted without loss of clarity. A capital letter, for example, may be used to show where a new main segment begins.

How well, then, do the mediaeval scribes punctuate this brief but representative section of *The Form of Living*? Legitimate criteria to be applied in answering the question would seem to include degree of adherence to appropriate syntactical and oratorical division, and also, as suggested earlier, sensitivity to the shape or form of the rhythmical prose. Rhythmical segmentation, it should be noted, does not necessarily coincide with the demands of syntax or of delivery, although the prose may be most effective when there is harmony among these various elements. As in verse, so in prose with some verse-like properties, metre or rhythm may both reinforce and cut across sentence patterns and units of delivery.

First of all, the scribes of the eight most fully punctuated manuscripts (V, S, Dd, Ln, Ci, T¹, M, H) are remarkably consistent with one another in the placement of points. Nearly two thirds of the phrases punctuated in this section of the Cambridge text are also punctuated in all or all but one of the seven other manuscripts in this category. If the next eighteen, less fully punctuated, manuscripts (U, Rc, W, G, Hf, T², Ch, T³, B¹, B², Ff, Hh, Mr, Ra, D, Ll, La, T⁴) are included, the proportion of phrases marked in all or nearly all naturally drops—to about one third. Nevertheless, if overall 'consistency' in pointing may be taken to mean agreement among two thirds or more of the manuscripts in the placing of a point, then the other scribes as a group are consistent three quarters of the time, either in punctuating where the Cambridge scribe does or in omitting punctuation of a non-final segment which that scribe chose to mark. To a noteworthy extent, the mediaeval scribes also agree with the modern editor: all complete stops in the Allen edition are represented among the instances of consistency, as well as fourteen (somewhat less than half) of her mediate points. In only one place, after *God es lyght* and before *and byrnyng*, do the scribes consistently punctuate where the modern editor does not. Possibly they intended to emphasize the preceding phrase, or the alliterating and subsequently repeated word *lyght*; or they may have been merely responding to the presence of a following *and*, one of the common signal words for the insertion of punctuation.

In the matter of the marks themselves, the variety that first strikes the eye is fairly quickly resolved into a system. As expected, the simple point predominates by a wide margin. Occasional substitutions include, both mediate and finally, the virgule and the punctus elevatus. Of these two signs, the punctus elevatus is used

with apparently more special intention: where it occurs it is often found in a substantial number of the manuscripts, and usually at a point in the sentence where a pause with rising inflection would be highly suitable. It thus functions with somewhat the same significance as our colon, although our conventions would generally require a comma in these places. Instances of the *elevatus* include the following:

þe ffyrst askyng es: What es lufe (5)
byrnyng kyndels oure couayties: þat we desyre. ... (5)
thurgh þe whilk god lufes vs: and we god (5)
Lufe es desyre. of þe hert: ay thynkand til þat: þat it lufes (5, 5)
And when it hase þat it lufes: þan it ioyes (10)
Lufe es a st[i]ryng of þe saule. for to luf god for hym self: and all other thyng for god (4)
þe whilk lufe. when it is ordaynde in god: it dose away. ... (11)
Trowth may be with outen lufe: bot it may noght helpe with outen it (10)

Variations on the *elevatus* appear to include the colon, single check-mark, double check, and even the double check over a point.

In the same way that the *punctus elevatus* tends to appear in several manuscripts at the same place, so the composite mark of finality is usually substituted for the simple point by more than one or two scribes when it is used at all. The mark may take the form of a point followed by a double virgule or by a paragraph sign, or by both, with the paragraph sign regularly superimposed upon the double virgule. Instances of one or more forms of this mark include:

þat we desyre noght bot hym. ¶ (3)
Lufe mase vs ane with god. ¶ (3)
and ilk ane of vs other. ¶ (3)
and na thyng may make it sary. ¶ (3)
þes rightest affeccion of man saule. ¶ (5)
lyfe of dyand men. ¶ (7)

Comparison with the stanzas transcribed earlier or with the edition below will show that all of these phrases have a decided finality.

Thus it would be correct to say, on the basis of this sample at least, that the scribes of *The Form of Living* punctuate mostly simply but consistently, and occasionally but not very systematically avail themselves of the more complicated signs to show something about delivery or formal structure. Before broadening the examination to include more of the *Form*, it may be helpful to show what editing of the punctuation of this representative passage would produce. In what follows I have inserted points from a collation of the manuscripts, and have introduced composite points where several of the scribes considered them appropriate.

þe ffyrst askyng es: What es lufe: And I answer. Luf es a byrnand ȝernyng in god. with a wonderfull delyte and sykernes. God es lyght and byrnyng. Lyght clarifies oure skyll. byrnyng kyndels oure couayties: þat we desyre noght bot hym. ¶ Lufe es a lyf copuland togedyr þe lufand and þe lufed. ffor mekenes makes vs swete to god: Purete ioynes vs tyll god. ¶ Lufe mase vs ane with god. ¶ luf es fayrhede of al vertues. Luf es thyng thurgh þe whilk god lufes vs: and we god. and ilk ane of vs other. ¶ Lufe es desyre of þe hert: ay thynkand til þat: þat it lufes. And when it hase þat it lufes: þan it ioyes. and na thyng may make it sary. ¶ Lufe es a st[i]lryng of þe saule for to luf god for hym self: and all other thyng for god. þe whilk lufe when it es ordaynde in god: it dose away all inordinate lufe. in any thyng þat es noght gude. ... Luf es a vertu þes rightest affeccion of man saule. ¶ Trowth may be with outen lufe: bot it may noght helpe with outen it. ¶ Lufe es perfeccion of letters. vertu of prophecy. frute of trowth. help of sacramentes. stablyng of witt and conyng. Rytches of pure men. lyfe of dyand men. ¶ Se how gude lufe es.¹⁰

To go one step further in the use of mediaeval punctuation, an editor might rearrange these prose lines into an irregular verse/stanza form according to the scribes' perceptions of the divisions:

þe ffyrst askyng es:
 What es lufe:
 And I answer.
 Luf es a byrnand ȝernyng in god.
 with a wonderfull delyte and sykernes.
 God es lyght and byrnyng.
 Lyght clarifies oure skyll.
 byrnyng kyndels oure couayties:
 þat we desyre noght bot hym. ¶

One feature that such arrangement brings out is the phrasing of the prose in short segments having close to the same number of stresses. For example, in the whole representative passage—not just the 'stanza' arranged above—thirty-four of the thirty-nine segments, as punctuated, have two, three or four main stresses. The two- and three-stress segments easily predominate, each group comprising slightly less than half of the total. When a scribe fails to observe this feature of the rhythmical style, a sense of formlessness may be the result. In the Huntington manuscript, for instance, already singled out as the least punctuated, the segments range in number of stresses from three or four to twenty or more. To my eye, and inward ear, ... *loue is a lif coupling to gedre þe louer and þe loued for mekenesse makeþ vs swete to god Clennesse ioyneþ vs to god. loue makeþ vs on wiþ god.*¹¹ has an altogether different

¹⁰ MS. Dd, fols. 15v21-16r18.

¹¹ For permission to transcribe MS. Huntington HM 127, fol. 13, I am grateful to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

effect than similar words presented by the Cambridge scribe: *Lufe es a lyf. copuland togedyr. þe lufand; and þe lufed. /ffor mekenes makes vs swete to god. Purete ioynes vs tyll god. Lufe mase vs ane with god.*

III

Even in the brief passage examined, it is evident that the best punctuation serves to reinforce the repetitive figures that distinguish the prose. By broadening the examination to a substantial portion of text, it is possible to offer a more detailed and complete view of the manuscript punctuation. Any portion of the *Amore langueo* section that was included in most manuscripts would provide a suitable basis; chapters 7 to 9 have been chosen for continuity and because they provide some variety in the form of two verse passages, as well as a very popular passage on the name *Jhesu* that is comparable in structure to *What es lufe*, etc. If the text is set forth horizontally, in a continuous line of prose, and the punctuation of each manuscript transcribed underneath vertically, it will be seen at a glance that the relative consistency of the scribes in the smaller sampling holds true generally. As before, 'consistency' is partly a function of how fully the various scribes punctuate in the first place. In the three chapters there are approximately 400 marks of punctuation in the most fully punctuated manuscript, ms. Dd, and less than 100 in the least fully pointed, ms. Hn. The average number of points is 235, and more than half of the manuscripts have at least 200. Although there are naturally variations in the order of manuscripts from most to least punctuated, between this larger section and the smaller one examined earlier, the overall array holds surprisingly firm: six (V, S, Dd, Ln, Ci, T¹) of the eight manuscripts categorized previously as most punctuated are still among the eight most punctuated by the new order (Dd, S, V, T¹, U, Ci, Rc, Ln); and the five manuscripts (U, Rc, W, G, Hf) categorized previously as next most punctuated are among the top or next eight (Dd to Ln above, and Ff, W, M, H, B², T³, G, Hf) in the new order. In accordance with what has been said above, then, the scribes of all of these eleven manuscripts (V to T¹ and U to Hf) have punctuated at least 200 times in the three chapters. By contrast, the least-punctuating scribe of the old order, namely, the scribe of ms. Hn, punctuates eighty-nine times, hence only half as frequently as, for example, the Hereford scribe (thirteenth in the old order, sixteenth in the new), a third as frequently as the Lansdowne scribe (fourth and eighth), and a quarter as frequently as the busily pointing Cambridge scribe (third and first). As at the top of the order, so at the bottom, in the matter of comparability among samplings: six (Mr, Ra, Ll, La, T⁴, Hn) of the seven least punctuated manuscripts by the first sampling occupy the six lowest places in the new order (T⁴, Ll, La, Mr, Ra, Hn). It consequently seems valid to extrapolate these relationships, established from a close examination

of the three chapters, or roughly fifteen percent of the *Form* as printed in the Allen edition, to the text as a whole. It goes without saying, of course, that variations in wording and especially addition or omission of phrases affect the amount of punctuation. But it is reasonable to assume, and is borne out by the evidence, that minor deviations are levelled out in a large enough sampling, and that the relative thoroughness of a scribe is fairly firmly established by examining half a dozen folios.

The accompanying excerpts, Selections I-IX, have been chosen more or less at random from the three chapters cited, with the intention of illustrating the scribes' response to parallelism, their handling of verse and prose, and their perceptions of the more definite divisions of the text as revealed by marks of finality. Represented are the sixteen most fully punctuated manuscripts in descending order of thoroughness: Dd, S, V, T¹, U, Ci, Rc, Ln, Ff, W, M, H, B², T³, G, Hf.

SELECTIONS I-IX

I Amore languet. Pir twa wordes er wryten in þe boke of lufe, þat es

Dd	.	/	.	.
S	.		˘	.
V	.			.
T ¹	.			.
U	.			.
Ci	.	¶		.
Rc	.			.
Ln	˘			.
Ff	.			.
W	.			.
M	¶			.
H	˘			.
B ²	¶			.
T ³				.
G	.			.
Hf	.			.

kalled þe sang of lufe, or þe sang of sanges. For he þat mykel lufes, hym lyst

Dd	.	.	/	˘
S				˘˘
V				˘˘
T ¹	.	.	˘˘	˘˘
U	˘	.		˘
Ci	.	.		.
Rc		.		˘
Ln	.	.		.
Ff		.		˘
W				˘
M		¶		.
H	.	˘		
B ²	.	/		
T ³				˘˘
G				˘˘
Hf	.	.	.	.

oft syng of his luf, for joy þat he or scho hase when þai thynk on þat þat þai

Dd	.	.	.	.
S	.		˘	.
V	.		.	.
T ¹	.		˘	.
U	.		˘	.

Ci	.	.
Rc	.	˘
Ln	.	.
Ff	.	.
W	.	.
M	.	.
H	.	.
B ²	.	.
T ³	/	.
G	.	.
Hf	.	.

lufe, namely if þair lover be trew and lufand. And þis es þe Inglisch of thies

Dd	.	./
S	.	˘
V	.	.
T ¹	.	.
U	ˆ	ˆ
Ci	.	.
Rc	.	.
Ln	.	.
Ff	.	.
W	.	/
M	.	.
H	.	.
B ²	.	/
T ³	.	˘
G	.	˘
Hf	.	.

two wordes: 'I languysch for lufe.' Sere men in erth has sere gyftes and graces

Dd	.	˘	.
S	˘	.	.
V	.	˘	.
T ¹	ˆ//	.	∞
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	˘	.
Rc	.	˘	.
Ln	.	˘	.
Ff	.	˘	.
W	/	˘	.
M	.	˘	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	˘	.
T ³	.	˘	.
G	.	˘	.
Hf	.	˘	.

of God; bot þe special gift of þas þat ledes solitary lyf es for to lufe Jhesu

Dd	.	.	.
S	.		˘
V	.	.	˘
T ¹	.		.
U	.		˘
Ci	.		.
Rc	.		˘
Ln	.	.	:
Ff	.		˘
W	/		.
M	.		.
H	˘		.
B ²	/		:
T ³	.		
G	.		˘
Hf	.		˘

Criste.

Dd	./
S	.
V	./
T ¹	˘
U	.
Ci	.
Rc	.
Ln	˘
Ff	.
W	/
M	˘
H	.
B ²	/
T ³	˘
G	˘
Hf	˘

II If þou lufe hym mykel, mykel joy and swetnes and byrnyng þou feles in

Dd	.	˘	.
S	.	˘	.
V	.	˘	.
T ¹	¶ ^	˘	.
U	.	˘	.
Ci	.¶	—	.
Rc	.	˘	.
Ln	.	—	.
Ff	.	˘	.
W	.	.	.
M	¶	.	.
H	.	˘	.
B ²	/	.	.
T ³	.	— ˘	.
G	.	∞	˘
Hf	.	— ˘	.

his lufe, þat es þi comforth and strenght nyght and day. If þi lufe be not

Dd	.	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	˘ ˘ ˘
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	./	.	.
Ff	.	.	.
W	//	.	.
M	.	.	˘
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	/
T ³	/	.	¶
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

byrmand in hym, litel es þi delyte. For hym may na man fele in joy and

Dd	˘	.	.
S	˘	.	.
V	˘	.	.
T ¹	.	.	˘
U	˘	.	.
Ci	.	.¶	.
Rc	˘	.	.
Ln	˘	.	.
Ff	˘	.	.

W	˘	//
M	.	¶
H	.	.
B ²	:	/
T ³	.	/
G	˘	.
Hf	˘	.

swetnes, bot if þai be clene and fylled with his lufe; and þartill sal þou com

Dd	˘	.	.
S	˘	^ ^ ^	.
V	˘	^ ^ ^	.
T ¹	.	. ∞	.
U	˘		.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	˘		˘
Ln	:		/
Ff	.		.
W	.	^	/
M	.		¶
H	.		.
B ²	:		/
T ³	˘		.
G	˘	^	. ¶
Hf	˘		.

with grete travayle in praier and thynkyng, havand swilk meditacions þat er al

Dd			˘	.
S	.	.	˘	.
V	.	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	.	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	˘	.	.	˘
Ln	.	.	.	.
Ff	.	.	.	.
W	.	.	.	.
M	.	.	.	.
H	.	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	.	.
T ³		/	.	.
G			.	.
Hf			.	.

	in þe lufe and in þe lovyng of God.	
Dd	.	./.
S	.	.
V	.	./.
T ¹	.	¶
U	.	.
Ci	.	.
Rc	.	.
Ln	.	.
Ff	.	.
W	.	./
M	.	¶
H	.	¶
B ²	.	/
T ³	/	/
G	.	.
Hf	.	¶

III And when þou ert at þi mete, love ay God in þi thocht at ilk a morsel,

Dd	.//	✓	.
S	.	.	✓
V	.//	.	.
T ¹	¶	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	✓	.
Ln	.	:	.
Ff	.	✓	.
W	./	.	.
M	¶	.	.
H	.¶	.	.
B ²	/	.	.
T ³	/	/	✓
G	.	✓	✓
Hf	.¶	✓	.

and say þus in þi hert: Loved be þou, keyng, and thanked be þou, keyng, and

Dd	.	.	.
S	.	✓	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	✓	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	✓	✓
Ln	.¶	.	.
Ff	.	.	.
W	/	/	.
M	.	.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	/	/	.
T ³	.	.	.
G	.¶	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

blyssed be þou, keyng, Jhesu, all my joyng, of all þi giftes gude, þat for me

Dd	.	=	.	✓
S	.	.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	✓	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	✓	✓	✓	.
Ln	./	.	./	.
Ff	.	.	.	.

W	.	.	.	.
M		.	.	.
H		.	.	.
B ²		.	.	/
T ³	.	.	.	✓
G		.	.	✓
Hf		.	.	.

spylt þi blude and died on þe rode; þou gyf me grace to syng þe sang of þi

Dd	.	✓	.
S	.	✓	.
V	.	✓	.
T ¹	.	✓	.
U	✓	.	✓
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	✓	✓	.
Ln		.	:
Ff	.	✓	.
W		✓	.
M	.	/	.
H	.	.	(✓)
B ²	.	/✓	✓
T ³		/	✓
G	.	^✓	.
Hf	.	.	.

lovyng.

Dd	.
S	.
V	.
T ¹	¶
U	.
Ci	.
Rc	.
Ln	.
Ff	.
W	¶
M	¶
H	~¶
B ²	/
T ³	.
G	^.
Hf	./

IV Thre degrees of lufe I sal tell þe, for I walde þat þou moght wyn to þe

Dd	.			˘		
S				˘	.	
V	.			˘		˘
T ¹	¶			˘	.	
U	¶			˘	.	
Ci	.¶			˘		[¶]
Rc	.¶			˘		
Ln	.¶			˘		
Ff	.¶	..	∞	˘		
W	/¶	.		˘		.
M	¶			˘		
H	.¶	..		˘	.	
B ²	.	.		˘		
T ³	/	.		˘		
G	.			˘		
Hf	.¶			˘		

heest. The fyrst degree es called insuperabel; þe secund, inseparabel; þe thyrd

Dd	.	.	./	.	./
S	.		˘	˘	
V	.¶		.	.	.¶
T ¹	.		.	.	.
U	.		.	.	.
Ci	.¶		.¶	.	.¶
Rc	.¶		˘¶	.	.¶
Ln	.		.	.	.¶
Ff	.		.	.	.¶
W	/		/	.	/
M	¶		¶		
H	¶		¶		¶
B ²	/	.	/	.	.
T ³	.		.	.	.
G	.		.	.	/
Hf	.		.	.	.

es singulere. Ði luf es insuperabel, when na thyng þat es contrary til Gods lufe

Dd	.	./	.	˘	.	.
S	.	.		˘	.	˘
V	.	.¶		.	.	
T ¹		¶		.		
U		.¶		.		˘
Ci		.¶		.		
Rc		.¶		˘	.	
Ln		.¶		.	.	
Ff		¶		.	.	

W	\mathbb{P}^1			\mathbb{P}^1
M			\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1
H	\mathbb{P}^1		\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1
B ²	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1
T ³	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1
G	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1
Hf	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1	\mathbb{P}^1

overcomes it, bot es stalworth agayns al fandynge, and stabel, whether pou be

Dd	.	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	.
Ff	.	.	.
W	.	.	.
M	.	.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	.
T ³	.	.	.
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

in ese or in angwys, or in hele or in sekenes; swa þat þe thynk þat þow walde

Dd	.	.	˘	.	.
S	.	.	.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.	.
T ¹		.		.	
U		˘		.	
Ci		.		.	.
Rc		.		.	.
Ln	.			:	
Ff		.	.	.	.
W		/.		.	.
M			.	.	
H	.	.		.	
B ²				/	
T ³	.	.		.	
G			∞	.	
Hf		.		.	

noght for all þe worlde, to have it withowten ende, wreth God any tyme; and

Dd	.	.	.	./
S			˘	.
V	.		˘	.
T ¹			.	./
U			˘	.
Ci			.	.
Rc	˘	.	˘	.
Ln		.	:	.
Ff	˘		.	.
W			.	/
M			˘	.
H			.	.
B ²			:	/
T ³			˘	.
G			˘	.
Hf	.		˘	.

þe war lever, if outhur sulde be, to suffer al þe pyne and waa þat myght com til

Dd	.	.	.	.
S		.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.
T ¹		˘	.	.
U		:		
Ci	.	.		
Rc		˘		˘
Ln	.	:		.
Ff				
W		.		
M		˘		˘
H				
B ²				
T ³		˘		
G				
Hf		˘˘		

any creature, or þou wald do þe thyng þat suld myspay hym.

Dd	˘	.	./
S	˘	.	˘˘˘
V	˘	.	.
T ¹	.		.
U	˘		.
Ci	.		.
Rc	˘	.	.
Ln	:		.
Ff			.

W	.	$\hat{\eta}/$
M	.	η
H		.
B ²	\prec	/
T ³	\prec	.
G	\prec	$\hat{\eta}$
Hf	\prec	.

V Blyssed es he or scho þat es in þis degre; bot zitt er þai blyssedar, þat

Dd	./	.	˘	.	.
S	.	.	˘	.	˘
V	.	.	˘	.	.
T ¹	.				.
U	.			˘	.
Ci	.			.	.
Rc	.			.	.
Ln	.			.	:
Ff	.	.		.	.
W	/	.		/	.
M	¶			//	.
H	¶			.	.
B ²	/			/	.
T ³	¶		.	.	.
G	¶			.	.
Hf	.			.	.

myght halde þis degre and wyn intil þe toþer, þat es inseparabel. Inseparabel

Dd		˘	.	./	
S		˘	.	.	
V		˘	.	.	
T ¹				./	
U		˘	˘	.¶	˘
Ci			.	.¶	
Rc				¶	
Ln		.		¶	
Ff		.		¶	
W		.		//	
M		.		¶	
H			.	¶	
B ²		:		¶	
T ³		.	.	.	
G			˘	.	
Hf				.¶	

es þi lufe, when al þi hert and þi thoght and þi myght es swa haly, swa

Dd	˘	.	.	˘	.
S	.	.	.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.	.
T ¹	∞	.		.	.
U	.			.	.
Ci	.	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.	˘
Ln	:			.	.
Ff	.	.	.	.	.

W	.	.	.
M	.	.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	.
T ³	.	.	/
G	✓	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

enterely, and swa perfytyly festend, sett, and stabeld in Jhesu Cryste, þat þi

Dd	.	.	.	✓
S	.	.	∞	.
V	.	.	∞	.
T ¹	.	✓	.	.
U	.	.	.	✓
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	.	:
Ff	.	.	/	/.
W	.	.	.	/
M	.	.	.	.
H	.	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	.	.
T ³	.	.	.	✓
G	.	.	.	✓
Hf	.	.	.	✓

thoght comes never of hym, never departyd fra hym, outaken slepyng; and als

Dd	.	.	./
S	.	✓	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	^	✓	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	./	.
Ff	.	.	.
W	.	.	.
M	.	.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	/
T ³	.	.	.
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

sone als þou wackens, þi hert es on hym, sayand Ave Maria or Gloria tibi

Dd	˘	.	.	.
S	˘	.	.	.
V	˘	.	.	.
T ¹	˘		ˆ ˘ ˆ	.
U	˘			.
Ci	.	.		.
Rc	˘			.
Ln	:		.	.
Ff	/˘		.	.
W	.	/		.
M	.	/		.
H		.		.
B ²	.		ˆ	.
T ³		.	˘/	˘/
G			.	.
Hf		.	.	.

Domine or Pater noster or Miserere mei Deus if þou have bene temped in þi

Dd	.	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	˘ ¶
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	˘	.
Ci	.	.	—
Rc	˘ . .	˘ . .	.
Ln	.	.	.
Ff	˘ .	˘ .	.
W	˘/		˘/
M			.
H	.		˘ ¶
B ²		.	/
T ³	.	.	.
G	˘ .	˘ .	.
Hf	.	.	.

slepe, or thynkand on his lufe and his lovyng, als þou dyd wakand; when þou

Dd	˘	.	.	˘
S	.	.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.	˘
U	.	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc		.	˘	.
Ln	.		.	.
Ff	.		/	.

W	./	./	.	.
M				.
H	.	.	.	.
B ²	.			.
T ³	/			.
G	.		∨	¶
Hf	.	.	.	¶

may na tyme forgete hym, what sa þou dose or says, þan es þi lufe inseparabel.

Dd	.	∨	./
S	.	∨	.
V		∨	.
T ¹	.	.	¶
U	.	∨	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	:	.
Ff		∨	¶
W	.	.	//
M		¶	¶
H	.	.	¶
B ²		:	/
T ³	.	∨	¶
G		∨	.
Hf	.	∨	.

VI Bot þat fire, if it be hate, es swa delitabell and wondyrful þat I kan

Dd	.	.	˘	.	.
S	.		˘	.	˘
V	.		:		˘
T ¹	¶	˘			.
U	.		˘		˘ .
Ci	.		˘		˘ .
Rc	˘		˘	.	˘
Ln	.¶				˘
Ff	.		˘		˘ .
W	/		.		˘ .
M	.¶		.		
H	.				.
B ²	/				
T ³	.		˘	/	.
G	¶		˘		˘
Hf	.		˘		˘

noght tell it. Ðan þi sawle es Jhesu lufand, Jhesu thynkand, Jhesu desirand,

Dd	.	.	/.	/.	./
S	.	.	.	.	.
V	.¶	.	.	.	.
T ¹	.¶		.	.	.
U	.		.	.	.
Ci	.	∞	.	.	.
Rc	˘	.	.	.	.
Ln	./	.	˘./ /	/./	.
Ff	.		.	.	.
W	./	.	.	.	.
M	¶	.	.	˘	.
H	.		.	.	.
B ²	/	.	.	.	.
T ³	.		.	.	.
G	.		.	.	.
Hf	.		.	.	.

anly in þe covayties of hym anedande, til hym syngand, of hym byrnand, in

Dd		./	./	/.
S		.	.	.
V		.	.	.
T ¹	.	˘	∞	.
U		.	.	.
Ci		.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.
Ln		./	.	.
Ff	.	.	.	.

W		.	
M			.
H	¶	.	.
B ²		.	.
T ³	/	.	/
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

hym restand. þan þe sange of lovyng and of lufe es commen, þan þi thoght

Dd	˘	.	/.
S	ˆ.	.	.
V	ˆˆ.	.	¶
T ¹	¶	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	/	.
Ff	.	˘	.
W	˘	.	.
M		¶	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	/	/	.
T ³	/	.	.
G	ˆ.	/	.
Hf	.	.	.

turnes intil sang and intil melody, þan þe behoves syng þe psalmes þat þou

Dd		.	./		˘
S	˘	.	.	˘	.
V		.	¶	.	.
T ¹		.	.		.
U	˘	.	.		˘
Ci	.	.	.		.
Rc		.	.		.
Ln	./	.	.		.
Ff		.	.		.
W		.	.		.
M	/				.
H		.	.		.
B ²	.	.	.		.
T ³	/	.	.		.
G		/	.		˘
Hf	.	.	.		.

before sayde, þan þou mon be lang abowte few psalmes, þan þe wil thynk þe

Dd	.	.	.
S			
V			
T ¹	./		.
U	.		.
Ci	.		.
Rc	˘		˘
Ln	.		˘
Ff	.		.
W			.
M	.		.
H	.		/
B ²	/		/
T ³	.		.
G	¶		/
Hf	.		.

deed swettar þan hony, for þan þou ert ful syker to se hym þat þou lufes; þan

Dd	.	.	.	./
S	.	.	˘	.
V	.			˘
T ¹		¶ ˘ ˘		˘
U		.		./
Ci		.		.
Rc	:	.	.	.
Ln		.		.
Ff		.		˘
W		.		.
M		/		˘
H		.		˘
B ²		/		/
T ³		.		.
G	˘	.		/
Hf		.		.

may þou hardely say: 'I languysch for lufe'; þan may þou say: 'I slepe, and my

Dd	.	.	.	.	˘
S	˘	.	.	.	˘
V	.	.	.	.	.
T ¹	˘	.	˘	.	.
U	˘	.	.	.	˘
Ci	.	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	.	.	.
Ff	.	.	.	.	.

W	.	.	.	^
M	∞ ¶	.	//	
H	¶	/		
B ²	.	/	.	.
T ³	.		.	.
G	/ ^ ^	/	/	.
Hf	.	.	.	.

hert wakes.'

Dd	./
S	
V	.
T ¹	.
U	.
Ci	.¶
Rc	.
Ln	./ ¶
Ff	.
W	.¶
M	.¶
H	.
B ²	/
T ³	.
G	.
Hf	.¶

VII In þe fyrst degre er many, in þe toþer degre er ful faa, bot in þe

Dd	.	.	.	.
S	.	˘	.	˘
V	.¶	.	.¶	.¶
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	.	.	.	.
Ci	.¶	.	.	.
Rc	.¶	.	.	˘
Ln	/./	.	.¶	.
Ff	.¶	.	.	.
W	.¶	.	.//	/
M	¶	.	¶	.//
H	¶	.	.	.
B ²	/	.	/	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	¶	.	/	.
Hf	.¶	.	.	.

thyrde degre unnethes er any; for ay þe mare þat þe perfeccion es, þe faer

Dd	.	˘	.	˘
S	˘	.	.	˘
V	˘	.	.	˘
T ¹	.	¶	˘	.
U	˘	.	.	˘
Ci	.	.	˘	.
Rc	.	.	.	˘
Ln	.	.//	.	:
Ff	.	/	.	˘
W	.	/	.	.
M	.	¶	.	.
H	.	.	.	.
B ²	.	/	.	:
T ³	.	˘	.	˘
G	.	.	.	˘
Hf	.	.	.	˘

folowers it has. In þe fyrst degre er men lickend to þe sternes; in the toþer, tiil

Dd	.	.	.	˘
S	[.]	˘	[.]	˘
V	.	.	.	˘
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	.	.	.	˘
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.
Ln	.¶	.	¶	:
Ff	.	.	.	˘

W	¶			/	
M	¶			¶	.
H	.			¶	
B ²	/			/	
T ³	.	˘			
G	¶	˘		.	˘
Hf	.			.	

þe mone; in þe thyrd, til þe sonne. Forþi says saynt Paule: 'Other of þe sonne,

Dd	.	˘	.	.	.
S	[.]	˘	.	˘ ∞	.
V	.	˘	.	˘ ∞	.
T ¹	.		.	˘	.
U	.		.	˘	.
Ci	.		.	˘	.
Rc	.		.	˘	.
Ln	./	˘	.	˘	./
Ff	.	˘	.	˘	.
W	/		.	˘	.
M	˘	˘	./	˘	.
H	.	˘	./	˘	.
B ²	˘		¶	.	
T ³			/	.	
G	.	˘	.	.	.
Hf	.		.	.	.

other of þe mone, other of þe sternes': swa it es of þe lufers of God.

Dd	.	/˘	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	˘
Ff	.	.	˘
W	./	/	˘
M	.	¶	˘
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	.
T ³	/	.	/
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	˘

VIII And ymang other affeccions and sanges þou [may in þi] langyng

Dd	.[/ /]	.	.
S		.	˘
V	.	.	.
T ¹	¶	˘	.
U	.		˘
Ci	.		.
Rc	.		˘
Ln	.		:
Ff	¶		
W	./	.	.
M	¶		.
H	¶		˘
B ²	˘		
T ³	.		˘
G			
Hf	¶ (<i>Passage omitted</i>)		

syng þis in þi hert til þi Lord Jhesu, [when] þou covaytes hys comyng and þi

Dd	/.	[.]	./
S	.	.	
V		.	.
T ¹		.	^
U		.	˘
Ci	.	.	
Rc		˘	˘
Ln	.	.	
Ff			
W			
M	.	˘	
H	.	.	.
B ²		˘	
T ³			˘
G		˘	
Hf			

gangyng: cantus a[moris] When will þow com to comforth me, and bryng me

Dd	.	/.
S	.	.
V	./	.
T ¹	. ¶	.
U	.	.
Ci	. ¶	.
Rc	. ¶	.
Ln	^./ ¶	
Ff	.	

W	.	.	.
M	.	.	.
H	.¶	.	./
B ²	¶	.	.
T ³	^/	.	.
G	¶	.	.
Hf		.	.

owt of care, And gyf me þe, þat I may se, havand evermare? Þi lufe es ay

Dd	/v	/	.
S	.	.∞	v
V	.	.∞	v
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	v	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	.
Ff	.	.	.¶
W	.	.	.
M	.	.	//
H	./	./	¶
B ²	/	v	/
T ³	.	v	.
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

swetest of al þat ever war. My hert, when sal it brest for lufe? Þan languyst I

Dd	.	/v	.	.
S	^.	.	^.	.
V	^.	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	.	.	.	.
Ci	.	v	v	.
Rc	.	v	.	.
Ln	.	.	.	.
Ff	.	.	./	.
W	^.	/	.	.
M	.	//	.	.
H	.	./	.	.
B ²	v	/	v	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	.	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.	.

na mare. For lufe my thought has fest, and I am fayne to fare. I stand in still

Dd	./ //	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.¶	.	.
Ff	.	.	.
W	.	.	.
M	//	.	.
H	./	.	.
B ²	/	.	.
T ³	.	.	.
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

mowrnyng. Of all lufelyst of lare Es lufe langyng, it drawes me til my day, þe

Dd	.	.	.	.
S	.	.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	.	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	.	.
Ff	.	.	.	.
W	.	.	.	.
M	.	.	.	.
H	.	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	.	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	.	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.	.

band of swete byrnyng, for it haldes me ay Fra place and fra plaiyng til þat I

Dd	.	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	./	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	./	.	.
Ff	.	.	.

W	.	//	.	.
M	.	¶	.	.
H	.	./	✓	.
B ²	:	.	.	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	.	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.	.

.get may be syght of my swetyng, þat wendes never away. In welth bees oure

Dd	.	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	✓	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	✓	.
Ci	✓	.	.
Rc	.	✓ ^	.
Ln	✓	.	.
Ff	✓	.	.¶
W	.	.	✓
M	.	.	./
H	.	.	¶
B ²	/	✓	/
T ³	/	.	/
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

wakyng wythowten noy or nyght. My lufe es in lastyng, and langes to þat

Dd	.	✓	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	✓	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	✓
Ci	.	✓	.
Rc	.	✓	.
Ln	.	✓	.
Ff	.	✓	.
W	.	.	.
M	.	¶	.
H	✓	✓	✓
B ²	✓	/	✓
T ³	.	.	✓
G	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.

//

syght.

Dd	/.
S	.
V	
T ¹	.
U	.
Ci	.
Rc	. ¶
Ln	. ¶
Ff	. /
W	
M	¶
H	¶
B ²	¶
T ³	.
G	. ¶
Hf	

IX [I]f pou wil be wele with God, and have grace to rewle þi lyf, and com

Dd	/.	.	.
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	^.
T ¹	.	.	^.
U	.	.	^.
Ci	.	.	^.
Rc	.¶	.	˘
Ln	.¶	.	.
Ff	./	.	.
W			
M	¶	.	^.
H	¶	.	.
B ²	¶	.	.
T ³	.		
G	.¶		˘
Hf			.

til þe joy of luf, þis name Jhesu, fest it swa fast in þi hert, þat it com never owt

Dd	˘	.	˘
S	.	.	˘
V	.	.	˘
T ¹	.	.	.
U	˘	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	˘	.	˘
Ln	:	.	:
Ff	˘	.	.
W	˘	.	.
M	.	.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	:	.	:
T ³	.	—	:
G	˘	.	˘
Hf	˘	.	.

of þi thoght. And when pou spekes til hym, and says 'Jhesu', thurgh custom, it

Dd	.	.	˘	.
S	.	.	.	.
V	.¶	.	.	.
T ¹	^./	.	.	.
U	.	.	.	˘
Ci	.	.	.	˘
Rc	.	.	.	˘
Ln	.	.	.	:
Ff	.	.	.	.

W	/	.
M	¶	¶
H	.	.
B ²	/	.
T ³	/	.
G	.¶	¶
Hf	.	.

sal be in þi ere joy, in þi mouth hony, and in þi hert melody. For þe sall thynk

Dd		.	.	.
S	✓	.	.	.
V	✓	.	.	.¶
T ¹		.	.	.△
U		.	.	.
Ci		.	.	.
Rc		.	.	.
Ln		.	/	.¶
Ff		.	.	.¶
W		.	.	/
M			.	.
H			.	.
B ²		.		.
T ³				.
G		.	.	.
Hf		.	.	.

joy to here þat name be nevened, swetnes to speke it, myrth and sang to thynk

Dd	.	.	.
S	~	.	.
V	~	.	.
T ¹		^	.
U	~	.	.
Ci		.	.
Rc	~	.	.
Ln	:	./	:
Ff		.	.
W	.	/	.
M		.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²		/	:
T ³		.	.
G		.	.
Hf		.	.

it. If þou thynk Jhesu contynuly, and halde it stabely, it purges þi syn, and

Dd	./	.	.	/.
S	.	ȳ	.	..
V	.	.	.	/
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	ˆˆˆ	.	ȳ	.
Ci	.	.	ȳ	.
Rc	.	.	ȳ	.
Ln	.	.	:	.
Ff	.	.	.	.
W	/	.	.	.
M	¶	.	ˆˆ	.
H	.	.	.	.
B ²	/	.	:	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	.	.	.	.
Hf	.¶	.	ȳ	.

kyndels þi hert; it clarifies þi sawle, it removes anger, and dose away slawnes;

Dd	/.	/.	/ȳ	/.
S	.	.	.	.
V	.	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.	.
U	.	.	ˆˆ	.
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	.
Ln	.	.	.	:
Ff	.	.	.	.
W	.	.	.	.
M	.	.	.	.
H	ˆˆˆ	.	.	.
B ²	.	/	.	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	.	.	.	.
Hf	.	.	.	.

it woundes in lufe, and fulfille of charite; it chaces þe devel, and puttes oute

Dd	/ȳ	/.	/ȳ
S	.	.	.
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	ȳ	.	ˆˆ
Ci	.	.	ȳ
Rc	.	.	ȳ
Ln	:	ˆˆ	.
Ff	.	.	.

W	.	.
M	.	.
H	.	/
B ²	/	.
T ³	.	/
G	.	.
Hf	.	.

drede; it opens heven, and makes a contemplatif man. Have in mynde Jhesu;

Dd	/.	/z	/.	z
S	.	.	z	.
V	.	.	.	./
T ¹	.	^ ^ ^	∞	.
U	.	z	.	.
Ci	.	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.	z
Ln	.	.	.	.¶
Ff	.	.	.	.
W	.	.	/	.
M	.	.	.	//
H	.	^	.	¶
B ²	.	.	/	.
T ³	.	.	.	.
G	.	.	.	z
Hf	.	.	.¶	.

for al vices and fantomes it puttes owte fra þe lover.

Dd	.	.	/.
S	.	z	[.]
V	.	.	.
T ¹	.	.	.
U	.	.	.
Ci	.	.	.
Rc	.	.	.
Ln	.	z/.	^./
Ff	.	.	.
W	.	.	./
M	.	.	.
H	.	.	.
B ²	.	.	/
T ³	.	.	.
G	.	.	.¶
Hf	.	.	^.

To determine precisely why the scribes as a group, or several among them, have punctuated a particular segment may not be possible. Syntactical and oratorical considerations enter, as do perceptions of style, which is operative partly through syntactical and oratorical choices. A scribe may be marking, at the same time, a clause-end, a suitable place for a pause, the conclusion of a unit of parallelism, and a rhythmic segment. In the writing of the prose, these elements came together, hence the perceptive and careful scribe might be supposed to be responding to more than one element in placing a point. In the summary that follows, therefore, separation of the factors influencing punctuation should be seen as a convenience for discussion, rather than as corresponding to the actuality of writing out such a text as the *Form*.

An overview of scribal habits suggests that certain syntactic constructions regularly invited punctuation, and frequently the same punctuation. Prominent among these constructions are: an *if*-clause, a *when*-clause, a *pat*-clause. The most evident, and most common, instance of systematic punctuation of an *if*-clause is the condition preceding a conclusion. Here the point is the regular mark before the condition, and the punctus elevatus after. A virgule or some form of the composite mark of finality may be found instead of the simple point. Where the point occurs as well, I have counted it as an instance.

II

- . (13) If þou lufe hym (:) mykel:(15)
- . (12) If þi lufe be not byrnand in hym:(14)

IX

- . (14) [I]f þou wil be wele with God. (12) and ... com til þe joy of luf:(12)
- . (13) If þou thynk Jhesu contynuly. (18) and halde it stably:(8)

(The numbers refer to occurrences of such punctuation in all manuscripts examined, not just the sixteen most fully punctuated.) Elsewhere in the three chapters:

- . (16) Or if þou have other thoghtes þat þou has mare swetnes in ... :(9)
- . (16) If þou be in prayers and meditations :(4) al þe day:(8)
- . (13) Forþi :(3) if þou will wytt whatkyn joy þat sang has:(13)
- . (16) In þis third degre. (8) if þou may wyn þartill:(13)

Given occasional omissions of phrase and also, here and there, of any punctuation, the marking of the construction in this way remains surprisingly consistent.

When the condition follows rather than precedes the main clause, the elevatus, if used at all, will more likely come before rather than after the condition, as is appropriate for a mark of suspension. Or a simple point may be used:

V

- ... þi hert es on hym. (10) sayand. (12) *Ave Maria*. ... or *Miserere mei Deus*. (16) :
- (1) if þou have bene temped in þi slepe. (14) :(2) or thynkand on his lufe. (8) :(0)
- and his lovyng. (10) :(3) als þou dyd wakand. (10) :(2)

To which may be compared:

- . and me thynk þou ... may com þartill. (6) ⁊(4) if any may gete it. (10) ¶ (17) ⁊ (1)
- ⁊ als þou may fele þi fynger byrn⁊(5) . (2) if þou putt it in þe fyre. (15) ¶ (14) ⁊ (2)
- . Mikel lufe and joy sal þou fele⁊(7) . (8) if þou wil do aftyr þis lare. (17) ¶ (1) ⁊ (2)

More than half of the *preceding* if-clauses in these three chapters, if they have any final punctuation, end in an elevatus; while just a third of the *following* if-clauses have an elevatus as initial punctuation. The use of the mark at the end of the latter type of clause may be viewed, in many instances, as scribal error, that is, wherever there is no apparent justification for the sign of continuity, and therefore the rising inflection.

There are a few further clauses beginning with *if*: two where the condition or concession is encased within the main clause; two where the *if* is preceded by *bot*, hence where the sense is 'unless'; and one where *namely* precedes and the sense is 'whether or not'. Four of these instances occur in the selected passages:

I

- . when þai thynk on þat þat þai lufe. (18) namely (. 3 ⁊1) if þair lover be trew and lufand. (14) ⁊(1)

II

- . For hym may na man fele ... ⁊(14) bot if þai be clene (.) and fylled with his lufe. (17) ¶ (3) ⁊(1)

IV

- . and þe war lever. (5) if outhur sulde be⁊(7) . (7) to suffer al þe pyne and waa þat myght com til any creature⁊or þou wald. ...

VI

- . Bot þat fire (. 1) if it be hate⁊(10) . (3) es swa delitabell and wondyrful þat I kan noght tell it. (¶)

To which may be added from elsewhere:

- . and] þis maner of sang hase nan⁊(6) . (9).//or ¶ (2) bot if þai be in þis thyrd degre of lufe. (15) ⁊(2)

It is evident that the medial or encased condition or concession is comparable, as one might expect, to the condition preceding a main clause, in calling for the punctus elevatus. Likewise, *bot if* in the sense of 'unless' seems to signal the need for the suspensive mark, in this instance before the clause. Two scribes appear to have misunderstood the sense of the text when they placed a mark of finality—// or ¶—before the *bot if* in the last example. The *if* = 'whether' construction, being a clarification or elaboration of what comes before, is similar to the condition

following a main clause and, like it, does not invite punctuation by the *elevatus*. As before, the presence of the mark of suspension at the end of a final if-clause, as is found in one or two manuscripts for the first, second, and fifth examples above, may be the result of scribal misperception. Knowing that an initial or medial condition regularly took an *elevatus*, a scribe might well punctuate with the same mark a final if-clause, even when the rising inflection would be inappropriate. On the scribes' side, however, it could be said that these sentences do go on, with *and* in the first two instances and, more significantly, with *til þe whilek degre* in the third. But the conclusiveness of the constructions and the response of most of the scribes speak against such rationalization.

When-clauses are handled somewhat similarly to if-clauses. Where the main clause precedes, the subordinate clause, provided it does not lead in to another clause, regularly ends in one of the marks of completion, such as the point, virgule, or composite mark of finality. The mark of suspension may sometimes be used at the beginning, or, less suitably, at the end. Where the main clause follows, especially if introduced by *þan*, the *elevatus* is obviously appropriate and is frequently employed. Examples of these two constructions include, from the selected passages and elsewhere in the three chapters:

I

ȝ hym lyst oft syng of his luf. for joy þat he or scho hase. (5) ȝ(4) when þai thynk on þat þat þai lufe. (18—all punctuation)

IV

. ¶ Ði luf es insuperabel. (11) ȝ(5) when na thyng ... overcomes it. (20) ȝ(3) bot es stalworth. ...

V

. ¶ Inseparabel es þi lufe. (10) ȝ(3) when al þi hert ... es swa haly. ... sett. and stabeld in Jhesu Crysteȝ(7) . (8) þat þi thought comes. ...

VIII

. And ymang other affeccions and sangesȝ(.) þou [may] ... syng þis ... til þi Lord Jhesu. (8) ȝ(6) [when] þou covaytes hys comyng and þi gangyng. (14) ¶ (6) //(3)

. ¶ And thynk it noght anely whils þou etesȝ(.) bot bath before and after. (16) ȝ(3) ay. (4) bot when þou prayes or spekes. (15) ȝ(3)

. Singuler lufe esȝ(8) . (5) when all comforth and solace es closed owt of þi hert. (11) ȝ(7) bot of Jhesu Cryste alane. (special in that *bot of* follows)

III

. (21) ¶ (6) And when þou ert at þi meteȝ(7) . (7) love ay God. ...

V

. (11) ¶ (2) ȝ(2) when þou may na tyme forgete hym. what sa þou dose or saysȝ(12) . (9) þan es þi lufe inseparabel.

IX

. ¶ And when þou spekes til hym(.) and says 'Jhesu'. (ð) thurgh custom. (8) ∴ (5)
it sal be in þi ere joy. ...

. When þou prayes. (8) ∴ (5) loke noght ...

Again, it may be helpful to express these results in fractions of total punctuation: more than half of the *preceding* when-clauses that are punctuated end in an elevatus, while about a quarter of the *following* when-clauses have an elevatus before, less than a quarter after. Thus, as suggested above, the punctuation of these clauses corresponds to that of conditions. The one *til þat*-clause, after a main clause, follows the same pattern.

Clauses introduced by *þat*, because of their variety and great frequency in Rolle's prose, provide an ample field in themselves for investigating scribal response to subordination. By far the most common *þat*-clause in the three chapters of the *Form* being examined is the restrictive relative clause: of approximately fifty *þat*-clauses, more than twenty-five are of this type. Perhaps the frequency is owing in part to the nature of the treatise—an instructive description of a way or ways of life. Therefore formulations such as *he or scho þat es*, *þe sawle þat es*, *Blyssed es he ... þat* abound. Although punctuation does appear between the antecedent and *þat*, it is relatively infrequent: seventeen of the clauses of this type have three or fewer marks of punctuation in all manuscripts examined, and eight of these seventeen have no separating punctuation in any manuscript. Conspicuous exceptions include a sentence where the *þat*-clause is enclosed within an if-clause: . *Or if þou have other thoghtes* . (11) *þat þou has mare swetnes in and devocion*. (9) ∴ (2) *þan in þase*. (2) *þat I lere þe*. (12) ∴ (9); and a few *þat*-clauses in sequence: ... (.) *bot he or scho*. (2) ∴ (1) *þat feles it*. (14) ∴ (1) *þat has it*. (13) ∴ (2) *and þat loves God*. (4), as well as . *or any* (0) *þat es takked with any syn wilfully and wittandly*. (14) ∴ (1) *or þat has delyte in any erthely thyng* ∴ (11) . (8). In these instances, the sense of a need to clarify structure or merely an awareness that a speaker would naturally pause, whether because of length of clause or for dramatic effect, must have outweighed the usual tendency to continue on without a mark. It is interesting that the clauses punctuated in as many as eight or nine manuscripts are fairly dramatic: (from selection IV) . *and þe war lever*. ... (ð) *to suffer al þe pyne and waa*. (5) ∴ (3) *þat myght com til any creature* ∴ (12) . (7); also . *In soverayne rest sal þai be* ∴ (6) . (3) *þat may gete it*. (13) ∴ (3). Note that in one of these cases the elevatus predominates, a sign of suspension, if not suspense. Generally, the mark of punctuation is the point. Typical of the majority of instances are the following clauses:

I

- . For he (0) *þat mykel lufes* ∴ (9) . (6)
- . when þai thynk on *þat*. (3) *þat þai lufe*. (18)

- (.) þe awngels (0) þat er byrmandest in lufe:(9) . (4) er. ...
 . for þan þou ert ful syker to se hym(. 3) þat þou lufes. (18) :(2)
 . Bot þe sawle (0) þat es in þe thyrd degre:(9) . (5) es. ...
 . and þou hase al. (5) þat we may say or wryte. (15) :(2)

Although length of preceding phrase may be one factor in the decision whether or not to punctuate, mere length does not appear to have overcome generally a predisposition not to point the outset of a restrictive clause. If the scribes of the *Form* are representative, mediaeval scribes may be said to have set a precedent for modern practice as regards the beginning of such clauses. On the other hand, the examples given show that the scribes of the *Form* regularly punctuated the end of a restrictive (as of a non-restrictive) clause, almost regardless of what followed. The particularly striking case is where the subject has been stated but the main verb has yet to come. By modern 'institutionalized usage', such punctuation is disallowed, although the common-sense basis for a mark at this point is recognized, namely, the fact of a break in oral delivery after a long or complex noun-phrase subject.¹² Scribal recognition of the closeness between what preceded and what followed the punctuation may be inferred from the frequency of the elevatus in such places. Besides the third and fifth examples given directly above, instances of this construction in our manuscripts include:

I

- . bot þe special gift of þas(. 2) þat ledes solitary lyf:(10) . (10) es. ...
 . Bot all men(. 1) þat kepes hys byddyngs:(8) . (6) kepes. ...
 . and all (0) þat dos his cownsell:(9) . (4) er. ...
 . þat he or scho(. 3) þat es in þis degre. (8) :(7) mai als wele fele. ...
 . And þai (0) þat er in þire twa degrees:(12) . (1) fayles. ...

Since non-restrictive þat-clauses occur much more rarely in this sampling of Rolle's prose, conclusions about their punctuation must be more tentative. The situation is complicated by the possibility that the scribes read two of the seven clauses as restrictive, and by the striking exception to the norm that one other clause appears to present. In four cases, beginning and end of clause are punctuated

¹² See Randolph Quirk et al., *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (London, 1972; 7th impression, corrected, 1978), Appendix II.19, p. 1050. Our 'rule' against any but 'correlative or self-cancelling punctuation' apparently dates only from the early nineteenth century. Lucas, in 'Punctuation-Markers' (p. 21), regards punctuation used to signal 'the resumption of a direct line of construction when no punctuation is used to mark the beginning of the interposed clause(s or phrase) [*sic*]' as possible evidence that a text was punctuated for reading aloud. Given the persistence of marking such places—such that a rule was devised and is regularly broken, it seems likely that the 'reading aloud' continues mentally. How indicative this punctuation is of elocutionary orientation, therefore, remains a question.

approximately equally. Although the elevatus appears, before as well as after, there does not seem to be any strong tendency either to use it or to avoid it. Appearance at the end, of course, is affected more by what follows than by what precedes. Representative of the norm—if so it can be called—is: (from II) *ȝmykel joy ... þou feles in his lufe*. (17) *ȝ(2) þat es þi comforth(.) ... nyght and day*. (12) *ȝ(2)*. The exceptions are more interesting in what they may reveal about the scribes' perception. There is no punctuation at all, in any manuscript examined, before *þat* in the following sentence: *. and me thynk(.) þou(0!) þat hase noght els at do*. (8) *ȝ(3) bot for to lufe Godȝ(14) . (6) may com þartill. if any may gete it*. Combining this instance with the two other departures from what pattern can be observed, *. þan þe behoves syng þe psalmesȝ(4) . (3) þat þou before sayde*. (15) *ȝ(2)* and *. and as þe nyghttyngale*. (3) *ȝ(1) þat lufes sang and melody*. (12) *ȝ(2)* and *fayles for mykel lufe*. (11) *ȝ(6)*, one is tempted to wonder if the scribes did not regard all of these clauses as more restrictive, in our terminology, than we would take them to be. In other words, taking the first of the three, may it not be said that although Rolle was addressing the original to a certain 'Margaret', later copyists would have seen the work as a manual for any 'thou' who had 'nought else to do but to love God', that is, any recluse so defined?¹³ The second instance—*þan þe behoves syng þe psalmes*—provides less room for imaginative speculation: the sentence simply can be read as about singing (formerly saying) psalms in general, or about now singing specific psalms formerly spoken. Perhaps the latter is taken by some scribes to be the case because the clause that follows refers to a 'few psalms'. The third instance again arouses the imagination. According to Allen's note,¹⁴ Rolle was probably influenced by three popular poems composed in England that used the nightingale as a symbol for one who loved Christ. Although the nightingale as 'failing' (variant 'falling') lover may have been a commonplace among religious writers of Rolle's day, might not a copying scribe have taken the comparison as a more specific allusion? Certainly, if mediaeval punctuation were to become a standard part of edited texts, and compared, there would be occasions like these where some elucidation might be had, if not about the author's sense, then about how that sense was received.

Nominal subject or object clauses, clauses of purpose or result, comparative clauses, and an adverbial clause of proportion comprise the remainder of the *þat*-clauses. Each of the first three categories has half a dozen or fewer representatives—again too small a number on which to base any firm generalization. There

¹³ *Form*, p. 119. As Allen (*English Writings*) notes on p. 84, adaptations include, in ms. T¹, address to *my ... frende in god*, and in ms. Rc, to 'Cecil'. Ms. Ff has *N.* for *Name*, presumably, thus illustrating in reverse the convention mentioned by Jolliffe of addressing a work of instruction or guidance to a particular person (*Check-List*, p. 28).

¹⁴ *Form*, pp. 159 n. to ll. 62 ff., 106.

is, however, a consistency in the handling of these types that may be more than fortuitous. In addition, it is possible to draw certain parallels between these and other types that help to illuminate the scribes' behaviour. Clauses of purpose or result and comparative clauses may be disposed of simply: *þat* or *swa þat* in a context of purpose or result regularly has a point before it, rarely an *elevatus*; whereas the construction *swa* + adjective + *þat* nearly as frequently has an *elevatus* intervening before *þat* as a point. The sense of natural consequence of the first type and the more dramatic quality of the second seem to accord with this difference. One might relate both types to the if- and when-clauses discussed earlier. That is, the purpose or result clause is not unlike a final if- or when-construction in what could be called loosely anticlimatic or maybe more appropriately non-dramatic effect; whereas the *swa*/adjective/*þat* locution, like an initial clause beginning with 'if' or 'when', builds dramatically toward what follows its own punctuation. Naturally, these generalities about effect will not hold true in all instances, any more than the punctuation is invariable. But a tendency may be perceived, and that tendency must have been noted by some scribes and sometimes expressed in punctuation. Compare, from selection V, . *when al þi hert(.) and þi thoght(.) and þi myght. es swa haly. ... festend. ... in Jhesu Cryste.* (8) ∴ (8) *þat þi thoght comes never of hym.* (15) with, from selection IV, . *þi luf es insuperabel. when na thyng(.) þat es contrary til Gods lufe overcomes it. bot es stalworth agayns al fandyns ...* . (17) ∴ (3) *swa þat þe thynk.* (4) *þat þow walde noght ...* . (∴) *wreth God any tyme.* (17) ∴ (3). Surely the contrast in use of the *elevatus* reflects the difference in flow between the two sentences, the comparative one rising and subsiding, the other continuing on a more even plane. And yet the inherent drama in the following sentence, which has already been quoted in part, seems to counteract the usual subduing effect of the syntax: . *Bot þe sawle ... ∴ es als byrnand fyre. and as þe nyghttyngale(.) ...* . (11) ∴ (6) *swa þat þe saule es anely comforted in lovyng and lufyng of God.* (14) The presence of an emphatic word like *anely* in the sequel may have had something to do with the relative frequency of the *elevatus* in this example.

Nominal object clauses—*I hope þat*, *I walde þat*, etc.—in their continuity between a preceding element and *þat*, and therefore, presumably, in their infrequency of intervening punctuation, are somewhat akin to restrictive relative clauses. The four examples that occur are punctuated in each instance five times or less across all manuscripts, a frequency that compares with the pointing of such constructions as *For he þat* or *when þai thynk on þat. þat* discussed earlier. One nominal subject clause, *þe thynk.* (4) *þat þow walde noght ...* . (∴) *wreth God any tyme*, follows the same pattern of minimal punctuation.

Since this miscellaneous group of *þat*-clauses just discussed has the common characteristic of conclusiveness, unlike the if- and when-clauses (which may or may not lead directly into what follows) or even the other *þat*-clauses, with their often parenthetical or interruptive quality, final punctuation ought ordinarily to be the

point. And so it is. Where some other construction enters, of course, whether within the *pat*-clause or succeeding it, and therefore postponing conclusion, a sprinkling of suspensive marks may be expected. Such punctuation is not related to the presence earlier of *pat*.

An isolated instance of the adverbial clause of proportion, *. for ay þe mare. (1!) þat þe perfeccion es: (14) . (9) þe faer folowers it has. (17) :*(1), is notable for its almost total lack of punctuation before *þat*, but large number of marks—twenty-three, fourteen of them the elevatus—separating the parts of the proportion. The overshadowing of the first division by the second is in accord with both the scribal awareness of dramatic effect mentioned above and the response to parallelism that will be considered below.

To summarize, then, concerning the pointing of *if*-, *when*- and *þat*-clauses. The subordinators *if*, *when*, and *þat* serve generally as signals for punctuation, both before the words themselves and after the subordinate clauses which they introduce. Reasonable exceptions, if a scribe is being thorough and careful, include places where emphasizing the break between the main clause and the subordinate one by a mark of punctuation could interfere with the effectiveness or even the sense of the statement. Exceptions also include places where a syntactic ambiguity or the possibility of a variant interpretation has led a scribe to sense a close relationship between main and subordinate clauses, and therefore to omit punctuation. The punctus elevatus functions, in connection with all of these constructions as elsewhere, as an optional but familiar sign of suspension or anticipation. It is therefore appropriately and generally used where the climax of the sentence follows, or is thought to follow, and where the pause with rising inflection is consequently in order. Otherwise, the common sign setting off such clauses is the point, supplemented, where more radical breaks are perceived, by the single or double virgule and/or the paragraph sign. The paragraph sign, it should be noted, may also appear alone with the same significance (see my 'Catalogue of Signs', p. 467) below).

From the examination of the subordinate clauses gathered together under the initial words *if*, *when*, and *þat*, the scribes' responses to dependent clauses in general may be surmised. Although the copyists occasionally erred, they seem to have attempted consistently to bring out the clausal structure, and regularly to have followed the natural rise and fall, flow and pause of the prose. The conclusions reached above may be tested against constructions beginning with other subordinators. One group of subordinating conjunctions that has enough representatives to make a 'test' worthwhile is of constructions with *als*: *als alone, swilk ... als, als mykel als, als sone als, als wele ... als, and als far ... als*. Not surprisingly, from what has been said, the elevatus appears in the majority of punctuated manuscripts in these places:

V

. and als sone als þou wackens: (8) . (4)

...; (9) mai als wele fele þe fyre of lufe(.) byrnand in þaire saule: (9) . (8) als þou may fele þi fynger byrn: (5) . (2) if. ...

: þai er als far þarfra: (9) . (7) als es fra heven to erth. (15) : (2)

whereas the more low-keyed sentences . *loke... þat ... thy thought (be) on þat. þou sayes.* (9) : (3) *als mykel als þow may.* (16) : (2) and *: þi hert es on hym. sayand...* . or *thynkand...* . (10) : (3) *als þou dyd wakand.* (10) : (2) are seldom so punctuated. In between, in frequency of the mark of suspension, is . *For I hope(.) þat God will do swilk thoghies(.) in þi hert.* (6) : (6) *als he es payde of.* (15) : (6) and *als þou ert ordaynde for.* (16) : (1). Again, as in the case of the proportional clause, the *als* — ... *als* construction and the *swilk ... als* probably owe their punctuation both to the perception of parallelism and to the sense of a following climax.

The text with reproduced punctuation on pages 417-47 makes clear that the scribes of the more fully pointed manuscripts very seldom fail to mark the end of a sentence. One indication that a sentence-end has been generally recognized is the appearance of the paragraph sign in more than one or two manuscripts. Sometimes we would think a semicolon more appropriate (see, for example, selection IV, the second sentence); other times we might wonder why so few scribes have noted what seems to be a major conclusion (see the last sentence of the same selection or the last sentence in selection VII). A plausible reason is often not far to seek, provided one has acknowledged the various considerations that enter. In selection IV, for instance, the overriding importance of the distinction by degrees and the obvious parallelism of the three constructions:

The fyrst degre es called insuperabel;	
þe secund,	inseparabel;
þe thyrd	es syngulere.

have made some scribes emphasize the pause after each part, as an occasional scribe might emphasize the pause before a quotation, such as *I languysch for lufe* in selection VI, or the disjunction between when- and þan-clauses in the last sentence of selection V. Occasionally, misperception is the best explanation. The last example given, where ¶ divides subordinate and main clauses from each other, could have been the Magdalene scribe's (or some predecessor's) lapse when confronted by the *þan* which often begins a new sentence. A series of such sentences beginning with *þan* does occur later in the same chapter: see selection VI. Similarly, failure to signal clearly an important sentence-end may sometimes be the result of an imperfect grasp of just where the main break comes. But the general explanation would be that the point or virgule, being regarded as sufficient for both minor and

major breaks—for anything from comma to period, relieved the scribe of any great concern for syntactic finality. In free-flowing prose (*oratio perpetua*, perhaps) linked by *and*, *or*, *bot*, and *for*, 'finality' is subject to some interpretation anyway. It suffices to note that composite marks of finality do generally cluster at major pauses, most of which are or could be ends of sentences. For example, in the selections given, I count only two places where more than a quarter of the manuscripts have what would regularly be marks of finality after something less than a complete sentence. One is the elliptical independent clause in series in selection IV: . (11) ¶ (6) *þe secund(.) inseparabel*. (11) ¶ (6) ./ (1); the other, likewise a special case, is the introductory sentence in VIII, which is 'incomplete' until the *þis* has been given in the *cantus* that follows: ... : *þou [may in þi] langyng syng þis* (12) ¶ (6) // (2). There are a couple of other places where the number of final marks after an incomplete segment rises to as many as a quarter of the total if the sign [./] is counted as final: (from selection VII) . *Forþi says saynt Paule*. (10) ¶ (3) ./ (1); (from selection VIII) . *I stand in still mowrnyng. Of all lufelyst of lare*. (9) ¶ (1) // (2) ./ (1) *Es lufe langyng...* . (note that the construction of this latter portion, with its inverted complement/subject order, is less than obvious). The combination in question, however—[./], can be the result of dual punctuating, by point and virgule, or of random addition of the virgule. Although the Cambridge (Dd) scribe regularly uses it to mark finality (see, for example, selections I and IV), the same consistency does not prevail elsewhere.¹⁵ One further apparent instance, in IX, of inappropriate final punctuation: . *Have in mynde Jhesu*. (7) ¶ (2) // (1) ./ (1), results from a difference in reading in the Lansdowne manuscript at this place, and a misreading by two other scribes, who took the clause as completing the previous sentence. In contrast to these few, and less than straightforward, exceptions, there are some thirty places in the excerpts given where marks of finality appear at sentence-ends—not always where the modern editor has put a period, but where one could legitimately be put. It is also interesting to note that the scribes as a group show awareness of the momentum of a series of similarly constructed clauses, and do not ordinarily interrupt them with signs of major pauses. Selections VI, VII, and IX provide examples.

It would be appropriate at this stage to look more carefully at the question of rhythm and parallelism. As we have seen in the *What es lufe* passage, the two are closely related. Where there is isocolon—*Lyght clárifíes oure skýll: býrnyng kyndels oure cóuayties.*, *mékenes mákes vs swéte to gód.* ... *Lufe mdse vs dne with gód.*—there is likely to be similarity if not identity of rhythm. And where words come in pairs or other sets, especially in an extended series such as is found farther on in chapter 10: *Lufe es perféccion of létters, vértu of próphecy, frúte of trówth,*

¹⁵ See my 'Catalogue of Signs', p. 465 below.

etc., there may not be isocolon in the technical sense, but there is certainly a common stress-pattern, allowing of course for slight variation in number of unstressed syllables. In the further selections from the *Form*, numerous examples of syntactic parallelism are to be found, all giving rise to rhythmic similarity:

III

Lóved be þou kéyng. and thánked be þou kéyng. and blyssed be þou kéyng.

IV

The fyrst degre es called insúperabel. þe sécund inséparabel. þe thyrd es syngulere.
... . whether þou be in ése or in ángwys. or in hēle or in sékenes.

V

... . when al þi hért(.) and þi thóght(.) and þi myght. es swa hály. swa entérelý(.)
and swa pérfytely(.) féstend. sétt. and stábelð(.)

VI

... Jhésu lufand. Jhésu thyńkand. Jhésu desfrand. anly in þe covayties of hym
anedande. tfl hym syngand. of hym býrnand. fn hym réstand. (a characteristic
device of Rolle's style—the enumeration of participles)

VII

In þe fyrst degre er men líckend to þe stérnes. in the tóþer. till þe móne. in þe
thyrd. til þe sónnē. ... Óþer of þe sónnē. óþer of þe móne. óþer of þe stérnes.

IX

... . it sal be in þi ére jóy. in þi móuth hóny. and in þi hért méloðy.
... . it púrges þi syn. and kyndels þi hért. it clárfifies þi sáwle. (and further in the
same selection).

On a smaller scale:

II

... in þe lúffe. and in þe lóvyng.

VI

... fntil sáng. and fntil méloðy.

VIII

... Fra pláce and fra pláiyng.

in addition to the many simple pairs: *tréw* and *lufand.*, *gyftes* and *grdces.*, *jóy* and *swétnes*. (once with *and býrnyng.*), *cómforth* and *stréngh*, *nyght* and *ddy.*, *cléne*. and *fýlled.*, *práier.* and *thyńkyng*, *pýne(.)* and *wða.*, *delltabell.* and *wóndyrful.*, *afféccions.* and *sánges.*, *hýs cómyng.* and *þi gángyng.*, *nóy* or *nyght.*, *víces* and *fántomes*.

Naturally the tendency of an instructor, and especially one working in the later mediaeval devotional tradition, to analyze and classify—as in the discussion of 'three degrees'—fosters some of the parallelism, but the equivalence goes beyond such instances to ornament the whole treatise. The difficulty of demonstrating the scribes' awareness of this stylistic feature arises of course from the close connection,

often identity, between these rhythmical units and the syntactic units that the rhythm reinforces. And behind both of these divisions is the simple oratorical determinant of length of breath. Nevertheless, there are hints of scribal perception of rhythmical parallelism. For example, the distinctive marks—elevatus or paragraph sign, etc.—may appear where they are not syntactically appropriate and perhaps not even intonationally appropriate, but where they assist recognition of a parallel. As already noted, the sequence beginning *The fyrst degre...* has an unusual number of marks of finality after each part. A couple of scribes point *In þe fyrst degre er many...* the same way, and there is a scattering of marks of finality in *In þe fyrst degre er men lickend...*, as well as use of the elevatus in the middle of each parallel clause. The ellipsis, however, not rhythm, was probably the chief instigation for the suspensive mark. But even the presence of points, in sufficient numbers across several manuscripts, may be indicative, as in the clause *whether þou be in ese or in angwys. or in hele or in sekenes.*, where about twice as many scribes observed the break between the two main pairs as did the break within each pair. The treatment of *when al þi hert(.) and þi thoght(.) and þi myght. es swa haly. swa enterely(.) and swa perfytyly(.) festend. sett. and stabeld(.)* is somewhat exceptional in that the punctuation cuts across the parallels to a degree, rather than reinforcing them. That is, points are clustered after *haly* and after *festend*. One reason for the latter apparent departure from the norm is the absence of the phrase *swa enterely* from the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts, resulting in a breaking of the three-stress rhythm. The division between *sett* and *and stabeld* then becomes illustrative of another characteristic, the common though not regular tendency to put a point before an *and*, even in a simple pairing.

Selections VI and IX, with their extensive parallelism, serve as the best summary illustration of what could be called rhythmical or stylistic pointing. The short phrases in VI, *Jhesu lufand...* and *til hym syngand...*, are as heavily punctuated as the series of independent þan-clauses. It is notable also that the scribes seem disinclined generally to punctuate the þan-clauses internally, although each comprises four or five stressed syllables—about twice as many syllables as are to be found in the majority of punctuated segments overall. In selection IX, the three prepositional phrases beginning with *in þi ere joy* are likewise as heavily punctuated as the grand series of independent clauses having *it* (the name *Jhesu*) as their subject that rise to a climax in *it opens heven. and makes a contemplatif man*. And note that the midpoint of the compound clauses is quite consistently pointed in the most fully punctuated manuscripts, although the *and* in each case might suffice as internal 'punctuation'. Here is a case, unlike the series of þan-clauses just discussed, where syntax and rhythmic division into two-stress phrases may be served simultaneously, and the scribes are consistent in doing so.

I have mentioned that the majority of punctuated phrases in these three chapters are encompassed within two or three stresses. The statistics for the selected passages

are even more striking: there are about twice as many three-stress phrases as four-stress, in the prose; and about three times as many two-stress as four-stress phrases. In all, about seventy-five percent of the regularly punctuated segments in the prose have two or three stresses. This isochronism approaches that of the verse passages, where about ninety percent of the segments have two or three stresses. Of course, the large number of two-beat phrases in the last prose selection contributes heavily to the overall results. But the passage is not atypical: for whatever reason, whether the influence of verse, the natural length of phrase as determined by breath, or some combination of causes, Rolle builds his prose here out of short, roughly equal 'commas' (or cola), and the scribes assist in the recognition that this is so.

They also assist in the recognition of the verse itself. In the first verse passage, selection III, the absence of individual lines in certain of the manuscripts and also a variant reading in MSS. Vernon and Simeon that interferes with the rhyme result in less apparent regularity. Where a line is common to all or to almost all of the manuscripts, as for example the first and last lines, or *and died on þe rode*, the punctuation is consistent enough. Both in this passage and in selection VIII there is an observable tendency to employ composite marks at line-ends, in the former case the elevatus, and in the latter both elevatus and variations on the mark of finality. The difference between the two verse passages in this respect may well be owing to the more complex structure of the second one, with its longer lines and interior rhyme (if Allen's arrangement is accepted), or short lines in an alternating rhyme-scheme. That the scribes were concerned to bring out the interior rhyme is evident from their punctuation of *My hert when sal it brest. for lufe(.)*, where most do not scruple to neglect the sentence-end in favour of the rhyming place. The opposite situation occurs two lines farther on, where marks of finality separate a preceding complement, *Of all lufelyst of lare. (//, ¶, ./; another manuscript has an elevatus),* from its verb and subject, *Es lufe langyng.*—one of the instances cited earlier of syntactically inappropriate final punctuation. But it seems clear that syntax is not the main consideration here; the integrity of the line of verse is. By providing for a more emphatic break, whether with rising or falling intonation, the scribes were helping to promote the transmission of the lines intact.

Whereas the scribes are fairly systematic in marking divisions of verse, I can find no evidence that they placed any significance on the occasional, conjectural instances of cursus. Presuming non-pronunciation of final *-e* in the author's dialect, and restricting recognition of cursus to the three basic forms, one discovers relatively few examples, given the number of phrase and clause endings, and those few not distributed especially meaningfully or systematically marked. Selection IX could be regarded as typical. I count about half a dozen possible instances, which occur in both emphatic and non-emphatic, final and non-final places. Some of the most important endings have a final stressed syllable rather than the unstressed

termination that is characteristic of *cursus*. Nevertheless, the concentration of phrases *dóse áwáy sláwněš* (*planus*), *fulfillsš of chárí řě* (*tardus*), *chácěš pě dévěl* (*planus*), and especially the last two punctuated segments of the selection, *for al vícěš ánd fántōmes. it puttes ówte frā pě lóvěř.* (both *planus*) may persuade some persons that *cursus* is indeed present.¹⁶ There does not seem to be any correlation, however, between these rhythms and the pointing.

* * *

From the foregoing evidence it should be clear that the scribes of Rolle's English writings, specifically of *The Form of Living* but presumably of the related texts as well, help to bring out the author's style and give us some assistance in hearing as well as seeing its characteristic features. By pointing parallel structures at all, a group of scribes would draw our attention to these structures, but by pointing assiduously and to a large extent similarly, they interfere with any tendency to skim over the prose and they focus our attention on the places preceding a concentration of marks. A rearrangement of the prose, such as of the *What es lufe* passage earlier, or of the name-passage below, by breaking up the sentences into their perceived segments and juxtaposing some of the parallels that the ear is expected to hear and the mind retain, helps to demonstrate that the treatise is as much a meditation on a theme or themes as it is a manual of instruction. Chapter 9 of the treatise, represented by selection IX, provides a good example of this dual quality. It is less an instruction about meditation on the name *Jhesu* than a celebration to be committed to memory,¹⁶ with the word *it* rather than the name itself providing the focus for a series of emotive phrases. The awareness of the scribes is apparent from something like their picking up of the repetition of *joy*, setting off the word by the *elevatus*, and thus emphasizing the second threefold correlation of joy with hearing, sweetness with speaking, and song with thinking:

And when þou spekes til hym.	
and says	'Jhesu'. thurgh custom;
	it sal be in þi ere joy.
	in þi mouth hony.
and	in þi hert melody.

¹⁶ Allen calls this chapter 'a very popular section, found alone' (*Form*, p. 160 n. to p. 108), presumably in the compilation *Pore Caitif* chiefly, as there are only a few manuscripts of the *Form* among the thirty-eight listed that have partial texts inclusive of chapter 9, and most not 'alone'.

other hand, utilizes this sign of a break almost journalistically, to make whatever precedes or follows stand out, even when there is close continuity. Similarly, the *punctus elevatus*, although equatable at times with our comma or colon, is less an indication that what comes before is not self-standing than a signal not to drop the voice, for more is to come, and of a complementary nature to what has just been said. The *elevatus* is therefore appropriate not only after a dependent clause and before a main clause, but also between related independent clauses or rhythmically related segments, between rhyming lines (or at any line-end in verse except perhaps the last), between items in series, especially after the penultimate item, and so on. We might find ourselves resorting to a semicolon or even a period in some of these places, but when we do so we are consulting syntax chiefly. Commenting on a recent departure from the practice of punctuating editions of Caxton in a modern fashion, Anne Hudson remarks that, 'stylistically the grammatical concept of the sentence, as opposed to the clause and the paragraph, is inapplicable to much fifteenth-century prose. ...'¹⁷ I would like to suggest that all our assumptions about grammatical structure and its relationship to style in mediaeval literary texts need to be tested, text by text, against the evidence of mediaeval punctuation.

The point itself, that most versatile of marks, has a great range of significance, much greater than our period. By one convention the very position of the mark, whether high or low, could be meaningful, and the shifting point then became the basis for the composite *positurae*—a *podatus* being added to the low point for the *punctus elevatus*, and a *clivis* to the high point for the *punctus versus*.¹⁸ But the

¹⁷ Anne Hudson, 'Middle English' in *Editing Medieval Texts English, French and Latin Written in England*, ed. A. G. Rigg (New York-London, 1977), p. 51. Hudson refers to the 'continuous' style of the Winchester Malory in a note to this comment, on p. 57 n. 58. Cf. my suggested designation of Rolle's style as *oratio perpetua*, p. 457 above, and Heinrich Lausberg's description of this Latin style in *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich, 1960), I, par. 921. Both Lucas and Treip, in the studies of punctuation cited above, n. 3, note the difficulty of determining what a 'sentence' is. In connection with trying to establish how 'initial red shading' functions, Lucas lists coordinators (*and*, *but*, *for*, etc.) that are used 'somewhat indiscriminately' in Capgrave's *Chronicle* and some other Middle English prose, to introduce a clause or sentence (cf. my comment earlier, p. 457). Although aware of the possible circularity of argument, he nevertheless suggests that the best guide to the question 'what constitutes a sentence in Capgrave's *Chronicle*?' is Capgrave's punctuation. (Concerning the probable punctuator, however, see Edmund Colledge, 'The Capgrave "Auto-graphs"', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 [1974] 1-12.) Statistically, he begs the question a little, by combining figures for initial red shading of both 'sentences and co-ordinate free clauses' (see pp. 11 ff. in 'Punctuation-Markers'). But the problem is real, and probably best handled case by case in this cautious way. Even in the context of seventeenth-century usage, Treip can ask, 'But what is a sentence? In Nash's or Browne's prose the task of determining where a sentence really stops or starts is often baffling...' (*Milton's Punctuation*, p. 40). These observations might be supposed to have given pause to both scholars in their assessment of the transition to more 'grammatical' or 'structural' punctuation—whether that transition is placed, as by Treip, in mid-seventeenth century (see pp. 40 ff.), or as by Lucas, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (p. 4).

¹⁸ See Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence*, pp. 4-6; also Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien: Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft* 2 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 82.

convention of the shifting point was probably too distant by Rolle's day for meaning to be ascribed to placement of point in these manuscripts. In any case, although I have detected some variation, it does not appear to be systematic. The utility of the simple point, however, warrants emphasis. That utility, in a way fostering equivocation about finality, may have contributed to the non-applicability which Dr. Hudson notes, of the concept of the sentence to later mediaeval prose style.

In conclusion there follows a catalogue of signs gathered from the perusal of these manuscripts. My interpretation of the significance of the marks is based upon collation of all manuscripts examined, at indicative points. Slight variations in form have been ignored, provided I was able to relate the mark in question to one of the standard signs.¹⁹

¹⁹ Besides the sources cited earlier, see Charles Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson, *English Court Hand A.D. 1066 to 1500* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 76-78 for a short but important summary of the developments in punctuation over this period.

CATALOGUE OF SIGNS

I. *punctus circumflexus*

used to mark a minor pause, theoretically preceded by falling inflection

could be said to mark off the comma or even the colon, where these terms are appropriate, hence the *subdistinctio* and *media distinctio*

comparable to the *punctus suspensivus* (/ later ,)

common form: • low or mid, occasionally high (punctum)

variant forms:  

 or even  

other equivalents:     (virgula)

combination of point and virgule(s), such as .//. // etc., where *punctus versus* probably not intended (see, e.g., MS. Ln); some of these instances appear to be the result of double pointing

II. *punctus elevatus* ('tick and point', inverted and reversed semicolon)

used to mark a minor or even a major but not usually final pause, hence theoretically preceded by rising inflection


marks off colon or occasionally comma—*media* and *subdistinctio*; may even mark off period or *plena distinctio* if something directly related is thought to follow

sometimes used consistently for line-end or caesura in verse; see, e.g., MS. Rc. The virgule is also used for this purpose.

common form: 

variant forms:       



 (cf. variant form of punctum above, however)

other equivalents: :²⁰

²⁰ Johnson and Jenkinson observe that besides the 'reversed semicolon', the colon is 'also, but rarely' used in their documents for marking such important intermediate pauses as the end of long, dependent clauses; 'more frequently' it is used 'as a final stop' (*Court Hand*, p. 76). My experience with the Rolle manuscripts suggests that here, at least, the colon more regularly equals the inverted reversed semicolon, although MSS. B¹ and Hn are exceptional in employing the former mark generally for full stops. In seventeenth-century usage, as described by Treip in relation to Bacon's *Essays*, for example, the colon 'marks the most complicated or the most disjunct as well as the obviously antithetical members', while the semicolon (rather like the *elevatus*) 'marks simple parallelism, or members somewhat shorter, or linked in thought to what precedes them' (*Milton's Punctuation*, p. 45). While comparisons with later practices may be illuminating, the evolution of signs is too complex a matter to be approached casually.

combinations of one of the above signs with virgule(s), such as *⸗* *⸘* *⸚* *⸛* possibly also *⸘/* *⸚* *⸛* but see below—*punctus versus*/other equivalents—concerning *⸘/* and *⸚*. Again, some of the combinations may be the result of double pointing.

III. *punctus versus*

used to mark a major and final pause, theoretically preceded by falling inflection when not interrogative

marks off period or final colon in non-periodic structure, therefore *plena distinctio*
common form: • low or mid, occasionally high

variant forms: *⸘* or *⸘* seems to be used semi-systematically in some manuscripts, to distinguish *punctus versus* from *punctus circumflexus*. See, e.g., MS. G, where it is also used in series, by itself or with the 'wavy hyphen', to mark a major division in the text.

other equivalents: *⸘* *⸘* *⸘* *⸘* *//* *⸘* ²¹

combination of point(s) and virgule(s) where it seems clear that *punctus versus* is intended: *⸘/* *⸚* *⸛* *⸘/* *⸚* *⸛* (once, after verse passage)

The *⸚* resembles the older 'seven and point' form of the *punctus circumflexus*, and also the *punctus elevatus*, but appears to have significance of finality at least some of the time in these MSS.

From position it also appears that the following may be intended as *punctus versus*: *⸘/* *⸚* and even :

The punctuator(s) of MS. B¹ is/are the most idiosyncratic in this respect, using not only an assortment of the above forms, but also *⸘* *⸘* and *⸚* where the *punctus versus* seems required. See n. 20. Some of the punctuation seems to have been added.

²¹ Johnson and Jenkinson note that in the later thirteenth century, a 'light oblique dash' (virgule), like a comma in form, 'begins to appear, and supplants the full stop as a rule, except for long pauses' (*Court Hand*, p. 76). They do not note any use of the oblique dash for short pauses, such as those appropriate to the comma, but Hector (*Handwriting*, p. 47) identifies the *virgula*, 'an oblique stroke...', which was freely used for about a hundred years from the middle of the 15th century', as the predecessor of our modern comma, which first appears in English documents in the sixteenth century. He does add, however, that the *virgula* 'might on occasion serve to conclude a completed sentence'. My observations therefore accord with Hector's, in the matter of dual use for the *virgula*, for minor as well as major pauses, but I am curious whether there might not be early evidence in literary texts if not in documents for our comma-form in comma function. Lucas has not been able quite to pin down Capgrave's use of the oblique stroke, but describes it as primarily 'notional', that is, linking or associating 'structurally independent sense-units' ('Punctuation-Markers', 9-11).

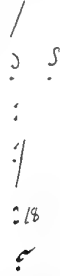
IV. *punctus interrogativus*

like the *punctus versus* but for an interrogative period or colon, and therefore theoretically preceded by rising inflection

common form (in these MSS.): .

variant form: ?

other equivalents:



this last, the 'proper' *punctus interrogativus*, appears in MS. G; elsewhere the mark signifying rising inflection has the form(s) of the *punctus elevatus*

V. Other signs:

paragraph ¶ etc.

usually superimposed on or set after the double virgule of a *punctus versus* having the form // or .//

Note that the sign may be used to set off the leftover portion of a previous line before a major division, as well as to mark such a division. As noted earlier, it may also mark the beginning or end of a segment—comma, colon, or period, for the sake of emphasis.

hyphen — = ~

gemipunctus . . encountered sometimes around the first person singular pronoun or around another single letter or a numeral. The single letter, whether I or another, is usually set off by just one point, placed after.

caret ^ // ^ //

quotation marks “ setting off the beginning of a line of verse; see, e.g., MS. La. Other decorative marks are also used for this purpose.

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MEDIEVAL LATIN POETIC ANTHOLOGIES (III)

A. G. Rigg

1. Digby 166
2. Bodley 603
3. Cotton Vespasian E.xii

THIS article, the third in the series,¹ describes three manuscripts: (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Digby 166 (= D), a fourteenth- and fifteenth-century compilation of scientific and poetic material; (2) Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 603 (= B), a late twelfth-century poetic collection closely related to D; (3) London, British Library ms. Cotton Vespasian E.xii (= Ve), a fifteenth-century anthology related to all the collections so far discussed in this series. At the end of the article I attempt an overview of the six manuscripts so far described.

DIGBY 166

At first glance Digby 166 appears to contain principally scientific material, its main interest for the mathematician Thomas Allen and the 'scientist' Sir Kenelm Digby, its later owners. It also contains, however, a large number of poems. It was assembled in the fourteenth century from six booklets, apparently purchased from a bookseller, and then augmented by another set of booklets in the fifteenth century.²

¹ The first article, *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977) 281-330, described British Library Cotton Titus A.xx (abbreviated Tx), written in the London area in the late fourteenth century, and Bodleian Library Rawlinson B.214 (Rb), from Waltham Abbey, Essex, written after 1469. The second, *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) 387-407, described Bodley 851 (Bd), from Ramsey Abbey, Huntingdonshire, written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The articles are referred to hereafter as MLPA I and MLPA II. I hope in time to publish in *Mediaeval Studies* editions of those poems which remain unprinted and which appear to survive in only one manuscript.

² The principal description is by W. D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars nona* (Oxford, 1883), pp. 166-71; this is based ultimately on the earliest account in Bodleian ms. Langbaine 7, pp. 1-8, 149. For a full discussion, see K. Strecker, 'Walther von Châtillon und seine Schule', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 64 (1927) 97-125 and 161-89, especially 109.

The original nucleus of Part VI links D textually with Bodley 603; the prose satire in Part V, the additions to Parts III and VI, and the poems of Part VIII bring D thematically into association with the anthologies already discussed, Titus A.xx, Rawlinson B.214, and Bodley 851. There is nothing to show where D was written, but the contents suggest a university provenance.

Physical description

Parchment; 110 leaves, measuring approximately 250 × 180 mm. (trimmed). Binding and parchment fly-leaves by Sir Kenelm Digby, whose motto ('Vindica te tibi. Ken. Digby') is on fol. 1r.

Part I (fols. 1-12). i¹². 245 × 180 mm., writing area 200 × 140 mm., single frame (double line on left margin), ruled, long-line format; writing *above* top ruled line (unusual for this period); 46 lines per page; 2-line spaces left for initials; space left for text-figure on fol. 7v. Catchword incorrectly given on fol. 11v. Hand *A*. Price: ij s.

Part II (fols. 13-20). ii⁸. As Part I, but writing area 210 × 148 mm. Hand *A*. Price: iij s.

Part III (fols. 21-35). iii⁷, iv⁸. The first entry (No. 5, Sacrobosco *De sphaera*) occupies fols. 21ra-26vb: this section measures 235 × 180 mm., writing area 202 × 148 mm., two columns, framed (with narrow double outer lines) and ruled: 46 lines per column; 2- and 3-line gaps for initials. The last leaf of the quire was presumably removed when the *De sphaera* was the sole contents. Hand *B*¹. Price: iij s. The booklet was augmented by the addition of another quire of stiffer parchment: blank leaves in quire iii were filled. No. 6 follows the original ruling, but No. 7 occupies 51 lines on fol. 27rb. Fol. 27v and quire iv have been ruled for 52 lines per column. Hands *C*¹ and *C*² (the latter beginning on fol. 30v). Catchword on fol. 27v. Last leaf (fol. 35) cut down to a small fragment, after writing. 2-line spaces for initials in No. 9 (Dares Phrygius).

Part IV (fols. 36-*45). v⁹ (eight-leaf quire plus singleton) plus an extra bifolium (fols. 45-*45 unnumbered). 255 × 180 mm., writing area 202 × 138 mm., two columns, ruling as in quire iii of Part III. Hand *B*². Price: iij s. The text (No. 10, Odoric of Pordenone) breaks off incomplete on fol. 44rb, after which hand *D* (s. xv) has completed it by adding an extra bifolium: fols. 44 and 45 were pricked again, so that fol. 45 would match what had preceded.³

Part V (fols. 46-50). vi⁵, comprising a bifolium 46 + 48, with 47 inserted, and another bifolium 49 + 50. 251 × 180 mm., writing area 205 × 136 mm., two columns, framed with outer double lines on left of each column; ruling not visible;

³ The quire signature 'f' on fol. 45r implies incorrectly that fols. 45-50 form a gathering: see below, p. 473.

61 lines per column (first hand), 63 lines per column (second hand). 2- and 3-line spaces for initials in Nos. 11-12. Hands B^3 and B^4 . No price.

Part VI (fols. 51-74). vii⁸-ix⁸. 253 × 170 mm., writing area 185 × 130 mm., two columns, framed and ruled in ink, double lines on left-hand edge only, bottom of frame extends below writing; 41-44 lines per column; the final hand (B^6 , Nos. 45-47) ignores the ruling and writes up to 58 lines per column. Catchwords on fols. 58v and 66v. 2-line spaces for initials. Hands E^1 , E^2 , B^5 , and B^6 . Price: iij s.

Part VII (fols. 75-90). x⁸-xi⁸. 255 × 180 mm., writing area 186 × 124 mm., long-line format, 31 lines per page. Catchword on fol. 82v. Red initial. Quire xi is slightly narrower. Quire signatures: a, b; leaves numbered 1-4 in the first half of each quire. Hand F .

Part VIII A (fols. 91-96). xii⁶. 255 × 180 mm., writing area 180 × 135 mm., long-line format, verse written well within frame, 28-33 lines per page. Red initial. Quire signature: c; leaves numbered as Part VII. Hand F .

Part VIII B (fols. 97-105). xiii⁹ (last leaf cut out). Layout as for Part VIII A, but writing area 180 × 130 mm., 33 lines per page. Quire signature: d; leaves numbered as in Part VII. Hand F .

Part VIII C (fols. 106-110). xiv⁵, comprising three singletons and a bifolium; layout as for Part VIII B; 31 lines per page. Quire signature: a; leaves numbered.

Scribes

Parts I and II were written by A , a semi-cursive hand of the mid-fourteenth century. This scribe writes above the top line of the frame. An Anglicana business hand B was, at various times, responsible for several parts of the manuscript: B^1 wrote Part III fols. 21ra-26vb (No. 5, Sacrobosco *De sphaera*); B^2 wrote Part IV fols. 36ra-44rb to near the end of No. 10 (Odoric of Pordenone); in Part V B^3 wrote the first two items (Nos. 11-12, fols. 46ra-48va) and B^4 wrote the next two (Nos. 13-14, fols. 48vb-50va); in Part VI B^5 wrote No. 44 (fols. 68rb-71va), followed by B^6 who wrote Nos. 45-47 on fols. 71va-74rb. These varieties of B 's script differ only in size and thickness of ink and are, I believe, by one scribe, writing probably in the later part of the fourteenth century (certainly after 1330, the date of No. 10). Another Anglicana hand, C^1 , augmented Part III and wrote Nos. 6-9 on fols. 27ra-30rb; No. 9 was completed by a similar but distinct hand, C^2 , on fols. 30va-35ra. In Part IV, where B^2 had left the text of No. 10 incomplete on fol. 44rb, a fifteenth-century hand D completed it and finished on fol. 45rb. The original poems of Part VI (the collection related to Bodley 603) were written by two hands, also late fourteenth-century: E^1 (fols. 51ra-58ra, Nos. 15-23) writes a Textura, with 'biting' and a habit of drawing doodles and small faces from the ascenders on the top line; E^2 (fols. 58rb-68ra, Nos. 23-43) is similar to E^1 , but without the doodles. One hand, F , wrote the fifteenth-century Parts VII-VIII.

Throughout the manuscript are various notes and scribbles, such as a student's notes on fols. 1r and 2r, and the scribe's notes in No. 5. Titles (where supplied) are usually by the scribe who wrote the text (as in Part I), but that on fol. 13r is by a somewhat later hand. The title of No. 13 (fol. 48vb) is perhaps by the fifteenth-century hand *F*. At the foot of fol. 51r (perhaps referring to No. 16) is written 'amonicio quedam ut caueamus male age' (? agere, agendo); at the foot of fol. 53vb (referring to No. 18) is written 'incipiunt sermones golie':⁴ these notes may be by the hand which wrote the prices (below). On fol. 61ra an extra line has been added (see No. 30). In blank space on fol. 74rb is written: 'In isto libro continentur: Algorismus prosaicus'; this incipient contents list, written in the fourteenth century, perhaps shows that Part II was once the first booklet in what was by now perceived as a single book. On fol. 74v is a diagram of the winds and a short extract from Isidore (No. 48). There are scribbles (including what looks like a monogram 'G.I.') on fols. 50v and 90v.

Procedure of compilation

Changes of hand and layout, blank leaves at the end of quires (fols. 20v, 35v, 45v, *45, 50vb, 74rb, 74v, 89v-90v), and wear and tear (especially between sections of Part VIII) show clearly that the manuscript was compiled from separate booklets. This is also indicated by the prices on the first recto pages of Parts I-IV and VI: fol. 1r: 'ij s.'; fol. 13r: 'iij s.'; fol. 21r: 'iij s.'; fol. 36r: 'val. iij s.'; fol. 51r: 'iij s.' These prices (see further below) are probably the retail prices of the individual booklets.

The procedure of compilation may be seen on the accompanying diagram (Figure 1).

I suggest that a fourteenth-century bookseller offered for sale five booklets: mathematical commentaries (Part I), Peter Dacia on the *Algorismus* (Part II), Sacrobosco *De sphaera* (Part III, quire iii only), the Travels of Odoric of Pordenone (Part IV, incomplete), and a collection of satirical poems (Part VI). To these he added a collection of prose satire (Part V) in a scrappy booklet of two bifolia and an extra leaf: this was perhaps included in the price of Part IV. As one hand *B* was responsible for Parts III, IV, V and the two extra sets of poems in Part VI, this scribe may have been a principal scrivener in the bookseller's operation.⁵ The

⁴ This reference to Golias should be added to my survey in 'Golias and Other Pseudonyms', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 18 (1977) 65-109; interestingly, it comes at the beginning of a series of Walter of Châtillon poems but after the poem traditionally known as the *Apocalypsis Goliae*.

⁵ The nature of the bookseller's operation (which is, of course, hypothetical) can only be surmised. Separate references are found to guilds of writers of Court Hand (1373), writers of Text Hand (possibly 1393), and limners (1389), and the Stationers Gild (of both text-writers and limners) was formed only in 1403: see Graham Pollard, 'The Company of Stationers before 1557', *The Library*, 4th Ser., 18 (1937) 1-38. Both Text and Court Hands are found in D, but the Textura section by hands *E*¹ and

Figure 1

Fourteenth century	I	2s. i ¹² (fols. 1-12) Nos. 1-3: Mathematics Hand A	
	II	3s. ii ⁸ (fols. 13-20) No. 4: Peter Dacia Hand A	
	III	3s. iii ⁷ (fols. 21-27) No. 5: Sacrobosco <i>Sphere</i> Hand B ¹	iv ⁸ (fols. 28-35) Nos. 6-9: poems, Dares. Hand C ¹ No. 9: Dares. Hand C ²
	IV	3s. v ⁹ (fols. 36-44) No. 10: Odoric (incomplete) Hand B ² (-44rb)	fols. 45-*45 No. 10 ending. Hand D (s. xv)
	V	vi ⁵ (fols. 46-50) Nos. 11-12. Hand B ³ Nos. 13-14. Hand B ⁴	
	VI	3s. vii ⁸ -ix ⁸ (fols. 51-74) Nos. 15-23. Hand E ¹ (-58ra) Nos. 23-43. Hand E ² (-68ra) No. 44. Hand B ⁵ (-71va) Nos. 45-47. Hand B ⁶ (-74ra)	
Fifteenth century	VII	a-b x ⁸ -xi ⁸ (fols. 75-90) No. 49: <i>Imago mundi</i> Hand F	
	VIII A	c xii ⁶ (fols. 91-96) Nos. 50-51 Hand F	
	VIII B	d xiii ⁹ (fols. 97-105) No. 52: Najara Hand F	
	VIII C	a xiv ⁵ (fols. 106-110) Nos. 53-55 Hand F	

bookseller may also have been responsible for the title of No. 4, the notes on the poems (fols. 51r, 53vb), the start of the contents list on fol. 74r, and the added line on fol. 61ra.⁶

At some stage Part III was augmented by the addition of an extra quire and the 'Trojan' entries by hands *C*¹ and *C*². The fact that two scribes were involved suggests that this was done while the booklets were still with the bookseller; on the other hand, the removal of the last leaf from quire iii shows that that booklet was once regarded as complete as it stood. Clearly, the addition was an afterthought: the parchment of quire iv is thicker and coarser than that in the rest of Parts I-VI.

In the fifteenth century someone supplied the missing end of the text of Odoric (No. 10) and added an extra bifolium. The quire signatures a-b-c-d-a on quires x-xiv show that Parts VII-VIII were originally quite separate from Parts I-VI, and also that the final quire (Part VIII C) was once the first booklet in a compilation. On the other hand, the union of Parts I-VI with VII-VIII must have taken place in the fifteenth century, especially if the title on fol. 48vb is by hand *F*. The whole codex was supplied with quire signatures a-o. By error, fol. 45r was signed 'f': this is the first leaf of the bifolium attached to quire v to take the missing text of No. 10, but must have been counted with quire vi, which consists of only five leaves.

The manuscript somehow passed into the hands of the mathematician Thomas Allen (1542-1632), whose shelf mark (A.174) appears on fol. 1r, and thence to Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-65), who had it bound in its present form (see above).⁷

Provenance and date

Apart from No. 10, Odoric's Travels, written in 1330, we have no firm date for Parts I-VI: all the hands are fourteenth century, probably fairly late. The only date in Parts VII-VIII is 1366 (No. 52 on the Battle of Najara): hand *F* was written in the fifteenth century. There is no evidence for provenance, but the technical

*E*² (Part VI, fols. 51-68ra) could have been obtained separately. The fact that the booklets were prepared for, but did not receive, illumination, suggests that they were not commissioned by the purchaser.

⁶ It must be stressed that the existence of the bookseller is no more than a hypothesis: there are alternative explanations for the prices. For example, the booklets might have been valued as part of someone's estate: such valuations (usually higher than the market value) were performed by a stationer (see H. E. Bell, 'The Price of Books in Medieval England', *The Library*, 4th Ser., 17 [1936] 312-32, especially 325). This alternative hypothesis, however, would involve first the compilation activity of hand *B* and then the later breakup of the manuscript into its original booklets. See further below, pp. 476-77.

⁷ On the Allen-Digby manuscripts, see Andrew G. Watson, 'Thomas Allen of Oxford and His Manuscripts' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 279-314.

scientific material and the activities of a bookseller probably indicate a university town.⁸

Textual relationships

The textual affiliations of D must be considered in the order of the booklets and the sequence of compilation:⁹

Table I

Poems shared by Bodley 603, Digby 166, and Paris, B.N. lat. 3245 (P), compared with Walter of Châtillon's *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte* (= MSG).

	MSG	B	D	P
Felix erat studium	11	11		
Missus sum in vineam (Stulti cum prudentibus)	4	12	18a	1
Multiformis hominum	5	13	18b	2
Ecce nectar roseum	14	14	19	
In domino confido	3	17	20	9 (part)
Propter syon	2	18		
Tanto viro	1	15	21	8
Quis furor	15	16	22	5 (part)
Eliconis riuulo	7	19	23	6
Baculare sacramentum	12	20	24	
Dum contemplor	16		25	7
Miserere mei deus	18		37	10 (with 1st stanza)
Fallax est et mobilis	8			3
A tauro torrida			17	4
Ante chaos iurgium		8b	39	

(1) The main collection of poems in Part VI by hands *E*¹ and *E*² (Nos. 15-43) is closely related textually to Bodley 603 (B), and, to a lesser extent, to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 3245 (P). The accompanying Table (I) shows that

⁸ On the possibility that D was written in Oxford, see below, p. 505. Watson, *ibid.*, 286 notes that some of Allen's Oxford manuscripts 'may have been in Oxford since long before Allen's time, having been brought to the University by student monks. ... when we consider his Benedictine manuscripts (which are by far the commonest) it is more than tempting to recollect that Allen's residence, Gloucester Hall, was the descendant of a college which had a special place among houses of the Benedictine order.'

⁹ In Table II below (pp. 502-503) *D refers to the original contents of Part VI (by hands *E*¹ and *E*²), D to the rest of the manuscript.

BD share nine poems (eight of which are by Walter of Châtillon) in roughly the same order: they are textually very closely related and are cited as *alpha* by Strecker.¹⁰ In *MSG* No. 4 BDP share the 'Missus sum' opening characteristic of Strecker's group Y; in *MSG* No. 1 BD omit 23/4-6 and leave a gap. On the other hand, neither B nor D is copied from the other (date also rules out the possibility of B's being copied from D): as the Table shows, each manuscript had access to poems not contained in the other: *MSG* Nos. 2 and 11 (in B but not in D), and 16 and 18 (in D but not in B); D lacks the 16-line prologue to 'Ante chaos iurgium' but has several stanzas not in B (but in the Grey's Inn ms. used by Giles). Close textual examination of *MSG* Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5 and 'Ante chaos iurgium' provides many examples of each manuscript diverging from a supported reading of the other. Clearly, BDP are derived independently from an earlier Walter of Châtillon collection. D's No. 17 and 27 are in other manuscripts on Table II. Surprisingly, none of B's poems is in any manuscript on Table II other than D.

(2) The additions to Part VI by *B*⁵ and *B*⁶ (Nos. 44-47) are all very common in the later Goliardic manuscripts, as can be seen from Table II. In no case is there clear evidence for textual relationship: in No. 47 ('De coniuge non ducenda') D's text is in a quite different tradition from the family TxRbBdVe, Trinity College, Cambridge O.9.38, and Bodley Add. A.44.

(3) The two Troy poems, Nos. 7-8, added to Part III by *C*¹ are in Hilka-Schumann's *mu* group; No. 7 is in TxRb, No. 8 in Bd, but in both cases D seems to be textually separate.

(4) Three poems in Part VIII (Nos. 52, 53(a), and 54) are in other manuscripts on Table II, but with no sign of direct textual relationship. No. 55 is part of 'Prisciani regula', which is distantly related to 'Novus rumor Anglie' (TxRb).

(5) There are other minor coincidences. On fol. 74v is a diagram of the winds accompanied by an extract from Isidore (No. 48); on fol. 196v Rb has a similar, but more detailed diagram, accompanied by a passage on the winds similar to one by William of Conches. In Part V No. 11 is the satirical Epistle of Satan, an extract from which is in Bd; also in Part V No. 13 is Walter Map's antimatrimonial 'Epistola Valerii': this is part of the *De nugis curialium*, the unique text of which is in Bd.

Appearances suggest some relationship between the final form of D and the other manuscripts on Table II, particularly Rb and Bd, but textual evidence points away from a direct relationship. D is probably simply a literary cousin of the other anthologies, influenced by their form and content but not directly textually related.¹¹

¹⁰ K. Strecker, *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (Heidelberg, 1929); see also his article cited in n. 2 above. Strecker incorrectly dated B as fourteenth century.

¹¹ Cf. MLPA II, 394.

The nature of Digby 166

The most striking feature of the collection is the combination of highly technical prose treatises with poems. The fourteenth-century sections include four mathematical treatises (Parts I and II), Sacrobosco *De sphaera* (Part III), and Odoric's Travels (Part IV), together with satirical poetry (Part VI), prose satire (Part V), and other rhythmical verse (Part VI additions). Was the combination planned by the bookseller or by an idiosyncratic purchaser? In fact, the strangeness of the combination is only apparent to modern taste: Chaucer's authorship of the *Astrolabe* and the *Equitarie of the Planets* should warn us against a facile distinction between science and poetry. The fifteenth-century compiler matched, as it were, the earlier collection by combining the *Imago mundi* with three booklets of poems. The combination of mathematics and poetry is seen in earlier anthologies such as Trinity College, Cambridge O.2.45 (s. xiii) from Cerne Abbas. The mythographic section of Rb begins with cosmological diagrams, the rationale for which is seen in the *Metamorphoses*.¹² The expression of natural science through poetic form is an antique tradition which continued well beyond the cosmographic writers of the twelfth century.

Book prices in the fourteenth century

The prices of the various booklets in D are, as noted above: Part I (twelve leaves), two shillings; Part II (eight leaves), three shillings; Part III (one quire of seven leaves, or, if the additions were made early, two quires of seven and eight leaves), three shillings; Part IV (originally nine leaves, with an incomplete text), three shillings, perhaps including the unpriced Part V (five leaves); Part VI (three quires), three shillings. These prices are clearly not the cost of copying: the phrase 'val. iij s.' on fol. 36r indicates value, not cost. Moreover, copying was much cheaper than this: the fifteenth-century books in Peterhouse College, Cambridge cost 16 d. for the copying of an eight-leaf quire.¹³ Even the drop in commodity prices in the fifteenth century would not account for a drop from 3 s. to 16 d. The parchment itself was even cheaper, costing 3 d. per eight-leaf quire. The prices could be interpreted as 'pledge-values' for which the booklets might have been pawned; such prices, however, tend to be naturally much lower, and one would also expect to see some sign of ownership on the booklets and some reference to the terms of the pledge.¹⁴

¹² See MLPA I, 322, 329-30.

¹³ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899), Nos. 88, 110, 114, 142, 154, 193, and 198, cited by Bell, 'Price'. Ms. No. 88 is an exception, costing 20 d. per eight-leaf quire.

¹⁴ On the pledging of books, see Bell, 'Price', 325-26.

The simplest solution is that the sums of money represent the retail price of the booklets. The cost of books varied widely in this period, depending on the size and quality. Although King Richard II's booklist includes a 'Romance de Roy Arthure' at 40 s., it also has 'vn liure des lais' at 3 s. 4 d. and 'vn Romance de fferers et Garders' at 2 s.¹⁵ Sylvia Thrupp mentions the 1395 inventories of the goods of bankrupt grocers, which included '4 libros de romaunce' at 11 s. 4 d. the lot, two 'libros de Englysshe' at 8 d., a calendar at 8 d., and a primer at 16 d.¹⁶ H. S. Bennett writes: '(Less well-to-do men and women) had to be content with cheaper exemplars, written without illuminations or embellishments, and often consisting of a single poem, such as Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, or a devotional treatise such as *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*. Small manuscripts such as these, written in quires and often left unbound by their owners, multiplied considerably during this century (i.e. the fifteenth century), and it was upon these that a new reading public was nourished and bred.'¹⁷ The booklets of D were left without illumination and presumably remained unbound: the prices, although high, seem to match those of what we would assume are also single-quire booklets, though 14 shillings must be regarded as a substantial sum for the total fourteenth-century set of booklets.¹⁸

DIGBY 166: CONTENTS¹⁹

Part I: fols. 1-12

1. Michael Scot (?): Commentary on Sacrobosco's Sphere

fol. 1r EXPOSICIO TRACTATUS SPERARUM

<U>t ait plato in thimeo mundus iste sensibilis factus est ...

fol. 6v ... et demum martirizatus

EXPLICIT EXPOSICIO TRACTATUS SPERARUM QUEM TRACTATUM SEQUI DEBET

¹⁵ E. Rickert, 'King Richard II's Books', *The Library*, 4th Ser., 13 (1933) 144-47.

¹⁶ S. Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor, 1948), p. 162. For other examples of contemporary book prices, see M. E. C. Walcott, 'Medieval Libraries', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Ser., 9 (1870) 68-86.

¹⁷ H. S. Bennett, 'Caxton and His Public', *Review of English Studies* 19 (1943) 113-19.

¹⁸ Three shillings may seem a high price for an eight-leaf quire, but this would include the cost of the parchment (3 d. in the fifteenth-century Peterhouse manuscripts) and of copying (16 d.) as well as the retailer's profit; also, book prices may have remained high until commercial production produced a wider market. The comparatively low price for Part I (two shillings for twelve leaves, as opposed to three shillings for eight leaves in Part II) must be the result of some other commercial factor: I have examined the figure 'ij s.' under ultra-violet light and it is quite clear.

¹⁹ Presentation follows the practice established in MLPA I and II. Titles in bold print are mine; manuscript titles (omitting the word 'incipit') and colophons are in small capitals; first and last lines are given; omitted initials are supplied in angled brackets (cue-letters are usually provided by the scribe: in No. 16 the cue-letter appears to be *e* for *Et*, but I have printed *Vt*, the usual reading). In addition to the works cited in MLPA I, n. 23, reference is made to the following indexes and editions:

THEORICA PLANETARUM SECUNDUM COMMUNEM MODUM DISCENDI UEL DOCENDI
IN ASTRORUM SCIENCIA QUE DUPLICITER APPELLATUR ASTRONOMIA UEL ASTROLOGIA

Ed. L. Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 247-342, citing D variants: the D version is shorter. Thorndike-Kibre, p. 1613.

2. Introduction to the Practice of Geometry

fol. 6v UNA BONA GENERALIS INTRODUCCIO IN PRACTICAM GEOMETRIE
<P> auca potens compilare aliorum facta sibi non debet attribuere ...

fol. 8r ... sine magna difficultate intelligere ualebit

EXPLICIT UNA BONA GENERALIS INTRODUCCIO IN PRACTICAM GEOMETRIE

Thorndike-Kibre, p. 1030; unedited.

3. Canons on the Triangle of Pythagoras

fol. 8v CANONES IN TRIANGULUM PICTAGORICUM DE MENSURIS PRACTICE GEOMETRIE
<P> aucis uerbis paupertatis libellus est scribendus ...

fol. 12v ... mediocribus et maximis requisitis

EXPLICIT CANON TALIS QUALIS TRIANGULI PICTAGORICI DE MENSURIS CONTINUE
QUANTITATIS

Thorndike-Kibre, p. 1030; unedited.

Part II: fols. 13-20

4. Peter Dacia: Commentary on Sacrobosco's Algorism

fol. 13r EXPOSICIO MAGISTRI PETRI DE DACIA SUPER ALGORISMUM PROSAICUM
<O> mnia que a primeua et cetera. In hoc tractatu determinatur ...

fol. 20v ... qui ante erant si recte fecisti

Ed. M. Curtze, *Petri Philomeni de Dacia in Algorismum Vulgarem Johannis de Sacrobosco commentarius una cum Algorismo ipso* (Copenhagen, 1897), pp. 20-92, from two Munich mss. The D-text, which is shorter and much altered from the Curtze text, ends on p. 87, line 29, of that edition.

L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 29; Cambridge, Mass., 1937), cited as Thorndike-Kibre; Thorndike's edition of Sacrobosco *De sphaera* (see D No. 1); A. G. Little, *Initia operum latinorum quae saeculis XIII, XIV, XV attribuuntur* (Manchester, 1904), cited as Little; *Carmina Burana*, ed. A. Hilka - O. Schumann - B. Bischoff, 1/1-3, 2/1 (Heidelberg, 1930-70); *Analecta hymnica*, ed. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-1922); U. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892-1912), cited as Chevalier; Strecker's edition of Walter of Châtillon (see n. 8 above), cited as Strecker, *MSG*. For this article I have been able to use J. Stohlmann, 'Nachträge zu Hans Walther *Initia carminum* ... IV', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1977) 297-315.

Part III: fols. 21-35

5. Sacrobosco: De sphaera

fol. 21ra <T>ractatum de spera quatuor capitulis distinguimus ...

fol. 26vb ... patitur aut mundana machina dissoluitur

Ed. Thorndike (No. 1 above), pp. 76-117, using D; translation, pp. 118-42. Thorndike-Kibre, pp. 1524-25, 1577; Little, p. 249.

6. Poem on Pride

fol. 27ra DE FASTU MUNDI

Turpiter erratur quando fastus dominatur ...

... Sartor bubonem textor vespertilionem (15 lines)

Walther 19574; unique, unedited.

7. Simon Chèvre d'Or: Ilias

fol. 27ra DE EXCIDIO TROIE

Diuiciis ortu specie virtute triumphis ...

fol. 27vb ... Arteque non partu ligneus egit equus. Explicit

Walther 4645. For editions, see Tx No. 28. D presents the short 'Trojan Extract', and according to Dr. M. M. Parrott is textually in the same group as Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 4126 (English origin), Bodley Add. A.365, Brit. Lib. Royal 12. D.iii, and Lincoln Cathedral 105: see No. 8 below.

8. Pergama flere volo

fol. 27vb PLANCTUS HUGONIS PRIORIS DE MONTE ACUTO AD IDEM

Pergama flere volo fato danais data solo...

fol. 28ra ... Tot clades numero scribere si potero. Explicit

Walther 13985; ed. Hilka-Schumann, *Carmina Burana* No. 101 (1/2.139-60); cf. Bd No. 10. D is in the *mu* group (i.e., the mss. listed in No. 7 above); it omits stanzas 12 and 36, and has an extra stanza after 34; after 45 it has six couplets from 'Viribus arte minis' (Nos. 7, 12, 2, 34, 35, 42, as printed by Hilka-Schumann, p. 159).

9. Dares Phrygius

fol. 28rb HISTORIA DARETIS FRIGII. INCIPIT EPISTOLA CORNELII AD SALUSTIUM CRISPUM IN DARETIS HISTORIAM QUE A GRECO IN LATINUM A CORNELIO FACTA EST

<C>ornelius salustio cripo (*sic*) suo salutem. Cum multa àthenis ...

fol. 35ra ... Andromachem et Helenum MCCC (*sic*). Hucusque daretis historia scripta est. Hector occidit prothesilaum ... tomoneum palamonem epistrophe ...

EXPLICIT HISTORIA DARETIS ...

Ed. F. Meister, *Dares Phrygius: De excidio Troiae historia* (Leipzig, 1873). The 12-line necrology (Meister, pp. viii-x) is badly garbled in D. The text ends in the first lines of fol. 35ra: the leaf has been cut down to a small fragment.

*Part IV: fols. 36-45***10. Odoric of Pordenone**

fol. 36ra Nouerint vniuersi quorum interest quod quidam Frater ...

fol. 45rb ... si placuerit deo meo. Explicit qui scripsit sit beatus

Ed. A. van den Wyngaert, *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi xiii et xiv* 1 (Florence, 1929), pp. 379-95; Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2 vols. (Hakluyt Soc. 36-37; London, 1866), 1.1-162, 2, Appendix I. i-xlii. D has the William of Solagna epilogue, and differs from the published text. Odoric wrote this account of his voyage to China in 1330.

*Part V: fols. 46-50***11. Epistle of Satan**

fol. 46ra EPISTOLA SATHANE AD VNIUERSALEM ECCLESIAM

<P> rinceps regionis iehennalis ecclesiarum prelati et clericis ...

fol. 48rb ... miseri miserere minime

Ed. W. Wattenbach, 'Über erfundene Briefe in Handschriften des Mittelalters, besonders Teufelsbriefe', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Jahrgang 1892, Erster Band, pp. 91-123 (text, pp. 104-16). D reverses sections 8 and 9, and ends at par. 11, line 7, of Wattenbach's text (omitting the final date). An extract is found in Bd No. 3.

12. Lament of the Sacked Friars

fol. 48rb EPISTOLA RECTORIS FRATRUM DE PENITENCIA IESU CHRISTI

<V> iris abiecte religionis vniuersis fratribus penitencie Jesu ...

fol. 48va ... oracionibus et mansuetudine deuocius exorandus

This letter, previously unpublished and unnoticed, is to the Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ ('The Friars of the Sack') from Otto, rector of the Order, on the occasion of the Order's dissolution by the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. See R. W. Emery, 'The Friars of the Sack', *Speculum* 18 (1943) 323-34; G. M. Giacomozzi, *L'Ordine della Penitenza di Gesù Cristo* (Rome, 1962); A. G. Rigg, 'The Lament of the Friars of the Sack', forthcoming in *Speculum*.

13. Walter Map: Dissuasio Valerii

fol. 48vb DISSUASIO VALERII AD RUFFINUM DE VXORE NON DUCENDA

Loqui prohibeor et tacere non possum. Grues odi ...

fol. 50ra ... Sed ne horrestem scripsisse uideat (*for* uidear) Valetate semper

Ed. M. R. James, *Walter Map: De nugis curialium* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med. and Mod. Ser. 14; Oxford, 1914), Dist. IV, chap. iv, pp. 143-58. The full *De nugis* is found only in Bd, but this antimatrimonial piece is very common.

14. Theophrastus: Aureolus de nuptiis

fol. 50ra AURELEUS (*sic*) TEOFRASTI DE NUPCIIIS

Fertur aureolus theofrasti liber de nupciis in quo queritur ...

fol. 50va ... christianorum quorum conuersacio in celis est

Incorporated in Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, PL 23.276-78, a frequent companion piece of No. 13.

Part VI: fols. 51-74

15. Debate between Lover, Knight and Clerk

fol. 51ra <T>ria sunt officia quibus laus honoris ...

fol. 51ra ... Ars amor milicia sic corroboratur

Walther 19427. Ed. K. Strecker, 'Zwei mittellateinische Gedichten', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 51 (1926) 117-19 from D (unique copy).

16. Poem to the Virgin

fol. 51rb <V>t iocundas ceruus undas estuans desiderat ...

fol. 51rb ... Nam penitenti et gementi non negatur uenia

Walther 19809. *Analecta hymnica* 50.426-27, a very popular poem: D has stanzas 1-19 only. The cue-letter is *e*.

17. Apocalypsis Goliae

fol. 51rb <A> tauro torrida lampade cinthii ...

fol. 53vb ... Mentis uestigia fecisset lubrica

Walther 91. Ed. K. Strecker (Rome, 1928), not using D.

18. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 53vb (a) <M>issus sum in uineam circa horam nonam ...

fol. 54rb ... Exagita (*sic*) procul non intrat femina limen

fol. 54rb (b) Multiformis hominum fraus et iniusticia ...

fol. 54vb ... Ambitus et luxus et opum metuenda facultas

Walther 18646 (inc. Stulti cum prudentibus) and 11390. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* Nos. 4 and 5: written without a break in D. The opening 'Missus sum' is characteristic of Strecker's group Y.

19. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 54vb <E>cce nectar roseum populis irrorat ...

fol. 55rb ... De lacu miserie et de luto fecis

Walther 5115. Strecker, *MSG* No. 14.

20. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 55rb <I>n domino confido quomodo dicitis ...

fol. 56vb ... Prima generacio hominis contrahit culpam. Secunda

Walther 8902. Strecker, *MSG* No. 3; ends incomplete at 36/6-7, rest of line blank but with no space for the remainder of the poem.

21. **Walter of Châtillon**

fol. 56vb <T>anto uiro locuturi studeamus esse puri ...

fol. 57rb ... studeam de proprio

Walther 19018. Strecker, *MSG* No. 1. Omits 23/4-6, with gap, as B.

22. **Walter of Châtillon**

fol. 57rb <Q>uis furor o ciues que tanta licencia litis ...

fol. 58ra ... Diffusa est gracia in labiis tuis

Walther 16068. Strecker, *MSG* No. 15.

23. **Walter of Châtillon**

fol. 58ra <E>liconis riuulo modice respersus ...

fol. 58rb ... Sic ait et longo consumit gaudia uoto

Walther 7693. Strecker, *MSG* No. 7.

24. **Walter of Châtillon**

fol. 58rb aculare sacramentum nec recenter est inuentum ...

fol. 58vb ... Dum nichil obiciam quibus esse uolo

Walther 2047. Strecker, *MSG* No. 12.

25. **Walter of Châtillon**

fol. 58vb <D>um conteplor (*sic*) animo seculi tenorem ...

fol. 59va ... At illi corripiunt fugam gemibundi

Walther 4845. Strecker, *MSG* No. 16.

26. **Against Simony**

fol. 59va <E>cce sonat in aperto ...

fol. 59vb ... amen ammen amen ammen

Walther 5149. Ed. Hilka-Schumann, *Carmina Burana* No. 10 (1/1.14-15; cf. 1/3.192), with readings from D.

27. **The Incarnation**

fol. 59vb <M>ultis a confratribus pridie rogatus ...

fol. 60rb ... Sic sit saluus omnium et nunc et in fine

Walther 11395. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 31-36, without D, which omits 27-30, 35-42, 47-70, 83-94, 139-142, and places 107-114 after 118.

28. **'Ad Christi sacerdotes'**

fol. 60va <V>iri dilectissimi sacerdotes dei ...

fol. 60vb ... Induat nos dominus stolam eternalem. Amen

Walther 20572. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 45-47, without D, which omits 33-44, reverses 45-48 and 49-52, and has many textual differences.

29. Begging poem

fol. 60vb <N>os per mundi climata ferimur uagantes ...

fol. 60vb ... Qui nouit petentibus bona data dare

Walther 12261, unique. Ed. Strecker (see No. 15 above).

30. Hugh Primas

fol. 60vb <P>aupertatis fero pondus ...

fol. 61ra ... Vobis culpam hanc describo

Walther 13879. Three stanzas from 'Dives eram et dilectus', ed. W. Meyer, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Göttingen, 1907), No. 23, 70-81 + 'Pauper sum et semper ero' + 89-95. An extra line not in Meyer ('Nunc ad claustrum meum ibo') is added in the margin.

31. Lamentation on the times

fol. 61ra <T>empus acceptabile tempus est salutis ...

fol. 61va ... Benedicti filii mecum congaudent. Ammen

Walther 19171. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 52-54; D reverses 6-7 and differs slightly.

32. 'Adhortatio ad terrorem omnium'

fol. 61va <A>d terrorem omnium surgam locuturus ...

fol. 61vb ... Gratis sed non digito uultis remouere

Walther 465. *Analecta hymnica* 33.289-92; D has only stanzas 1-6 and 9-13.

33. De curia Romana

fol. 61vb <I>n hoc consistorio si quis curam regat ...

fol. 61vb ... Et soluit contraria copia nummorum

Walther 8931. Ed. Hilka-Schumann, *Carmina Burana* No. 42 (1/1.82), with readings from D, which has stanzas 6-9 (8/3 after 9/4) + No. 45 III ('Roma manus rodit') + 'Dantes exaudit' + No. 42, stanzas 4-5.

34. Macaronic poem on Avarice

fol. 61vb Quando cadit qui posset ad hoc bene uiuere dol est ...

fol. 61vb ... Iussa dei potius summi curauit adimpliri (12 lines)

Walther 15208; unedited.

35. Versified Pater Noster

fol. 62ra <P>ater noster qui es in celis et in nobis esse uelis ...

fol. 62ra ... spes solamen in una potencia. Amen

Walther 13809. Ed. H. Walther, 'Versifizierte Paternoster und Credo', *Revue du Moyen Age latin* 20 (1964) 45-64, text 54-55; in D only.

36. Penitential poem

fol. 62ra <D>e profundis criminum profero clamorem...

fol. 62rb ... Ut fuit antiquitus laudandi perita

Walther 4143. Ed. Walther (see on No. 35); in D only.

37. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 62rb <M>iserere mei deus quia miser ego reus ...

fol. 62vb ... magnum nomen domini

Walther 11102. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 18.

38. Archpoet's Confession

fol. 62vb <E>stuans intrinsecus ita (*for ira*) uehementi ...

fol. 63rb ... Feram quicquid iusseris animo libenti

Walther 627. Ed. Bischoff, *Carmina Burana* No. 191 (1/3.6-21); D is in Bischoff's 'English group' for stanza order, etc., but preserves the reading 'electe colonice'; cf. *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 18 (1977) 72, 96, etc.

39. Life of Becket

fol. 63rb <A>n te chaos iurgium indigeste molis ...

fol. 66ra ... Conchi's'isis uasculis remeat ornatus

Walther 1284. Ed. J. A. Giles, *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci et aliorum* (Caxton Soc. 12; London, 1851), pp. 114-33, without D and B: D lacks the prologue but has many stanzas not in B.

40. Hymn to Becket

fol. 66rb <P>refulgens sidus anglicum iubar ecclesiasticum ...

fol. 66rb ... Sit neumati paraclito per infinita secula. Amen (12 lines)

Chevalier 31812. *Analecta hymnica* 19.263-64, from D only.

41. Poem on Becket

fol. 66rb <D>ux gregis egregie pastorum gloria pacis ...

fol. 66rb ... Iusticie iuris regula pastor aue (4 lines)

Walther 5029; unique, unedited.

42. Poem to the Virgin

fol. 66rb (a) <L>audibus eximie sunt carmina plena marie ...

... spargitur uellus gedeonis

fol. 66rb (b) <V>enter puellaris expers tamen maris

Prophetarum predicta carmine ...

fol. 68ra ... Nobis autem perfecta gaudia

per infinita seculorum secula Amen

The prologue consists of a series of hymnological commonplaces in various metres; the scribe has provided spaces for initials for *Laudibus*, *Cara* (line 5), and *Venter*, but the poem proper

begins at *Prophetarum*, continuing with seventy-six quatrains of ten-syllable lines (4p + 6pp). Only the line 'Venter puellaris', from here only, is recorded by Walther (20117) and Chevalier (21308). Unedited. In an unmetrical line in the prologue the author gives his name: 'Que uobis mistica mito (*sic*) petrus'.

43. Hymn to the Virgin

fol. 68ra <A>ve uirgo mater Christi templum saluatoris ...

fol. 68ra ... Rosa teste ieremia gemma uenustatis

Chevalier 23977. *Analecta hymnica* 32.59, from D only.

44. John Pecham: Mundus et Religio

fol. 68rb PECHAM. ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANT'

<O> Christe vicarie monarcha terrarum ...

fol. 71va ... Nisi prius fecerit satisfaccionem

Walther 12544. Ed. C. L. Kingsford, 'Defensio Fratrum Mendicantium' in *Fratris Johannis Pecham ... Tractatus tres de paupertate* (British Soc. of Franciscan Studies 2; Aberdeen, 1910), pp. 148-98, from five mss. including D. See also P. L. Oliger, 'Das Streitgedicht Mundus et Religio in einer Prosabearbeitung des 15. Jahrhunderts' in *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki* (Munich, 1921), pp. 171-86, for more manuscripts of the poem. Cf. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, pp. 165-66.

45. Dives and Lazarus

fol. 71va <A>udi pater senior audi me loquentem ...

fol. 71vb ... Parce michi senior tu michi parce deus

Walther 1705. Ed. J. Bolte, 'Dyalogus de Divite et Lazaro', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 35 [N.F. 23] (1891). 257-61 (see on Tx No. 9). Cf. also A. G. Rigg, 'Authors and Antiquaries: The Supposed Works of Robert Baston, O.Carm.' in *Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (see n. 7 above), pp. 317-31, especially p. 329. See also Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, pp. 124-26.

46. Body and Soul debate

fol. 71vb (a) <N>octis sub silencio tempore brumali ...

fol. 73ra ... Sed post factus impius viliter errauit

fol. 73ra (b) Cultus dei viciis mundi iam sepultus ...

fol. 73ra ... Quid sum et quo propero quid michi paratur (13 stanzas)

Vado mori misero sententia dura beate

Grata mori sequitur viuere vado mori

EXPLICIT DISPUTACIO CORPORIS ET ANIME

(a) Walther 11894. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 95-106, without D, which has extra stanzas after 108 and 304, omits some lines to produce quatrains, and differs in other respects. (b) Walther 3548, from D only; unedited.

47. De coniuge non ducenda

fol. 73rb <S>it deo gloria laus benediccio ...

fol. 74rb ... Respondi breuiter vobis consencio

Walther 18302. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 77-85; see on Tx No. 5.

48. Isidore: De ventis

fol. 74v Nota Ysidorus 13 libro ca. 12 loquens de 12 ventis hic in circulo ...

... hoc est affricus vt dicit ysidorus

Based on Isidore, *Etymologies* 13.11.6-14 and accompanied by a diagram similar to, but simpler than, that in Rb fol. 196v.

*Part VII: fols. 75-90***49. Honorius: Imago mundi, Book I**

fol. 75r Septiformi spiritu in trina fide illustrato ...

fol. 75v <M>undus dicitur quasi vndique motus ...

fol. 89r ... in quo habitat Rex angelorum. Et sic finito sit laus et gloria Christo. Amen

PL 172.119-46; Thorndike-Kibre, p. 1434; Little, p. 228. See H. Menhardt, 'Der Nachlass des Honorius Augustodunensis', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 89 (1958-59) 67-69.²⁰

*Part VIII: fols. 91-110**VIII A: fols. 91-96***50. Alain de Lille (?) / Walter of Peterborough**

fol. 91r Vix nodosum valeo nodum enodare ...

fol. 93v ... Qui tot tuos docuit tantam feditatem

EPILOGIUM FRATRIS WALTERI DE BURGO SUPER ALANUM IN OPERE SUO DE
PLANCTU NATURE CONTRA PRELATUM SODOMITAM

Walther 20763. Ed. P. Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi* (Halle, 1721), pp. 1092-95; D omits 93-96 and 125-128, but has a three-stanza epilogue by Walter of Peterborough on unnatural love, specifically sodomy. See M.-T. d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris, 1965), pp. 42-44, for a discussion and the text of the epilogue. See also R. Bossuat, 'Un débat d'amour dans le roman de *Cassiodorus*' in *Etudes romanes dédiées à Mario Roques* (Paris, 1946), pp. 63-75 n. 74.

51. Miscellaneous proverbs

fol. 93v Maior sum et ad maiora natus quam vt fiam mancipium corporis mei ...

fol. 96v ... illa iuuenta gravior que similis est senecte

Most of the proverbs are in prose, often on the subject of silence.

²⁰ For advice on Honorius I am grateful to Valerie I. J. Flint of the University of Auckland.

VIII B: fols. 97-105

52. Walter of Peterborough: Battle of Najara

fol. 97r Bella referre paro fratrum de germine claro ...

fol. 105v ... Munerat igne male te cocus absque sale

EXPLICIT BELLUM NASOREUM GESTUM ET SIC DIGESTUM ANNO DOMINI M^{mo}

CCC^{mo} LXVI^o HABENS VERSUS QUINGENTOS SEXAGINTA PER W. BURGENSEM

Walther 2121. Ed. Wright, *Political Poems* 1.97-122, from D and Rb (unique copies); see on Rb No. 27.

VIII C: fols. 106-110

53. Debate between Wine and Water

fol. 106r (a) Dum tenerent omnia medium tumultum ...

fol. 107v ... Tunc cantabant gloria in excelsis deo

fol. 107v (b) Tu scis linguas impedire / Titubando solet ire ...

fol. 109r ... Et a Christo seperetur in eterno seculo

(a) Walther 3834. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 87-92, without D, which omits 73-80, 103-110, 123-146, reverses to the order 119-122, 115-118, 111-114, and continues without a break into the next poem. (b) Walther 4254 ('Denudata veritate'), beginning at stanza 9. Ed. Bischoff, *Carmina Burana* No. 193 (1/3.22-27), with readings from D.

54. Debate between Heart and Eye

fol. 109r DISPUTACIO INTER COR ET OCULUM

Si quis cordis et oculi non sentit in se iurgia ...

fol. 109v ... Nam cordi causam imputat occasionem oculo

EXPLICIT DISPUTACIO INTER COR ET OCULUM

Walther 17915. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 93-95, without D. D and Bd (No. 8) agree on reversing stanzas 9-10 and 11-12, but otherwise D is closer to Wright's text.

55. Convocacio sacerdotum

fol. 109v Ita quidam presbiter cepit allegare ...

fol. 110v ... Quisque dicat presbiter cum sua suaui

Walther 14734 ('Prisciani regula'). Ed. Olga Dobiache-Rojdesvensky, *Les poésies des Goliards* (Paris, 1931), pp. 127-30 from the 1557 edition by Flacius Illyricus (identical in order of stanzas to that printed by John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae ... catalogus* (Basel, 1557), 1.262-63 from a text supplied by John Pullan of Oxford). In comparison with this edition D has: stanzas 2-4, 7, 5, 9-12, 6, one illegible stanza, 8, 11 (repeated), 13. This is similar to the order found in Brit. Lib. ms. Harley 200, fol. 144r, which has 2-4, 10-11, 7, 5, 9. The text printed by Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 171-73 is a conflation of Flacius' text and Harley 3724, and gives an inaccurate account of what each text contains.

BODLEY 603

This collection was written about 1200 by a single scribe in two (possibly three) sections. Its principal contents, after two short prose works, are: verse lives of saints, poems on Thomas Becket, poems by Walter of Châtillon, the composite *Templum Salomonis* by the Priors of Jerusalem, and a composite poem on the Mass.²¹ As indicated above, it is textually closely related to the original contents of Part VI of Digby 166.

Physical description

Parchment; 145 leaves, measuring 212 × 144 mm. (trimmed); writing area 163 × 107 mm.; mainly long-line format, occasionally two columns; 32 lines per column or page. Squared and ruled, with an outer frame of double lines; a red outline, encompassing the top line of writing, is provided throughout Part I but is absent in Part II: writing is above the top ruled line. Red and green initials alternate, headings in red, initials touched in red. All parts written by the same hand, c. 1200. Verse punctuation at the edge of the frame.

Collation of leaves: i⁶ (formerly i⁸, lacks 1-2 after writing), ii⁸-viii⁸, ix⁶ (formerly ix⁸, lacks 1 and 6 after writing), x⁸-xv⁸, xvi³/xvii⁸-xviii⁸, xix¹⁰. Quire xvi consists of two leaves (fols. 117-118) and an extra leaf (fol. 117B) discovered by Neil Ker in the binding of an All Souls College manuscript.²² The original fly-leaves were removed in 1923 and now form part of Bodleian ms. Lat. misc. d. 48. There are no catchwords. Quires are numbered on the last verso leaf of each quire to the end of quire ix (fol. 68v).

The manuscript consists of three sections: I (a) fols. 1-46; I (b) fols. 47-118; II fols. 119-144. The division between Parts I (a) and I (b) is not certain, but poem No. 11 ends incomplete (two lines are left blank at the foot of fol. 46v), and the writing on fol. 47r appears to mark a new beginning. Part II, which lacks the red border, is clearly separate: fol. 118v was originally blank, until the scribe used it for the prologue to No. 30 (perhaps at the time the manuscript was finally assembled). Otherwise, entries seem to have been made consecutively, except that Nos. 3 (on fol. 7v) and 21 (fol. 61r) were perhaps written together after the other entries. The gap on fols. 45v-46r may have been left for another poem on Becket.

²¹ The manuscript was presented to the Bodleian Library by Cuthbert Ridley in 1601: cf. MLPA II, 395-96 n. 15. The fullest account is by F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2.1 (Oxford, 1922), No. 2394, pp. 345-46; see also Strecker's article (n. 2 above), and Scott (n. 24 below).

²² See 'Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in Bindings', *Bodleian Library Record* 3 (1950-51) 6.

Provenance, date and sources

There is no evidence for the place of composition: the Summary Catalogue, perhaps for palaeographical reasons, says 'written in France'. It was written after the canonization of Thomas Becket in 1173 (No. 10), and the hand is about 1200.

The relationship between B and Part VI of Digby 166 has already been discussed: clearly both manuscripts shared a common ancestor, probably immediately, which contained principally the satirical poems of Walter of Châtillon.²³ Another manuscript closely related to B is Bodleian Library ms. Laud Misc. 406, written at about the same date: both manuscripts share B Nos. 26-28, in the same order (disturbed in Laud only by the intrusion of four later leaves, fols. 66-69, before 'Nescit mens nostra'). Marginal paragraph marks in Laud (written on the prickmarks and presumably intended to be trimmed off) correspond to decorated initials in B. If B was copied from Laud, which seems distinctly possible, it had access to another source as well: B's text of No. 26 is very corrupt, but at least once (fol. 73v) has a line not in Laud, and some of B's corrections do not correspond to Laud readings. Laud lacks three leaves (containing 132 lines) between fols. 26 and 27, but the loss could have occurred at any time.

B clearly also had access to a manuscript of Hildebert and pseudo-Hildebert poems for the verse lives of saints, Nos. 4-7;²⁴ Nos. 30-31, the composite poem on the Mass by Petrus Pictor, Hildebert, and others, and the hymn to St. Stephen, are found together in three other manuscripts (see on No. 30 below). B's connection to other English manuscripts of the Goliardic type is only through the poems shared with Part VI of D and through the 'Hildebertian' poems.

BODLEY 603: CONTENTS

Part I (a): fols. 1-46

1. Alain de Lille

fol. 1r ... exacerbāt diuinamque in se prouocat ultionem. In persona ...

fol. 5r ... uera libertate ęternaque fruens beatitudine. Amen

²³ All items shared with *D are in Part I (b) except No. 8, the poem on Thomas Becket. Walter of Châtillon's authorship of No. 11 'Felix erat studium' might be questioned: it is unique to B, and if we accept the separation of Parts I (a) and I (b) it cannot be counted as the first in a series of Walter of Châtillon's poems, one of the arguments for his authorship.

²⁴ Since the studies and editions by Beaugendre, Bourassé and Hauréau, the most important works on the Hildebert canon have been: A. Wilmart, 'Saint-Gatien' (cited in MLPA I, 284); A. B. Scott, *A Critical Edition of the Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans* (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1960), in which B is described on p. 124; A. B. Scott, 'The Poems of Hildebert of Le Mans: A New Examination of the Canon', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968) 42-83, cited as Scott, *MARS*; *Hildeberti Cenomannensis episcopi carmina minora*, ed. A. B. Scott (Leipzig, 1969), cited as *MP*. See also M. Hammond, 'Notes on Some Poems of Hildebert in a Harvard Manuscript (ms Riant 36)', *Speculum* 7 (1932) 530-39.

PL 210.269-80 (the B fragment begins on col. 273). The first two leaves of the quire have been lost.

2. Lament of a sinful soul

fol. 5v *COMMEMORATIO MISERIE NEGLIGENTIS ANIME UOLUPTUOSE UIUENTIS*

Admonet hominem scriptura memorare diei mortis ne peccet ...

fol. 7v ... *Risus ac iocus perniciem prebent magnam*

I have not identified this piece.

3. Mortality poem

fol. 7v *Fallit aristotilis illatio sepe sophistas ...*

fol. 7v ... *Eius ad imperium si dixerit effuge pergo* (8 lines)

Walther 6238. Also in Brit. Lib. ms. Cotton Titus D.xxiv (see MLPA I.283), where it has 32 lines, of which Mozley (p. 40) prints the first six.

4. Hildebert: Life of St. Mary of Egypt

fol. 8r *Sicut hiemps laurum non urit nec rogos aurum ...*

fol. 22r ... *Sic ubi compleuit uiginti lustra quieuit*

Walther 18159. PL 171.1321-40.

5. Marbod: Life of St. Lawrence

fol. 22r *A Decio tentus gladioque furente peremptus ...*

fol. 27r ... *Gaudet in eternum gestans diadema supernum*

Walther 21. PL 171.1607-14.

6. Petrus Riga: Life of St. Agnes

fol. 27r *Agnes sacra sui pennam scriptoris inaret ...*

fol. 31v ... *Virtutis titulis uendicat agna sibi. Amen*

Walther 696. Ed. J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd edition (Aarau, 1905), pp. 67-74 (see MLPA I.284).

7. Marbod: Life of St. Mauritius

fol. 31v *Cum cohibere parat gallos quos conglomerarat ...*

fol. 35r ... *Premia fert eadem palma decoratus eadem*

Walther 3571, 4843, 4969. PL 171.1625-30.

8. Poem on Thomas Becket

fol. 35r (a) *A et A karissimi patris pax et homo ...*

fol. 35r ... *Veri uia uehite vi uite ualete* (16 lines)

fol. 35r (b) *Ante chaos iurgium indigeste molis ...*

fol. 43v ... *Prestet id quod petimus regni rex celorum*

fol. 43v (c) *Anno milleno centeno septuageno ...*

fol. 43v ... *Cuspide bis bino T. more litatur ouino*

(a)-(b) Walther 28, 1284. Ed. Giles (see D No. 39), pp. 114-33; E. du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), pp. 70-93, from an Evreux ms. (c) Cf. Walther 1165, 1267: there are three popular versions of the epilogue, a quatrain beginning *Annus* and ending ... *esse poli*, a couplet beginning *Annus* and ending ... *ense Thomas*, and a couplet *Anno* ... *ense Thomas*; I have not seen the B version elsewhere.

9. Verse life of Thomas Becket

fol. 43v Vox uatis uelata diu signata figuris ...
 fol. 45r ... Iamque resoluitur ac fore cernitur hoc per apertum
 Walther 20857; unique, unedited. Line 6 was left blank.

10. Canonization of Thomas Becket

fol. 45r <A>lexander episcopus seruus seruorum dei. Dilectis filiis Alberto ...
 fol. 45v ... Data signie sexto idus martii
 Ed. J. C. Robinson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (RS 67.7; London, 1885), Epistola 783, pp. 544-45, from this manuscript. In the margin of fol. 45r is the date 'Anno M C LXXIII^o Nono Kalendas Marcij, Anno pontificatus nostri xv^o'. The remainder of fol. 45v (after line 3) and the first six lines of fol. 46r are blank.

11. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 46r Felix erat studium illa sub etate ...
 fol. 46v ... Et magistri nomine plures abutuntur
 Walther 6325. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 11: in B only.

Part I (b): fols. 47-118

12. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 47r AD COMITEM HENRICUM
 Missus sum in uineam circa horam nonam ...
 fol. 48v ... Exagitata procul non intrat femina limen
 Walther 18646 (inc. Stulti cum prudentibus). Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 4. The titles for this and succeeding poems are written vertically in the margin.

13. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 48v TREUERIS IN CAPITULO
 Multiformis hominum fraus et iniusticia ...
 fol. 49v ... Ambitus et luxus et opum metuenda facultas
 Walther 11390. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 5.

14. Walter of Châtillon

fol. 50r APUD BISSONTIUM
 Ecce nectar roseum poculis irrorat ...
 fol. 51ra ... Calculos et aspera / Vidorum planat
 Walther 5115. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 14.

15. Walter of Châtillon

- fol. 51ra CORAM DOMINO PAPA IN CONSISTORIO
Tanto uiro locuturi /Studeamus esse puri ...
fol. 52vb ... Saltem michi detur unde /Studeam de proprio

Walther 19018. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 1.

16. Walter of Châtillon

- fol. 52v CONTROUERSIA HABITA CORAM IMPERATORE DE SCISMATE
Quis furor o ciues quę tanta licencia litis ...
fol. 54r ... Diffusa est gracia in labiis tuis

Walther 16068. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 15. Title precedes 'Totus huius temporis'.

17. Walter of Châtillon

- fol. 54r SERMO RECITATUS BONONIę CORAM EPISCOPO ET SCOLARIBUS IN DOMINICA
'LETARE IERUSALEM'
In domino confido quomodo dicitis anime mee ...
fol. 58r ... per penitenciam reuersis largiri dignetur. Amen

Walther 8902. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 3.

18. Walter of Châtillon

- fol. 58ra Propter syon non tacebo ...
fol. 58vb ... Pellitur a ianuis

Walther 14838. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 2; Hilka-Schumann, *Carmina Burana* No. 41 (1/1.65-76). B has only stanzas 1-11 and 25: see No. 20 below.

19. Walter of Châtillon

- fol. 58v DE SCISMATE
Eliconis riuulo modice respersus ...
fol. 59v ... Sic ait et longo consumit gaudia uoto

Walther 7693. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 7.

20. Walter of Châtillon

- fol. 59va Baculare sacramentum /Non recenter est inuentum ...
fol. 61ra ... Nisi latus helisei Giezi corrumperet

Walther 2047. Ed. Strecker, *MSG* No. 12. After stanza 22 B continues with *MSG* No. 2, stanzas 28-29, omitted in No. 18 above.

21. Poem on numbers

- fol. 61r A caput est numeri quingentum iungere cogit ...
fol. 61r ... Z canit hunc finem bis mille tenendo labore

Walther 8; unedited. Each line describes the numerical equivalent of the letters of the alphabet, concurring with the list in A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6th edition (Milan, 1973), pp. 413-21, except for K, S, and T (which are respectively 150, 7,

and 150 in B, but 151, 70, and 160 in Cappelli). At the foot of fol. 61r a contemporary hand has written 'se protrahat uno' (referring to K?).

22. Rhythmical series

fol. 61va Quid sit deus queritur / Nescit res mortalis ...

fol. 66vb ... Vxor cepit et dampnatrix ... (*ends incomplete*)

Walther 15903; unique, unedited. This is a continuous series of ten interconnected rhythmical poems on various religious and moral themes; although each poem begins with a 2-space initial, the sense is more or less continuous. The rhythms are: (i) 3 (7pp 6p) rhyming *ababab*; (ii)-(vii) various combinations of 8p and 6p: e.g., 4 (8p) 1 (6p) 3 (8p) 1 (6p)—4p4p is often substituted for 8p; (viii)-(ix) 2 (8p) 1 (7p) 2 (8p) 1 (7p), rhyming *aabaab* or *aabccb*, with the substitution of 4p4p as in the preceding poems; (x) 2 or 4 (8p), rhyming in couplets or quatrains. The first and sixth leaves are missing from quire ix: the last three lines of poem (ii) are squeezed into two lines of text, and the next leaf is missing; poem (iii) begins in the middle of a stanza; poem (x) ends in the middle of a stanza.

23. Bernard of Cluny (?): *Parvus Contemptus mundi*

fol. 67r (a) Cur cito non spernis quę pretereuntia cernis ...

fol. 68v ... Sponte subit penas infernalesque catenas

fol. 68v (b) Huius amor mundi putei parat ima profundum ...

fol. 69v ... Hęc ideo tolerat quia cęli gaudia sperat

fol. 69v (c) Pauper amabilis est uenerabilis et benedictus ...

fol. 72r ... Hoc tibi det munus qui regnat trinus et unus

Walther 3912, 8535, 13854. Ed. E. Schröder, 'Ein niederrheinischer "Contemptus Mundi" und seine Quelle', *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 335-74, text on pp. 346-54. The poem is usually preceded by a prologue 'Cartula nostra tibi portat Rainalde salutem' (Walther 2521), which was probably on the lost leaf preceding fol. 67. See also: Manitius, 3.782-83; A. Wilmart, *Revue bénédictine* 45 (1933) 249-54; M. Dulong, 'Etienne Langton versificateur', *Bibliothèque thomiste* 14 (1930) 183-90; E. Ph. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print* (Bibliographical Soc. Suppl. 16; London, 1943), pp. 29-30. Also printed in PL 184.1308-14.

24. Punctuation poem

fol. 72r Bis sex sunt uersus tantum sex esse uidentur ...

fol. 72r ... Subdita non iustus ecclesię pater es

Not in Walther; unedited. Each couplet (after 1-2) may be read 'retrograde', and the punctuation (otherwise used in this manuscript only to indicate the caesura) shows where the couplet should stop. The double sense is also achieved by the placing of the negative particle.

25. Two couplets

fol. 72r (a) Mira iunctura defuncto languida xura

Mortua pro cura datur egro tum ualitura

- (b) Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere uitam
Hac mensa indignam nouerit esse suam

Walther 11069 (*Sprichwörter* 14900), 16148 (*Sprichwörter* 25526); (a) is corrupt.

26. Acardus and Gaufridus: Templum Salomonis

- fol. 72v (a) Bella quidam poetarum descripserunt hominum ...
fol. 85r ... Per te Christus hostes suos conterat uelociter
fol. 85r (b) Rex Alexander macedo percusso rege Dario ...
fol. 103v ... Qui si nossent preterita hæc dicerent felicia
fol. 103v (c) Contaminare (*for* Continuare) uolumus quædam quæ dicit iosephus ...
fol. 117Br ... Iam finis est huic operi legenti ne sit oneri
fol. 117Br (d) Annus erat millesimus et centesimus atque ...
fol. 117Bv ... Princeps zorobabel Esdras quoque scriba redirent

Walther 2120, 16701, 1261. Ed. P. Lehmann, 'Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus', *Corona quereana: Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1941) = *Schriften der Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 6.296-330. Lehmann's edition (which subsumes all Walther's references) is of book 1 only, but describes the whole work in full. Books 2 and 3 (b-d above) are continuations by Gaufridus, Acardus' successor as prior of the Temple, and have not been edited. The B text may have been copied directly from Laud Misc. 406 (see above, p. 489).

27. Pseudo-Damasus

- fol. 117Bv Psallere qui docuit dulci modulamine sanctos ...
... Offerat ut domino saluat quos gracia uocis (10 lines)
Nunc Damasi monitis aures prebete benignas ...
... Cor quoque cum reuocant Christo seruire parati (5 lines)
Prophetam Christi sanctum cognoscere debes ...
... Hæc Damasus scit sancte tuos monstrare triumphos (12 lines)

Walther 14885. Ed. J. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* 2.1 (Rome, 1888), Nos. 219-220, p. 449; M. Ihm, *Anthologiae latinae supplementa: Damasi epigrammata* (Leipzig, 1895), Appendix: Carmina Pseudodamasiana et alia, No. 63, pp. 66-67, and No. 1, pp. 1-3. The order in B, which differs from that printed by De Rossi and Ihm (where 'Psallere qui docuit' is treated as a separate poem) follows a very old recension.

28. Eugenius of Toledo

- fol. 118r Nescit mens nostra fixum seruare tenorem ...
... Tot faciem nostram mutat sententia formis

Walther 11749. PL 87.360.

29. Transitoriness

- fol. 118r Tempora cum uariis rerum decursibus ipse ...
... Plus iusto quod abit dulcis amica decet

Walther 19115; unique, unedited. Fol. 118v originally blank: see Part II.

Part II: fols. 119-144

30. Petrus Pictor, Hildebert, etc.: the Sacraments

This composite poem consists of three 'books': 1, by Petrus Pictor; 2, by Hildebert; 3, fifteen short poems, some of which are by Hildebert.²⁵ The same composite poem (which includes No. 31 below) is also found in Part II (s. xiii) of Vatican ms. Reg. lat. 270, described by A. Wilmart, *Codices latini reginenses* 2 (Vatican City, 1945), pp. 61-63: on the Vatican order for book 3, see below. According to Wilmart, the composite poem is also in Paris, B.N. lat. 15149 and Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. 249. The first two books have been supplied with glosses and marginal commentary, up to fol. 140r. On fol. 118v are two short introductory prose passages: (a) *Corpus ihesu euangelium puto ... si peccator tormenta*; (b) *In principio huius libri hæc possunt inquiri. Materia ... promittens se breuiter tractaturum*.

fol. 119r (1) (a) PROLOGUS IN LIBRO DE SACRAMENTIS ALTARIS
Quisquis nostri redemptoris uestiris ymagine ... (12 lines)
(b) LIBER PRIMUS DOM<INI> ILDEBERTI EPISCOPI DE CORPO<RE ET>
SANGUINE DOMINI
Panis in altari uerbi uirtute sacratus ...

fol. 129r ... Sicque redemptus abit homo quo suus auctor abiuit

Walther 16200, 13623; PL 171.1198-1212 (cf. 1193); Scott, *MARS*, pp. 76-77.

fol. 129r (2) (a) PROLOGUS IN LIBRO SECUNDO
Scribere proposui quo mystica sacra priorum ... (12 lines)
(b) LIBER SECUNDUS IN EXPOSITIONE SUPER MISSAM
Turba prophetarum uenturi nuncia Christi ...

fol. 138v ... Cum pater ad dextram cedit et explet opus

Walther 17396, 19559; PL 171.1177-92; Scott, *MARS*, p. 77.

fol. 138v (3) LIBER TERCIUS DE <Q>UIBUSDAM QUASI OMISSIS IN <PRE>-
CEDENTIBUS LIBRIS
a. Ante legem pro peccato ...
b. Melchisedech domino ...
c. Impia Judea ...
d. Ecclesie circa ...
e. Est ratio quod pars ...
f. Baptismalis quedam forma ...
g. Hostia coniugium ...
h. Affines consanguineos ...
i. Ade peccatum ...
j. Ecclesie partes ...
k. Dum diuine bonitatis ...
l. In partes fracta tres hostia iam caro facta ...

²⁵ See n. 24 above.

- m. Tollimur e medio ...
- n. Statio quid dextra ...
- o. In natale sacro ...

The order in Vat. Reg. lat. 270 is: a-i, o, No. 31, j. (a) Walther 1299; *MP* 39 I 7-8; (b) Walther 10865; *MP* 39 IV; (c) Walther 8793; (d) Walther 5180; (e) Walther 5831; PL 171.1192; (f) Walther 2061; *MP* 39 I (omitting 7-8 = a); (g) Walther 8479; *MP* 39 II; (h) Walther 672; *MP* 39 III; (i) Walther 482; *MP* 39 V; (j) Walther 5197; PL 171.1192; (k)-(l) not in Walther: the former is a 4-line introductory stanza in Goliardic metre; (m) Walther 19311; *MP* 45; Hammond, 'Poems' (see n. 24), 533-34; (n) not in Walther; (o) Walther 9015; *MP* 21; Hammond, 'Poems', 533-34.

31. **Rolandus Dolensis: Hymn to St. Stephen**

fol. 143v Salue festa dies toto uenerabilis euo / Qua mundum Stephanus ...

fol. 143v ... De se tutus agat pro famulante preces

Walther 17100a; see Vat. Reg. lat. 270 (No. 30 above).

COTTON VESPASIAN E.XII

This collection was written by a single Oxford hand in the second half of the fifteenth century; it belonged to John Russell, chancellor and bishop of Lincoln, whose ownership note dates the manuscript before 1482. The manuscript contains principally the *Speculum stultorum* and several other poems which are found in the manuscripts discussed in this series.

Description, ownership, annotations

Parchment; 122 leaves (fol. *2 unnumbered); 175 × 120 mm. (trimmed); writing area 133 × 85 mm.; single-line frame lacking right-hand edge; no ruling; long-line format; 30-33 lines per page. Blue initials on red ground for all entries except Nos. 2 and 8 and for sections within No. 3; cue-letters sometimes visible. Punctuation rare, except medially in No. 3; No. 5 has red squared brace lines. The proverbs in No. 8 are laid out unusually, with large spaces. Collation of leaves: fols. 1-2 (plus *2 unnumbered), fly-leaves; i¹²-ix¹², x¹¹ (lacks last leaf). Catchwords throughout. Signatures (a-j) on the first recto of each quire from ii to x; the first six leaves of each quire are numbered 1-6 or i-vi; the first quire has numbers but no letter. A final quire may have been lost (see below). Written continuously by the same fifteenth-century Oxford hand.

The manuscript belonged to John Russell, scholar of New College, Oxford 1447, fellow 1449, sub-warden 1461, chancellor of the University 1483 till death, bishop of Lincoln 1480 till death, chancellor of England 1483-85, died 1494. His inscription ('Ve Rus celluy je suis. Jo. Lincoln. 1482. Orate pro eo') appears on fol.

1v;²⁶ he also wrote the extract from the *Polycraticus* on fol. 2r and probably the third set of annotations, if not more.

A damaged (near-contemporary) Contents List on fol. 1v lists all the entries except No. 2; at the end it lists '<Ver> sus de nummis *Interea nummus; / ... Anglorum regi*'. The first is Walther 9131, *Carmina Burana* No. 11; the second could be Walther 1039, the *Regimen sanitatis*. Richard James (below) has written 'desunt' against these two entries: they could have begun on the missing leaf of quire x, though there is space on fol. 121v. A quire may be missing: there are traces of glue on fol. 121v. The Contents List ascribes Nos. 1, 5, 6 and 12 to Walter Map.

There are three sets of annotations. *V*¹, the main scribe, has made alterations and supplied variants throughout the manuscript, up to and including No. 11; in Nos. 1 and 3 the variants often correspond to readings of Tx (from which Ve often differs). *V*², probably also the main scribe writing in a more florid style, has added missing lines and stanzas on fols. 3v, 4r, 6r, 5v (where he completes a word), 89r, 91r, 96v; he has made the note 'ij^d ij^{ij} ij^d' on fol. 88r. *V*³, a smaller hand, perhaps Russell's, has added variants and corrections up to No. 5; this hand (or Russell's) has added proverbs at the top of early pages of No. 3 (*Speculum stultorum*), keyed to the text by paragraph marks, and has written a short musical line also in No. 3; on fol. 46v it has written 'medietas libri' (less than halfway through the manuscript, but over halfway through No. 3). The couplet on fol. 10r (see on No. 2) could be by *V*³: the glosses certainly are. A pencil hand has written *burnellus* and *mercator* on fol. 26r-v and made one correction. The Contents List could be by another hand.

When the manuscript came into the Cotton collection, the librarian Richard James added the foliation, and also numbered leaves by tens on the verso (incorrectly beginning on fol. 13v); he wrote the word 'desunt' against the last two items in the Contents List, and 'Vespasian E.12' on fol. 2r, and 'Cons. fol. 121' (corrected from 118) on fol. 121v. An old number (XV.B) is on fol. 1r. James also compared the text of No. 3 (*Speculum stultorum*), fols. 76r and 77r, with that of Tx, as on fol. 77r: 'Hexastichon istud non habet Codex Camdeianus nec in exemplaribus impressis reperitur'.²⁷ The binding is modern.

Textual relationships

The Ve text of No. 11 ('Jubiter et Juno') was almost certainly copied directly from ms. Digby 64, a fifteenth-century collection of *artes dictandi* and the *Architrenius*: the poem ends there at the foot of fol. 51v, after which a quire is

²⁶ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), s.v. Russell; for a specimen of his hand, see M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500* (Oxford, 1969), pl. 18 (ii).

²⁷ See MLPA I, 294.

missing;²⁸ in Ve the poem ends at the same point and the scribe writes that he would have written more if he had found it.

The ending of No. 4 (Petrarch's Tale of Griselda) is the same as that in Bodleian ms. Lat. misc. d. 34, which may have been copied directly from Ve: it was written by Robert Sherborn, a younger contemporary of Russell's at New College (scholar 1472, fellow 1474, bursar 1484-85, secretary of the University 1480-86, canon of Lincoln 1488-93, bishop of St. David's 1505, bishop of Chichester 1508, died 1536).²⁹

The evidence from the other texts is confusing. In No. 5 ('De coniuge non ducenda') Ve, Bd and Ty (Trinity College, Cambridge O.9.38: see below) are closely related, sharing many common errors; this group is also related, less closely, to TxRb. In No. 1 ('Apocalypsis Goliae'), however, Ve agrees more often with Strecker's text or with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ms. 450, than with BdTy: occasionally it agrees with TxRb against the others, but not significantly; on the other hand, the corrections of *V*¹ often agree with Tx or with the whole of this group. In No. 3 (*Speculum stultorum*) Ve is a mixed manuscript:³⁰ consequently, Tx, Bd, and Ve are in separate manuscript families in this poem: the corrections and variants of *V*¹ often, but not invariably, agree with Tx; those of *V*³ are not from Tx. Other shared items (such as No. 7, shared by VeBd) can be seen on Table II, but the exact relationships remain unclear. Ve shares several items with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ms. 177, also fifteenth century, but most of these are common Senecan confections.

COTTON VESPASIAN E.XII: CONTENTS

Fly-leaves: fols. 1-2

- | | |
|---------|--|
| fol. 1r | Blank, except for B.M. stamp and an old shelf mark (XV.B). |
| fol. 1v | Contents Lists and signature of John Russell (see above). |
| fol. 2r | In John Russell's hand: |

Omnipotenti deo

Nichil autem est quod imminentibus signis ita totum concuciat hominem
sicut mens sibi conscia iniquitatis que scelerum suorum penam ad singula

²⁸ The leaves of Digby 64 have been disordered, especially in quire vii: for example, the stub between fols. 49 and 50 (which gives the impression that a leaf is missing in the middle of the poem) was not originally there.

²⁹ Emden, *Biographical Register*, s.v. Sherborn.

³⁰ In the Mozley-Raymo edition, p. 9 (see on No. 3 below) Ve is referred to as X: up to about 1600 it is an *a* manuscript, distantly related to Tx but agreeing especially with Trinity College, Dublin 440 (D.4.26); after the middle of the poem it becomes a *b* manuscript, supporting Arundel 23 and Bodley 496 'with which it seems sometimes to form a sub-group'; after line 3259 it is found with these two against Bodley 761, Bodley 851 (my Bd), and Lambeth Palace 375.

timet exposci. Vnde ethicus de criminosis, 'hii sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura (timent *canc.*) pallent'. polycraticus li j c. vlt. (From John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus sive De nugis curialium*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1909], I, chap. 13. The quotation is from Juvenal, *Sat.* 13.223.)

fol. 2v blank; fol. *2 blank, unnumbered.

Main text: fols. 3-121

1. Apocalypsis Goliae

fol. 3r A tauro torrida lampade cinthii ...
 fol. 10r ... Mentis vestigia fecisset lubrica. Deo gracias
 EXPLICIT APOCALIPSIS MAGISTRI WALTERI MAPIS

Walther 91. Ed. K. Strecker (Rome, 1928); on textual relationships, see above.

2. Diana's Prophecy to Brutus

fol. 10r (a) Diua potens nemorum terror siluestribus apris ...
 ... Qua tibi virgineis templa ditabo choris
 (b) Brute sub occasu solis trans gallica regna ...
 fol. 10r ... Tocius terre subditus orbis erit

Walther 4598. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. J. Hammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), chaps. 14-15, pp. 33-34; frequently found separately in manuscripts and often quoted (e.g. in Robertus Anglicus' commentary on Sacrobosco's *De sphaera*, ed. Thorndike [above, p. 478], p. 187). Beneath these verses is a couplet: 'Hunc superes tu qui superes successor honoris / Degener es si degeneres a laude prioris': *Hunc* has been glossed 's. brutum', *successor* by 'o rex anglie'. The couplet (Walther 8601, *Sprichwörter* 11311) is also in Bd Appendix No. 74 (delete note there); it is also cited by Giraldus Cambrensis as an epitaph for Louis VII (died 1180), in *De institutione principis*, ed. G. F. Warner (RS 21.8; London, 1891), p. 138.

3. Nigel de Longchamps: Speculum stultorum

fol. 10v (a) Dilecto et in Christo diligendo fratri W. suus N. salutem ...
 fol. 13r ... quam cauterium ad medicinam admittunt. Explicit prologus
 fol. 13v (b) Libellum istum qui dicitur speculum stultorum composuit Saresburiensis sacre theologie doctor eximius sicut patet in Epistola Blesensi directa Saresburiensi regraciantis sibi pro libello quem composuit de nugis curialium et iste Saresburiensis morabatur cum Thoma cantuariensi
 fol. 14r (c) Suscipe pauca tibi veteris Willelme nigelli ...
 fol. 77r ... Spernere qui querit semper asellus erit
 EXPLICIT SPECULUM STULTORUM. AMEN

(a) Ed. J. H. Mozley, *Medium aevum* 39 (1970) 13-20; also in Bd No. 14 (where it follows the text of the poem) but not in Tx No. 55.

(b) This note is centred on fol. 13v, which is otherwise blank; I have not seen the ascription of the *Speculum* to John of Salisbury elsewhere, and it is not supported by the letter in question, Peter of Blois, *Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, vol. 1: *Epistolae* (Oxford, 1847), ep. 22, pp.

80-84: 'Librum vestrum de nugis curialibus legi, et mirabiliter me refecit: nam et ibi optima forma conditionis est, et propter artificiosam sententiarum varietatem inaestimabili materia voluptatis.'

(c) Walther 18944. Ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960); see Tx No. 1 for further bibliography. Ve presents a mixed text (see above).

4. Petrarch: Story of Griselda

fol. 77v Franciscus petrarcha natione florentinus et senatu romano laurea poetici honoris ...

fol. 85r ... Grisildis post se talem non reliquit superstitem

EXPLICIT FABULA DE GRISILDE

Ed. J. Burke Severs, 'The Clerk's Tale' in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (New York, 1941), pp. 288-331, without knowledge of Ve, whose ending corresponds to that of Bodleian ms. Lat. misc. d. 34 (SC 36217), written by Robert Sherborn (see above). Also in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ms. 177, where the ending is as in Severs' text.

5. De coniuge non ducenda

fol. 85v Sit deo gloria laus benediccio ...

fol. 88r ... Nec dolor coniugis habet remedium. Explicit

Wright 18302. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 77-85.

6. Walter of Wimborne: De palpone

fol. 88v Multi mortalium in mundi stadio ...

fol. 100v ... Pater et filius sanctusque spiritus. Amen

Walther 11382 (8827). Ed. A. G. Rigg, *The Poems of Walter of Wimborne* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 42; Toronto, 1978), pp. 37-70. This is the A-text of the poem, and is unique.

7. Fall of Carthage

fol. 100v Narrat flaccencius in historiis Carthaginensium quod hanibal ...

fol. 101r ... vt patet superius per ordinem

Ed. M. R. James: see Bd No. 2, the only other text.

8. Moral sentences

fol. 101v (a) Locutum me aliquando penituit tacuisse nunquam ...

fol. 103v ... Felix criminibus non erit diu

fol. 103v (b) Non laudem merui vos exemplaria greca ...

... Nil valet exterius si vacat interius (18 lines)

(c) 12 abusiones. Sapiens sine bonis moribus, senex sine religione ...

fol. 103v ... populus sine lege

(a) I have not traced these proverbs; they include (fol. 103r) 'Quenam summa boni', Walther 15065, PL 171.1410, Tx No. 22. (b) Not in Walther. (c) Pseudo-Augustine/Pseudo-Cyprian: PL 40.1079-88; 4.947-60.

9. 'Seneca': De paupertate honesta

- fol. 104r Honesta inquit epicurus res est leta paupertas. Illa vero ...
 fol. 105v ... Que bona sunt magnitudinem animi dant diuicie insolenciam

A collection from the Epistles. Ed. F. Haase, *L. Annaei Senecae opera* 3 (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 458-61; see M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 2, 4th edition (Munich, 1935), pp. 717-19.

10. Martin of Braga: Formula vitae honestae

- fol. 106r Quatuor virtutum species multorum sapiencium sentenciis ...
 fol. 110r ... aut deficientem contempnat ignauiam

Ed. C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis opera omnia* (New Haven, 1970), pp. 204-50; Haase, 3.468-75; Schanz-Hosius, pp. 717-19.

11. Tractatus de diis

- fol. 110v Iubiter et Iuno Neptunus pluto creante ...
 fol. 112v ... Inseruit stolidis qui sibi vita fuit
 Librum doctrine poteris cognoscere fine
 Hic plus scripsisset scriptor si plus reperisset

Walther 9955; unedited. Probably copied directly from Digby 64, where it breaks off at the same point in the poem, where a leaf has been lost (see above).

12. The Incarnation

- fol. 113r Multis a confratribus pridie rogatus ...
 fol. 115r ... Sitque salus omnibus hic et sine fine. Amen

Walther 11395. Ed. Wright, *Mapes*, pp. 31-36, using Ve.

13. 'Seneca': De remediis fortuitorum bonorum

- fol. 115v Licet cunctorum poetarum carmina gremium nostrum ...
 fol. 119r ... vides autem quam rara sit in aliqua domo ista felicitas Lucii Amici (*sic*)
 Senecce ad callionem de remediis fortuitorum bonorum fuit feliciter liber.
 Explicit

Ed. Haase, 3.446-57; Schanz-Hosius, pp. 717-19.

14. 'Seneca': Liber de moribus (de institutione morum)

- fol. 119r Omne peccatum accio voluntaria est. Educacio et disciplina ...
 fol. 121v ... Mira ratio est que non vult patri (*sic*) quod gaudet intelligi. Agnosci
 amat quod odium ostendit. Explicit

A florilegium from Seneca. Ed. Haase, 3.462-67; Schanz-Hosius, pp. 717-19. The order of Ve differs: e.g., 143-145 are omitted, and 48-54 are placed at the end.

CONCLUSIONS

With the aid of Table II we can attempt to review the relationships of all the manuscripts so far discussed in this series; columns have been provided also for

Table II

	B	*D	D	Tx	Rb	Bd	Ve	Ty	Cc
A tauro torrida		17		55	17	18	1	II	
Anglorum regi							(-)		Cc
*Annis bis sex c				17a-c	5b, 7b				
Ante chaos iurgium	8b	39			8b				
Archipoeta vide				3		9			
Audi pater			45	9					
Baculare sacramentum	20	24							
*Bella referre paro			52		27				
Cantica leticie				49	15				
Cum tenerent omnia			53a	4	23			VII	Cc
Diviciis ortu			7	28	2				
*Dux Valeys				16	7a	15			
*Ecce nectar	14	19							
*Edictum fingitur				65	25				
Est omnis Scotus					7c	App.			
Exiit edictum				64	24				
*Francia feminea				15	5a	16			
*Gloria cunctorum				2	10				
Grecorum studia				51		20			
Heliconis rivulo	19	23							
Hunc superes						App.	(2)		
In domino confido	17	20							
Ludere volentibus				6	8				
Me dolor infestat				50		13			
Meum est propositum				7	20				
Multiformis hominum	13	18b							
Multis a confratribus		27		66			12		
Noctis crepusculo				60	19			IV	
Noctis sub silencio			46	61					Cc
O Christe vicarie			44						Cc
Pergama flere volo			8			10			
Quenam summa boni				22			8a		

	B	*D	D	Tx	Rb	Bd	Ve	Ty	Cc
Qui nescit quam sit				18	26				
Quis furor	16	22							
Rumor novus anglie			(55)	63		5			
Si quis cordis			54			8			Cc
Sit deo gloria			47	5	21	7	5	III	
Stulti cum (Missus sum)	12	18							
Suscipe pauca				1		14	3		
—— (Prologue)						14b	3a		
Tanto viro	15	21							
Tempus acceptabile		31						XXII	
Totum regit seculum				59	22				
*Fall of Carthage						2	7		
Epistle of Satan			11			3			
Dissuasio Valerii			13			1			Cc
Theophrastus			14						Cc
Story of Griselda							4		Cc
Martin of Braga							10		Cc
Seneca de moribus							14		Cc
Twelve abuses							8c		Cc
De ventis			48		28				

Table II: items shared by manuscripts described in MLPA I-III, together with Trinity College, Cambridge O.9.38 (Ty) and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 177 (Cc). *D = Digby 166 Part VI, entries by *E*¹ and *E*²; D = the rest of Digby 166. Items preceded by an asterisk have been found thus far only in the manuscripts on this table.

Trinity College, Cambridge O.9.38 (Ty), a fifteenth-century Glastonbury book,³¹ and for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 177 (Cc), also of the fifteenth century.³² Some of the relationships to manuscripts outside the group have already been mentioned: Part IV of Tx shares many items with Rawlinson G.109 (s. xiii = Rg), and is probably derived from the same source.³³ In the present article we

³¹ Described by A. G. Rigg, *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century. A Descriptive Index of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O.9.38* (Oxford, 1968).

³² See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), 1.406-14.

³³ See MLPA I, 326-27; Tx No. 45 is also in Rg, bringing the number of shared poems to fifteen. Rg will be described in the next article in this series.

have seen the relationship of B and *D to Paris, B.N. lat. 3245 (s. xv), of B to Laud Misc. 406 (which may be the direct source for Nos. 26-28), of Ve to Digby 64 (its source for No. 11), and Ve to Lat. misc. d. 34 (which may have taken No. 4 from Ve).

Within the group represented on Table II we have already noted the sister-relationships between Tx and Rb,³⁴ between Bd and Tx and/or Rb (all three of which share some items not found elsewhere),³⁵ and between B and *D. The general impression of kinship within the group is shown by shared interests as well as by specific shared items. Tx, Bd and Ve each have different poems by Walter of Wimborne; collections of proverbs are found in D, Ve and (in English) Ty; Rb and D have diagrams of the winds, with accompanying texts; satire against Norfolk is seen in Tx and Rb, and also in a proverb in Bd; Ve and Rb share an interest in mythography; Ve's text of Petrarch's story of Griselda is, in a way, matched by Ty's copy of Leonardo Bruni's translation of Boccaccio's *Guiscardo and Ghismonda*. Although each manuscript presents a unique selection, there is an overall similarity in the kind of text selected.

Specific relationships (other than those already mentioned) are, however, hard to establish. Table II shows many examples of items shared by isolated pairs of manuscripts: Rb with Bd, Tx with Bd, Tx with D, D with Bd, and so on, in a way which cannot be described by simple genetic metaphors. Detailed textual analysis confirms the impossibility of isolating families within the group: we have already mentioned the 'erratic' behaviour of D and Ve.³⁶ A large number of shared errors and other idiosyncrasies shows that Bd, Ve and Ty are closely related in their text of the *De coniuge non ducenda* ('Sit deo gloria'), and that this group in turn is related to TxRb and also to Bodleian Add. A.44 (where the poem is a fifteenth-century addition);³⁷ the same analysis, however, shows that D is *not* related to this group at all, despite the similarity of its contents (especially noticeable in Part VIII, where No. 52 is unique to D and Rb). Textual analysis of the *Speculum stultorum* ('Suscipe pauca tibi') separates Tx, Ve and Bd into quite distinct manuscript families.³⁸ In the *Apocalypsis Goliae* ('A tauro torrida') Ve is in a separate family from Bd and Ty. There is a clear analogy with the case of 'mixed' texts of single works: Ve's text of the *Speculum stultorum* agrees with the *a* tradition in the first half of the poem, but with the *b* family in the second; Bd has Passus I-VIII of the *A-*

³⁴ See MLPA I, 324-26.

³⁵ See MLPA II, 394.

³⁶ See above, pp. 474-75, 497-98.

³⁷ For descriptions of Add. A.44, see the articles cited in MLPA I, 283: the manuscript comprises a series of thirteenth-century poetic booklets and some fifteenth-century additions made by or for Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells.

³⁸ See n. 30 above.

text of *Piers Plowman* in a most unusual form followed by a pure C-text for the rest of the poem.³⁹ We must not look for a single collection, from which a closely defined group of anthologies was copied; rather, we must infer the circulation of many such collections, from which individual scribes and compilers would pick and choose their own selection.⁴⁰ These collections would often, I believe, be in booklet form, much like Part VI of D or fols. 55-60 of Cotton Vespasian A.xix (early fourteenth century).

In what geographical area or environment would we expect to see such circulation of poetic miscellanies? In my first article in the series I wrote that 'we may be able to posit a circulation of related manuscripts in the Eastern and Home Counties, as sources for Tx (London area), Rb (Waltham, Essex), Rg (Suffolk), and Bd (Ramsey, Huntingdonshire).'⁴¹ The picture is altered, however, by the additional consideration of Ve (Oxford) and Ty (Glastonbury). The contents of D (and perhaps the activities of a professional bookseller) suggest a university provenance; John Wells, the owner of Bd, was as much an Oxford as a Ramsey figure; Glastonbury monks, such as the compiler of Ty (which has one item associated with Oxford, Tryvytlam's anti-fraternal 'De laude Universitatis Oxonie'), regularly attended Gloucester College, Oxford. We must, of course, accept that there were many ways in which manuscripts could circulate: presumably Benedictine monks were accustomed to lend books to each other in various contexts. There is no doubt, however, that Oxford offers itself as the ideal milieu for the circulation and cross-fertilization of poetic anthologies.⁴²

University of Toronto.

³⁹ See MLPA II, 401-402.

⁴⁰ The effect is similar to that seen in professionally produced copies of vernacular authors: see A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century' in *Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (see n. 7 above), pp. 163-203: 'The conditions of a bespoke trade would encourage cross-imitation and cross-copying: whenever a book was commissioned the patron or the stationer would have to rely on the availability of exemplars, scribes and illuminators to produce the copy. The variability of such resources and the presence of so many variables in combination led not only to greater uniformity in the appearance of each copy but also to greater diversity between the texts of the different copies' (p. 203).

⁴¹ MLPA I, 327.

⁴² On the possibility that D was found by Thomas Allen in Oxford, perhaps at Gloucester Hall (formerly Gloucester College), see n. 8 above.

ST. THOMAS AND THE *LIBER DE CAUSIS* ON THE HYLOMORPHIC COMPOSITION OF SEPARATE SUBSTANCES*

Richard C. Taylor

IN his discussion of essence as found in separate substances or angels in the *De ente et essentia*, St. Thomas notes that his own teaching on the composition of form and *esse* in the separate substances is quite in line with that of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de causis*.¹ In point of fact, however, even a cursory reading of the *De causis* reveals that the anonymous author² of this Neoplatonic treatise had views very different from those of St. Thomas.³ *Anniyah*,⁴ translated into Latin from the Arabic as *esse*, is the formal substrate on the basis of which further perfections

* A version of this article was presented at the second Mid-Atlantic States Conference on Patristic, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, Villanova University, October 1977.

¹ *De ente et essentia* 4 (*Opera omnia* 43 [Rome, 1976], p. 376): 'Vnde in anima uel intelligentia nullo modo est compositio ex materia et forma, ut hoc modo accipitur essentia in eis sicut in substantiis corporalibus. Sed est ibi compositio forme et esse; unde in commento none propositionis libri *De causis* dicitur quod intelligentia est habens formam et esse: et accipitur ibi forma pro ipsa quiditate vel natura simplici.'

² In the introduction to his edition of the *De causis*, Adriaan Pattin maintains that the author of the text is Avendauth ('*Le Liber de causis*', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 28 [1966] 90-98, also issued separately [Louvain, n.d.]; the former will be cited throughout this article). However, 'Abdurrahmān Badawī disagrees: 'Tous les arguments en faveur d'une prétendue composition du *liber de Causis* par Avendauth tombent définitivement' (*La transmission de la philosophie grecque au monde arabe* [Paris, 1968], p. 70). On the authorship and the transmission of the *De causis* see Georges C. Anawati, 'Le néoplatonisme dans la pensée musulmane: état actuel des recherches' in *Etudes de philosophie musulmane* (Paris, 1974), pp. 168-77; also see R. M. Frank, 'The Origin of the Arabic Philosophical Term *Anniyah*', *Cahiers de Byrsa* 6 (1956) 181-201. The translator was probably Gerard of Cremona, whose work may have been corrected by Gundissalinus. See Pattin, *ibid.*, 98-101.

³ See *De causis* 1 and 4 (Latin: Pattin, pp. 134-38, 142-47; Arabic: Otto Bardenhewer, *Die pseudo-aristotelische Schrift ueber das reine Gute bekannt unter dem Namen Liber de causis* [Freiburg im Br., 1882], pp. 58-61, 65-69); also 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Al-Aflātūniyah al-muḥdathah 'inda al-'arab* (Cairo, 1955), pp. 3-4, 6-8.

⁴ On *anniyah* as it is used in the *De causis*, see Frank, 'Origin'.

such as life and intelligence are received.⁵ In the *De causis* there is no notion of being as the act of existence such as we find it in the thought of St. Thomas. What we do find in the *De causis* are words which St. Thomas accommodates to his own position.

In view of this 'adjustment', we certainly have *prima facie* justification for considering with some care St. Thomas' interpretation of the *De causis* on the hylomorphic composition of separate substances in his commentary on that text.⁶ For in the passage which we shall examine in detail below, the Angelic Doctor initially interprets the text of the *De causis* as expressing the notion that there is a material principle in all things other than the First Cause. His subsequent interpretation of this text, however, allows him to maintain that the separate substances are nevertheless not composed of matter and form. And, consequently, we find that according to this understanding the author of the *De causis* appears to be espousing a view on hylomorphic composition which, to all appearances, is identical with that of St. Thomas.

Our task then is to determine the correctness of St. Thomas' interpretation. To this end we shall first consider the relevant passage from the Latin *De causis* together with St. Thomas' commentary, noting the similarity of his interpretation with his own views on hylomorphic composition. We shall next turn to the Arabic text to determine the intention of the author.

The passage of central importance for our purposes is found at the end of the eighth chapter of the *De causis*:⁷

Et intelligentia est habens *yliatim* quoniam est esse et forma et similiter anima est habens *yliatim* et natura est habens *yliatim*. Et causae quidem primae non est *yliatim*, quoniam ipsa est esse tantum.⁸

The difficulty which immediately must be faced concerns the word *yliatim*. While other transliterated Arabic words found in the Latin text of the *De causis* are accompanied by a translation,⁹ here no such aid is provided for the reader. St.

⁵ See *De causis* 1 (Latin: Pattin, pp. 134-38; Arabic: Bardenhewer, pp. 58-61 and Badawī, pp. 3-4).

⁶ *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Super librum de causis expositio* 9, ed. H. D. Saffrey (Fribourg-Louvain, 1954), p. 64.

⁷ Note that the numbering of the chapters in the Saffrey edition differs from that of the edition of Pattin after chapter 4 (Saffrey 5 = second half of Pattin, Bardenhewer and Badawī 4; Saffrey 6 = Pattin, Bardenhewer and Badawī 5, etc.). The Latin edition used here is that of Pattin (see n. 8).

⁸ Pattin, p. 157. Pattin's edition of the *De causis* has *yliaithim*, but Saffrey's edition of the *Super librum de causis expositio* has *yliatim*. For the sake of consistency *yliatim* is used in this paper. The difference between these two forms is of little importance; see nn. 21-23.

⁹ See Pattin, pp. 143 and 145 where the Arabic for 'intelligence', *ʿaql*, is transliterated and translated: '... achili [id est] intelligentia'; '... alachili [id est] intelligentiam'.

Thomas, however, does not hesitate to inform his reader that *ylatim* is derived from the Greek *ύλη*, meaning 'matter'.¹⁰

At this point, then, it would appear that the Latin text of the *De causis* which St. Thomas has before him will require that he interpret it as espousing the doctrine of the hylomorphic composition of intelligences or separate substances. For the text itself appears to say, 'the intelligence possesses matter': *intelligentia est habens ylatim*. This is not, however, the interpretation which St. Thomas gives to the passage.

St. Thomas tells us that the way in which the intelligence possesses *ylatim*, that is, a material principle, must be understood in the light of the accompanying explanatory clause, 'since it is being and form':¹¹

Quidditas enim et substantia ipsius intelligentiae est quaedam forma subsistens immaterialis, sed quia ipsa non est suum esse, sed est subsistens in esse participato, comparatur ipsa forma subsistens ad esse participatum sicut potentia ad actum aut materia ad formam.¹²

This, as it happens, is just the approach the Angelic Doctor himself takes in all his works in which the question of hylomorphic composition arises. From the time of his work at Paris as a young scholar composing his *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, to the final years of his life, when he wrote the *De substantiis separatis*, a treatise specifically devoted to the consideration of the nature of the intelligences, St. Thomas taught and, one can even say, fought for the doctrine that separate substances are pure forms totally free from composition with matter.¹³ For him the notion that all beings except God are composed of matter and form was a philosophically unsound teaching inspired by Ibn Gabirol's *Fons vitae*.¹⁴ Even St.

¹⁰ *Super librum de causis expositio* 9 (Saffrey, p. 64): '... Nam intelligentia habet ylatim, id est aliquid materiale vel ad modum materiae se habens; dicitur enim ylatim ab yle, quod est materia.'

¹¹ *ibid.*: 'Et quomodo hoc sit, exponit subdens: *Quoniam est esse et forma.*'

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ In St. Thomas' view the separate substances do not have prime matter which would make them subject to substantial change. See *De ente et essentia* 4; 2 *Sent.* 3.1.1; *Summa contra gentiles* 2.50-51, 54; *De spiritualibus creaturis* 1; *Quaestiones quodlibetales* 9.4.1; *Summa theologiae* 1.50.2; *De substantiis separatis* passim.

¹⁴ 2 *Sent.* 3.1.1. Sol., ed. P. Mandonnet, 2 (Paris, 1929), p. 86:

... Quidam enim dicunt quod in omni substantia creata est materia, et quod omnium est materia una; et hujus positionis auctor videtur Avicbron, qui fecit librum *Fontis vitae*, quem multi sequuntur...

ST 1.50.2 Resp. (p. 316a-b; Ottawa, 1941):

Dicendum quod quidam ponunt angelos esse compositos ex materia et forma. Et hanc opinionem astruere nititur Avicbron in libro *Fontis Vitae*...

Sed adhuc ulterius impossibile est quod substantia intellectualis habeat qualemcumque materiam.... Unde relinquitur quod substantia intellectus est omnino immaterialis.

Also see texts cited in n. 13 above.

Bonaventure's position that angels are composed of form and spiritual matter he regarded as untenable.¹⁵

For St. Thomas hylomorphic composition is found only among sensible entities which have their existence in this composition of matter and form. While he does indeed argue that all created beings are composite, in the immaterial separate substances this composition is that of essence, that is, nature or form, and the act of existence or being. Although this composition of essence and existence is found in both sensible and immaterial substances, it manifests itself in different ways. In sensible substances the potential nature or form quidditatively dictates that the substance be composed of matter and form. In separate substances too, the form or nature again is in potency to the existential act which it receives and determines. In this case, however, the form or nature determines that the act of existence be manifested in a creature which is a pure immaterial form. Here there is no twofold composition of matter and form and essence and existence as found in sensible things, but only the immediate composition of essence and existence.¹⁶

It is an interpretation of this sort which St. Thomas gives to the text of the *De causis*. Although the intelligence has a material principle, *ylia tim*, this is not literally prime matter but rather potency: 'the subsistent form itself is compared to participated being as potency to act or as matter to form.'¹⁷ Furthermore, he tells us

¹⁵ See St. Bonaventure, 2 *Sent.* 3.1.1.1. *conclusio* (*Opera omnia* 2 [Quaracchi, 1885], pp. 90-91). Also see J. F. Quinn, *The Historical Constitution of St. Bonaventure's Philosophy* (Toronto, 1973), pp. 139-59. For the reaction of St. Thomas, see texts cited in n. 13 and Quinn, pp. 159-64.

¹⁶ *ST* 1.50.2 ad 3 (p. 317b):

Dicendum quod licet in angelo non sit compositio formae et materiae, est tamen in eo actus et potentia. Quod quidem manifestum potest esse ex consideratione rerum materialium, in quibus invenitur duplex compositio. Prima quidem formae et materiae, ex quibus constituitur natura aliqua. Natura autem sic composita non est suum esse, sed esse est actus eius. Unde ipsa natura comparatur ad suum esse sicut potentia ad actum. Subtracta ergo materia, et posito quod ipsa forma subsistat non in materia, adhuc remanet comparatio formae ad ipsum esse ut potentiae ad actum. Et talis compositio intelligenda est in angelis...;

Summa contra gentiles 2.54 (*Opera omnia* 13 [Rome, 1918], p. 392b):

Et propter hoc in eis est unica tantum compositio actus et potentiae, quae scilicet est ex substantia et esse, quae a quibusdam dicitur ex *quod est* et *esse*; vel ex *quod est* et *quo est*.

In substantiis autem compositis ex materia et forma est duplex compositio actus et potentiae: prima quidem ipsius substantiae, quae componitur ex materia et forma; secunda vero ex ipsa substantia iam composita et esse; quae etiam potest dici ex *quod est* et *esse*; vel ex *quod est* et *quo est*.

Sic igitur patet quod compositio actus et potentiae est in plus quam compositio formae et materiae. Unde materia et forma dividunt substantiam naturalem: potentia autem et actus dividunt ens commune. Et propter hoc quaecumque quidem consequuntur potentiam et actum inquantum huiusmodi, sunt communia substantiis materialibus et immaterialibus creatis: sicut *recipere* et *recipi*, *perficere* et *perfici*. Quaecumque vero sunt propria materiae et formae inquantum huiusmodi, sicut *generari* et *corrumpi* et alia huiusmodi, haec sunt propria substantiarum materialium, et nullo modo conveniunt substantiis immaterialibus creatis.

¹⁷ *Super librum de causis expositio* 9 (Saffrey, p. 64); my italics.

that soul too has this material principle or potency, not only because the soul is a subsistent form in its own right, but also because the soul is the form of the body.¹⁸ And the statement 'nature possesses *yliatim*' makes sense 'because a natural body is truly composed of matter and form.'¹⁹ As for the First Cause, it in no way can be said to have matter since it does not participate in the actuality of existence. Rather it is Pure Being from which each participating existent derives its existence.²⁰

Thus, in spite of the difficulties posed by the word *yliatim*, St. Thomas interprets this passage of the *De causis* as espousing doctrines similar if not identical to his own. Let us now consider the Arabic text and evaluate the accuracy of St. Thomas' interpretation.

An examination of the Arabic text and the comparison of it with the Latin translation reveals the remarkable accuracy with which the translator performed his task. With the exception of the word *yliatim*, the Latin translation of the text under consideration here is a clear rendering of the Arabic.²¹ What then is the Arabic word behind the *yliatim* of the Latin text and what is its meaning?

The word *yliatim* which St. Thomas found in his text of the *De causis* is a later corruption of Gerard of Cremona's original transliteration: *helyatin*.²² The Arabic word transliterated *ḥilyah*,²³ far from being derived from the Greek *ὑλη* and meaning

¹⁸ *ibid.*: '*Et similiter etiam anima est habens yliatim, non solum ipsam formam subsistentem sed etiam ipsum corpus cuius est forma.*'

¹⁹ *ibid.*: '*Similiter etiam natura est habens yliatim, quia corpus naturale est vere compositum ex materia et forma.*'

²⁰ *ibid.*: '*Causa autem prima nullo modo habet yliatim, quia non habet esse participatum, sed ipsa est esse purum et per consequens bonitas pura quia unumquodque in quantum est ens est bonum; oportet autem quod omne participatum derivetur ab eo quod pure subsistit per essentiam suam; unde relinquitur quod essentia intelligentiae et omnium entium sit a bonitate pura causae primae.*'

²¹ The following is a transliteration of the Arabic texts of Bardenhewer (pp. 78-79) and Badawī (p. 12). Note that Bardenhewer and Badawī read *kullīyah* (universality) instead of the correct ms. reading *ḥilyah* (see n. 23). In Arabic the normal written forms of these two words differ only in the first letter.

wa-al-ʿaqlu dhū kullīyatīn [read: *ḥilyatīn*] *li-annahu annīyatun wa-ṣūratun wa-kadhālika al-naḥsu dhātu kullīyatīn* [read: *ḥilyatīn*] *wa-al-ḥabī ʿatu dhātu kullīyatīn* [read: *ḥilyatīn*] *wa-laisa li-al-ʿillatī al-ūlā kullīyatun* [read: *ḥilyatun*] *li-annahā annīyatun faqaṭ.*

²² Pattin (pp. 157-58) notes the following different textual variants for *yliatim* (see n. 8): *helyatim*, *heylatim*, *heylatin*, *heilatin*, *eliathim*; *elyatim*; *hellatin*; *heilateia*; *eliachim*, *elyatin*; *helecine*, *yatine*, *helyatine*, *latine*, *heylatine*, *heilietue*, *elyathim*. Cf. Bardenhewer, p. 173; also n. 23 below. (*helyatin* = *ḥilyatin*, indefinite genitive singular of *ḥilyah*; see n. 21.)

²³ That this was probably the correct reading was pointed out by Franz Rosenthal ('Aš-Šayḥ al-Yūnānī and the Arabic Plotinus Source', *Orientalia* 21 [1952] 470) and, following Rosenthal, G. C. Anawati ('Prolegomènes à une nouvelle édition du *De causis* arabe' in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, 3 vols. [Damascus, 1956], 1.108). Bardenhewer's Latin text has *helyatin* (p. 173; cf. pp. 194, 247-48), but for his Arabic text he reads *kullīyah* (as does Badawī). It is on the basis of evidence from the Latin and the fact that *kullīyah* makes no sense in this passage that Rosenthal and Anawati maintained that the reading must be *ḥilyah*. That this is in fact the correct reading of the Arabic ms. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Golius 209 has been pointed out by Giuseppe Serra ('Alcune

'matter' or 'material principle' as St. Thomas thought, can be translated as 'ornament', 'attribute', 'quality', 'state', 'condition', 'appearance' and even 'form'.²⁴ Furthermore, the work of Franz Rosenthal on the Arabic Plotinus source has shown that *ḥilyah*, although uncommon in philosophical texts, has been used to render the Greek *μορφή*, 'shape' or 'form'.²⁵

osservazioni sulle traduzioni dall'arabo in ebraico e in latino del *De generatione et corruptione* di Aristotele e dello pseudo-aristotelico *Liber de causis* in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* [Bologna, 1975], pp. 423-27); my own examination of a microfilm of this manuscript confirms his reading. In reading *kulliyah* Bardenhewer and Badawī were not emending the ms. reading, but rather reading what was written over the original by a second hand. Unfortunately, neither Bardenhewer nor Badawī mentions in the apparatus of his text that under *kulliyah* of the correcting hand is *ḥilyah* in the original. It is hoped that this rather confusing state of affairs has now been rectified with the confirmation of the presence of *ḥilyah* under *kulliyah* in the manuscript. (In a recent article Pattin indicated that the reading of his Latin text, *ylīathīm*, should be changed to *hyliathīm*; see his 'De "Proclus Arabus" en het "Liber de causis"', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 38 [1976] 471).

²⁴ E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1865; rpt. Beirut, 1968), cols. 634c-635a. *Ḥilyah* can also denote 'the quality, or the aggregate of the attributes or qualities, or the state or condition, and the make, and form, and the appearance in respect of colour, or complexion, etc., of a man...' (Lane, col. 635a). See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* 14 (Beirut, 1956), p. 196: '*al-ḥilyah: al-ṣifah wa-al-ṣūrah*...' Also see J. van Ess, 'Jüngere orientalistische Literatur zur neuplatonischen Überlieferung im Bereich des Islam' in *Parusia. Studien zur Philosophie Platons und zur Problemgeschichte des Platonismus. Festgabe für Johannes Hirschberger*, ed. Kurt Flasch (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), p. 340: "'Form, Gestalt'". See n. 25 below.

²⁵ Rosenthal, 'Source', 470, 478-79. Serra argues that *ḥilyah* may be used in the *De causis* to indicate a state consequent upon the possession of form by a created entity: 'Senonché, mentre qui *ḥilya* appare associato a *ṣūra* [form], proprio come *μορφή* si accompagna spesso a *εἶδος*, nel *De causis* essa ne è invece distinta, e in modo tale, ci sembra che non se ne può esaurire il valore col semplice 'forma', *μορφή*. Crediamo quindi che nel nostro passo del *De causis* la situazione contestuale permetta di dare a *ḥilya* un valore che, pur 'fondandosi' su quello di 'forma', ne è tuttavia distinto, e precisamente quello di 'complesso finito (questa precisazione nasce spontaneamente e necessariamente dal rapporto di fondo con 'forma') di qualità e attributi', di 'corredo o ornamento di attributi' ('Alcune osservazioni', 426-27).

Professor M. E. Marmura has called my attention to two other texts in which *ḥilyah* occurs. In the *Kitāb al-Nafs* attributed to Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 910), *ḥilyah* is linked with *ṣūrah* (form): *thumma dhakara al-ṣūrata, wa-bayyana ʿalā kam wajhin tuqālu, wa-matā takūnu al-ṣūratu ḥilyatan li-al-shayʿi alladhī hiya ṣūratun lahu...* (*Kitāb al-Nafs al-mansūb li-Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn*, ed. Aḥmad Fuʿād al-Ahwānī in *Talkhīs Kitāb al-Nafs* [Cairo, 1950], pp. 128-129). The ascription of this text to Iṣḥāq is doubtful; see Richard Walzer, 'New Light on the Arabic Translations of Aristotle', *Oriens* 6 (1953) 126 and also Muḥammad Ṣaghīr Ḥasan, 'Notes on the Edition of the *Kitāb al-Nafs* Ascribed to Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1956, p. 57: 'Terms and expressions clearly demonstrate that the work is either a maiden attempt of Iṣḥāq, or done by somebody who preceded him and was not associated with his school.'

Ḥilyah, in its plural form *ḥilan*, also appears in one of the manuscripts of the *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm* of al-Fārābī. See *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿUlūm*, ed. ʿUṭmān Amīn (Cairo, 1949), p. 94 n. 1. In this case, however, *ḥilan* may be the result of scribal error.

For our purposes it is sufficient to note that the possession of *ḥilyah* at least indicates a prior possession of form. In the *De causis* text this possession of form (*ṣūrah*), in addition to being (*anniyah*), is the basis for the distinction of the First Cause from its creatures (see *De causis* 4). The same appears to be the case with one of the texts published by Rosenthal:

What then does this mean for our understanding of the nature of the intelligences in the *De causis*?

The point which the author of the *De causis* is bringing out in this passage is clearly *not* that all things except the First Cause have matter or a material principle. Rather he is stressing that all created beings are entities limited by form. The intelligence is limited because it is being and form; and so too are soul and nature, for each has being which is limited, specified and made finite by form.²⁶ Just as in Proclus' *Elements of Theology* (the inspiration and source for most of what is in the *De causis*) the One or the Good stands above the limitations of composition,²⁷ so too here the First Cause is not composed of being and form.²⁸ Rather, the First Cause is Pure Being without any limiting or confining form.²⁹

Nowhere in the Arabic text of the *De causis* is there any indication that the separate substances are composed of matter and form. In fact the author makes it quite clear that the intelligences are eternal beings existing above time, not subject to generation or corruption or motion.³⁰ Thus, for the author of the *De causis* separate substances are not hylomorphically composed.

What then of St. Thomas' interpretation? While St. Thomas was clearly wrong in believing that *ylīatim* is derived from the Greek *ὑλη*, he was quite correct in maintaining that in the *De causis* the intelligences do not have matter. St. Thomas here demonstrated the practiced dexterity of a skillful interpreter: he was not deceived by a unique passage which at first reading appears to be totally at odds with the rest of the treatise. He refused to take at face value an ambiguous text which would appear to render the doctrines expressed in the *De causis* contradictory.

As for form being in a way a material principle, that is, that form is related to being as potency to act, here we must admit that St. Thomas read his own teaching

He said: The intellect became all things, because its Creator is not like any thing. The First Creator does not resemble any thing, because all things are from Him and because He has no shape and no special, inherent form [*lā ḥilyah lahu wa-lā šūrah khāṣṣah lāzimah*]. The First Creator is absolutely one, i.e., He is mere being (*ʿazīzal*) [*annīyah faqāṭ*] without any peculiar attribute... (translated by Rosenthal, 'Source', 479).

²⁶ On this type of 'hylomorphism' which is not that of form and prime matter, see Jean Trouillard, 'La genèse de l'hylémorphisme selon Proclus', *Dialogue* 6 (1967-68) 1-17; cf. Leo Sweeney, 'The Origin of Participant and of Participated Perfections in Proclus' *Elements of Theology* in *Wisdom in Depth: Essays in Honor of Henri Renard, S.J.*, ed. V. F. Daues et al. (Milwaukee, 1966), pp. 235-55.

²⁷ See Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, ed. E. R. Dodds, 2nd edition revised (Oxford, 1963), propositions 4 and 5 (pp. 4-6).

²⁸ St. Thomas was the first to note the dependence of the *De causis* on the *Elements of Theology*; see *Super librum de causis expositio, prooemium* (Saffrey, p. 3). The text from *De causis* 8, however, does not appear to have any particular proposition of Proclus' *Elements* as its immediate source. The inspiration is probably Plotinian; see Rosenthal, 'Source', 478-81; Serra, 'Alcune osservazioni', 424-27; also see text from Rosenthal in n. 25 above.

²⁹ On the First Cause as Pure Being, see *De causis* 4 and 8; cf. 5, 15, 17, 19.

³⁰ See *De causis* 10, 24-31.

into the words of the *De causis*. No such notion is to be found in the text. Rather, as was pointed out at the beginning of this article, being (*anniyah, esse*) plays the part of the potential substrate for formal determination.³¹ That is to say, being appears to be related to form as potency to formal specification and limitation, not as act to potency.³²

We can say in conclusion, then, that St. Thomas was mistaken in interpreting *yliatim* in the sense of a material principle or potency. Furthermore, it is clear that he imposed his own teachings on act and potency and existence and essence onto the metaphysics of the *De causis* in his interpretation. However, on the question of the hylomorphic composition of separate substances and, as well, on the question of the nature of the First Cause, St. Thomas correctly perceives that he and the author of the *De causis* are in agreement: there is no hylomorphic composition in separate substances and the First Cause alone is Pure Being and 'only Being' (*esse tantum, anniyah faqat*), devoid of limiting form.

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³¹ On similar notions in the thought of Proclus, see the articles by Trouillard and Sweeney cited in n. 26 above.

³² The notion of being as act seems to be totally lacking in the *De causis*. It should be noted, however, that even for St. Thomas being (*esse*) is itself regarded as requiring the formal determination which is provided by essence or form. In this sense St. Thomas can consider *esse* to be formal, meaning that it is the act of a thing, as form is act for Aristotle. J. Owens, 'The Accidental and Essential Character of Being in the Doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas', *Mediaeval Studies* 20 (1958) 38, explains this as follows:

In determining the being of a thing, nevertheless, the form does not function as an act. It determines the matter as act, and accordingly form and act coincided for Aristotle. But in the Thomistic doctrine the form of itself, independently of its being, is not actual. Without that being, it is actually just nothing, and could not do any determining whatsoever. So in determining its act of being, it does not function as act. Rather, it functions as potency.

THE LEARNING OF SERVATUS LUPUS: SOME ADDITIONS

P. K. Marshall

EVER since the rediscovery of his *Epistulae* in the sixteenth century,¹ Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, has been recognised as one of the outstanding scholars of the ninth century. While estimates vary as to the extent and depth of his learning, few would disagree with the sympathetic description given long ago by B. Nicolas:² 'il a quelque chose de l'humaniste passionné des xv^e et xvi^e siècles.'

There are two very different paths to be taken by those wishing to determine the authors known to Lupus, whether classical or Christian. The first enquiry centers upon the identification of extant manuscripts, either written in the hand of Lupus himself,³ or showing his careful and constant annotations. The most authoritative study of this area is that of E. Pellegrin,⁴ who, after an exhaustive examination of all candidates, presented a firm list of eleven manuscripts, which she could unhesitatingly say showed the hand of Lupus. To these may now be added two more recent discoveries made by Professor Bernhard Bischoff: (a) a copy of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville⁵ at Leiden, ms. Voss. lat. F. 74; (b) a text of Prudentius at Wolfenbüttel,⁶ ms. Aug 4^o 56.18 (3612). Indeed, in a recent article,⁷

¹ They were first published by P. Masson (Paris, 1588), after the unique ms. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2858) was obtained by Pierre Daniel (from Ferrières itself, according to Masson, although this is hard to believe, as the ms. bears the *ex-libris* of Fleury).

² *Etude sur les lettres de Servat-Loup, abbé de Ferrières* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1861), p. 97.

³ As is uniquely the case with the celebrated text of Cicero's *De oratore*, British Library ms. Harley 2736. It may be noted here that the description of the ms. given by C. H. Beeson (*Lupus of Ferrières as a Scribe and Text Critic. A Study of His Autograph Copy of Cicero's 'De oratore' ... with a Facsimile of the Manuscript* [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication 4; Cambridge, Mass., 1930], p. 8) is no longer accurate. When the ms. was rebound in 1973, the dislocation of fols. 17-24 was put right, on the hypothesis that the previous disordering was the result of the careless work of the Harley binder in the early eighteenth century (as is attested by a typewritten leaf inserted at the front of the book).

⁴ 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières: à propos du Ms. Orléans 162 (139) corrigé de sa main', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 115 (1957-58) 5-31.

⁵ See K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani latini*, pars 1: *Codices in folio* (Leiden, 1973), p. 154, where a letter from Bischoff dated 6.vii.1959 is mentioned.

⁶ The identification of Lupus' hand was reported by Bischoff, 'Über mittelalterliche Handschriften in Wolfenbüttel', *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 2 (Frankfurt, 1973), p. 106.

⁷ 'Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung' in *La cultura antica nell'Occi-*

Bischoff has gone so far as to put the number of mss. associated with Lupus at over twenty.

The other (and complementary) route for such an investigation rests upon the actual work of Lupus himself. Although his other writings cannot be ignored, the main body of evidence is clearly the collection of *Epistulae*. Successive editors⁸ have sought not merely to present the explicit references which Lupus makes to a great variety of authors, but also to identify the large number of quotations and allusions embedded in the text of the letters. The standard work on such literary matters was published in 1940 by E. von Severus.⁹ It is the purpose of this article to present some hitherto unnoticed references, which may serve to produce a clearer picture of the texts available to Lupus and the way he used them. On most of the identifications made here there can be little or no doubt, but others of a more tentative nature are deliberately included: while it would be foolish to seek a 'source' for every chance phrase in the letters, it may yet prove significant that certain striking phrases can be traced back to a specific author.

CICERO

As is only to be expected, the classical writer best known, and most frequently used, by Lupus is Cicero. He knew some of the letters, speeches and rhetorical works, and something can be added in each of these sections.

(a) *Letters*

In his indefatigable search for manuscripts, Lupus writes to Ansald of Prüm (Levillain ep. 69, vol. 2, p. 4): 'Tullianas epistolas, quas misisti, cum nostris

dente Latino dal VII all'XI secolo. Spoleto, 18-24 aprile 1974 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 22.1; Spoleto, 1975), pp. 59-86. The total of mss. is given (p. 71) with some caution: '... sind allmählich über 20 Handschriften mit ihm in Verbindung gebracht worden.'

⁸ In the course of preparing a critical edition of the *Epistulae* (to be published by B. G. Teubner of Leipzig in or after 1982), I have consulted every edition, giving particular attention to the two most recent: (a) that of E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae karolini aevi* 4 (Berlin, 1902), pp. 1-126; (b) *Loup de Ferrières. Correspondance*, ed. and trans. Léon Levillain, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927-35; rpt. 1964). All quotations will be given from the text of Levillain, which has been checked against the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2858.

⁹ *Lupus von Ferrières. Gestalt und Werk eines Vermittlers antiken Geistesgutes an das Mittelalter im 9. Jahrhundert* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 21; Münster i. Westf.). More recent work on the *Epistulae* has moved in other directions, and has not been concerned to add to von Severus' list of authors known to Lupus. See especially R. J. Gariépy, *Lupus of Ferrières and the Classics* (Darien, Conn., 1967), 'Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968) 90-105, and 'Lupus of Ferrières' Knowledge of Classical Latin Literature' in *Hommages à André Boutemy*, ed. Guy Cambier (Collection Latomus 145; Brussels, 1976), pp. 152-58; G. W. Regenos, 'The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières', *The Classical Bulletin* 25 (March 1949) 55-57 and *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, trans. with an introduction and notes (The Hague, 1966); Z. C. Snijders, *Het Latijn der brieven van Lupus van Ferrières, middeleeuws humanist* (Diss. Amsterdam, 1943).

conferri faciam, ut ex utrisque, si possit fieri, ueritas exculpatur'. From the histories of the texts of the various collections of Cicero's letters, it would indeed be surprising if this referred to anything but the *Epistulae ad familiares*. This expectation is confirmed by three citations:¹⁰ ep. 1, vol. 1, p. 8 'sed semel pudoris transgressus limitem, etiam hoc postulo', which is taken from *Ad fam.* 5.12.3 'sed tamen, qui semel uerecundiae finis transierit'; ep. 1, vol. 1, p. 8 'item eiusdem auctoris [sc. Ciceronis] de rhetorica libri in disputatione ac dialogo de oratore' = *Ad fam.* 1.9.23 'scripsi igitur Aristotelio more, quem ad modum quidem uolui, tris libros in disputatione ac dialogo de oratore'; ep. 83, vol. 2, p. 68 'nuper a magnificentissimis epulis reuersus' = *Ad fam.* 10.28.1 'quam uellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me idibus Martiis inuitasses'.

(b) *Orations*

The only explicit reference to the orations to be found in Lupus is to the Verrines (ep. 101, vol. 2, p. 124): 'Catilinarium et Iugurthinum Sallustii librosque Verrinarum et, si quos alios uel corruptos nos habere uel paenitus non habere cognoscitis, nobis afferre dignemini'. This is all the more tantalising in that it is not clear whether Lupus owned a faulty copy or none at all. Certainly nothing from the Verrines has been discovered in his extant work, although one of the extant manuscripts showing the hand of Lupus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7774 A) contains two of these speeches. It has been claimed¹¹ that a passage from Lupus' *Liber de tribus quaestionibus* (PL 119.625) comes directly from the *Pro Milone* ('et quoniam spes impunitatis magna est peccandi illecebra' = *Pro Milone* 43 'quis ignorat maximam inlecebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem'). Yet caution is in order here: the passage is also to be found in the *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* of Iulius Severianus (*Rhetores latini minores*, ed. C. Halm [Leipzig, 1863], 361.28), and it is at least possible that Lupus derived his reminiscence from a grammatical or rhetorical tradition, without going back immediately to the text of Cicero.

In an astonishingly uncharacteristic passage (ep. 70, vol. 2, p. 6), Lupus indulges in a sexual innuendo¹² when writing to Marcward about the young monk who is to carry the letter: 'ceterum hunc nouicium cursorem nostrum uestrae

¹⁰ That the reference must be to the *Ad fam.* was seen long ago by G. Voigt, 'Zur Geschichte der handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Briefe Cicero's in Frankreich', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* N.S. 36 (1881) 474 ff. After I had independently identified these three citations, I found that they were already to be seen in U. Moricca's edition of Cicero's letters, *Ciceronis epistularum ad familiares libri sedecim* (Turin, 1950), p. xxv. Evidently this information has not yet reached students of Lupus.

¹¹ e.g. by von Severus, *Lupus von Ferrières*, p. 64.

¹² Observe that the marginal annotator in Paris lat. 2858 has the grace to write *ludit* against this passage.

sanctitati commendamus, omni genere conuersationis professioni suae respondentem, nisi quod adhuc, credo propter timores nocturnos, solus cubare non potest'. It has not been noticed that the immediate source¹³ of this indelicacy is Jerome, ep. 50.5: 'et ut certius sententiam meam teneat, uolo omnes qui propter nocturnos forsitan metus soli cubitare non possunt uxores ducere'. Now, the source of Jerome himself is clearly¹⁴ the celebrated passages in Cicero's *Pro Caelio* 36: 'qui [sc. Clodius] propter nescio quam, credo, timiditatem et nocturnos quosdam inanis metus tecum [sc. Clodia] semper pusio cum maiore sorore cubitabat'. What is especially intriguing in this story of literary borrowing is that while Lupus obviously takes his material from Jerome¹⁵, he yet reintroduces the Ciceronian *credo* (as opposed to Jerome's *forsitan*). Is this entirely fortuitous? Or are we justified in supposing that somehow Lupus has injected the highly important (and splendidly ironical) *credo* back into its proper context from actually reading the *Pro Caelio*? There does exist a perfectly good ninth-century French manuscript of the speech (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7794), but Lupus cannot have used this, or anything closely resembling it, since in the crucial passage (fol. 72v, col. 1) there is a violent dislocation of the text.

When writing of the dangerous and stormy times in which he lived, Lupus three times resorts to the word *turbulentus*: ep. 24, vol. 1, p. 116 *hoc reipublicae turbulento tempore*; ep. 43, vol. 1, p. 180 *hoc turbulento reipublicae tempore*; ep. 91, vol. 2, p. 94 *turbulentissimum tempus est*. Now, *turbulentus* is a favorite adjective of Cicero's (interestingly enough, it is never used by Sallust), but this precise combination of words occurs only in the *Pro Fonteio* 6 *turbulentissimo rei publicae tempore*.¹⁶ Is it possible that Lupus borrowed directly here? ¹⁷

¹³ Since it has been shown (both here, and under Horace and Jerome) that Lupus knew the collection of Jerome's letters, interest should now turn to the extant manuscripts of these letters. It may very well be that the hand of Lupus can be found in one of the numerous mss. dating from the ninth century or earlier.

¹⁴ Editors of Jerome have been especially remiss in failing to notice the influence of the *Pro Caelio* here. Thus neither the edition of I. Hilberg (CSEL 54; Vienna-Leipzig, 1910) nor that of J. Labourt (vol. 2; Paris, 1951) sees the origin of this passage, despite the fact (again unnoticed) that in the same section of Jerome's letter *congerere maledicta non crimina* owes its form to the argument in *Pro Caelio* 6, and 'tunc intellet aliam uim fori esse, aliam triclinii' = *Pro Caelio* 67 'alia fori uis est, alia triclinii'.

¹⁵ It is clearly irrelevant that the Cicero passage is quoted loosely by both Quintilian (*Inst. or.* 8.3.22) and Iulius Victor (*Rhetores latini minores*, ed. Halm, 435.8-10). However, it may very well be that it was well enough known to have been familiar to Lupus from an indirect (and lost) source, which could itself have provided the key word *credo*.

¹⁶ Note also *Pro Sulla* 40 *in illa turbulentissima tempestate reipublicae*.

¹⁷ If this suggestion is in any way right, Lupus must have had access to a text fuller than that now extant in the ninth-century V (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana ms. Arch. S. Pietro H.25), on which see A. C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1918; rpt. 1970), pp. 162-64 and 281 ff. It should, however, be observed that similar expressions would have been familiar to Lupus from the *Ad fam.*: 9.1.2 *in res turbulentissimas*; 12.10.3 *ex turbulenta republica*; and, closest of all, 2.18.3 'tempora autem reipublicae qualia futura sint, quis scit? mihi quidem turbulenta videntur fore'.

Strong confirmation for this view is given by an apparent citation from the *Philippics*, which were transmitted together with the *Pro Fonteio*. In an early letter to Immo (ep. 7, vol. 1, p. 56) Lupus writes: 'Epistolam uestram me quam molliter mulcentem amicitiaeque suauiter memoriam refricantem ... perlegi'. Now the phrase *memoriam refricare* (here used incorrectly, in fact, by Lupus) would appear to have been taken from *Philippics* 3.18 'cum autem illam pulcherrimi facti memoriam refricat'.¹⁸

(c) *Rhetorica*

As has already been noted,¹⁹ it is indisputable that Lupus knew the *De oratore*. It is therefore no surprise to realise that in ep. 130, vol. 2, pp. 200-202 the phrase *republica dissipata* is taken from *De oratore* 1.38 (of the Gracchi) *rem publicam dissipauerunt*.

Although it has never been seriously suggested that Lupus knew the *Orator*, it is worth observing that in the *Liber de tribus quaestionibus* (PL 119.644) the phrase 'non eloquentiae nitorem solum sed etiam clausulam numerose cadentem' looks suspiciously like a conflation of *Orator* 115 'orationis nitor' and 215 'clausulae plures, quae numerose et iucunde cadant'.²⁰

SALLUST

It is already well known²¹ that Lupus was familiar with the work of Sallust. To the allusions already detected may possibly be added two. Ep. 4, vol. 1, p. 28 *mihi multa uoluenti* may come from *Cat.* 32.1 *multa ipse secum uoluens* (cf. *Iug.* 113.1 *haec Maurus secum ipse diu uoluens*); while in the *Liber de tribus quaestionibus* (PL 119.627) *alieni appetens* echoes *Cat.* 5.4 *alieni adpetens* (although it must be observed that the phrase also occurs in *De oratore* 2.135).

VIRGIL

Von Severus (pp. 76-78) rightly expressed surprise at the small number of citations from Virgil to be found in Lupus. Now three pieces of evidence may be added. First, the manuscript of Isidore recently identified²² as containing annotations in the hand of Lupus has yet to be studied thoroughly. However, an

¹⁸ *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, s.v. *memoria* 678.25.

¹⁹ See above, n. 3.

²⁰ Observe that on this very same page Lupus quotes from Cicero's *De inuentione* 2.9. The phrase *numerose cadere* occurs also in *De oratore* 3.175.

²¹ See von Severus, *Lupus von Ferrières*, pp. 54-55.

²² See the remarks on ms. Voss. lat. F.74 above and in n. 5.

examination of only book 2 of the *Etymologiae* shows the ease with which Lupus was able to supply quotations from Virgil (often, in fact, 'correcting' the inaccurate text of Isidore). Again, it has hitherto been believed that the letters contain only one echo from the *Eclogues* (ep. 4, vol. 1, p. 28) 'non canimus surdis' = *Ecl.* 10.8. However, it has not been noticed that ep. 59, vol. 1, p. 230 'quorum indiget usus' = *Ecl.* 2.71. Finally, in ep. 51, vol. 1, p. 210 the words *frustra conantem plurima* are taken from *Aen.* 9.398.

HORACE

Of the two genuine citations from Horace which are to be found in Lupus, it has long been seen that one is borrowed from Jerome.²³ Feeling on the other has been less certain: in his exhortation to King Charles (ep. 31, vol. 1, p. 144) he writes 'uel, iuxta saecularem litteraturam ... "non potest uox missa reuerti"'. Dümmler,²⁴ while noting the ultimate source as Horace, *Ars poetica* 390, was content to observe 'in prouerbum venit'. Gariépy²⁵ confesses to being unable to 'track down an immediate source', but clearly believes that Lupus does not derive his words directly from Horace. However, as it has now been demonstrated that he certainly was familiar with the *Letters* of Jerome, there can be little doubt that the allusion to Horace comes immediately from Jerome, ep. 48.2 'in hac quoque prouincia libri fuerant diuulgati, et, ut ipse legisti, "nescit uox missa reuerti"'.

THE BIBLE

Outstanding among the literary influences upon Lupus is the Bible: his writings abound in direct quotations or more remote allusions, all showing the extent to which the Scriptures were a part of his thinking. It may seem surprising that not all such passages have been noticed, but the following three may certainly be added to the list of those already known.

Ep. 5, vol. 1, p. 42 'si uita comes fuerit' (a phrase repeated in ep. 11, vol. 1, p. 86 and ep. 67, vol. 1, p. 248) is derived from 4 Kings 4:16. It is of interest to note that Jerome uses these words twice in his *Letters* (119.12; 125.17).

Ep. 37, vol. 1, p. 162 'ab aequitatis tramite non recedunt' is a reminiscence of Proverbs 4:11 *ducam te per semitas aequitatis* or Ecclesiasticus 18:11 *ostendit eis uiam aequitatis*.

Ep. 49, vol. 1, p. 206 'cum nesciatis quid superuentura pariat dies' comes from Proverbs 27:1 *ignorans quid superuentura pariat dies*.

²³ See Gariépy, *Lupus of Ferrières and the Classics*, pp. 65-66.

²⁴ in his note on p. 64 of his edition.

²⁵ See n. 23.

JEROME

Lupus' debt to Jerome's *Letters* has already been noted above in the remarks on Cicero and Horace. Yet further cases of borrowing may be observed.

In his letter of consolation to Einhard on the death of his wife, Lupus writes 'non enim sexu differentia uirtutis, sed animo capienda est'. He surely had in his mind Jerome's letter 127 on the death of Marcella, where (§ 5) we read 'uirtutes non sexu, sed animo iudicamus'.

When writing of his own hardships (ep. 54, vol. 1, p. 218) Lupus jokingly says 'Demosthenes noster ipso interdum caule indiget et cibario nonnunquam pane altus fert modice'. This would seem to be inspired by Jerome, ep. 43.3 *ibi cibarius panis et holus* and ep. 79.4 *uile holusculum et cibarius panis*.

Furthermore, in a letter to Einhard (ep. 4, vol. 1, p. 32), Lupus writes 'Non est enim in potestate hominis uia eius, sed a Domino gressus hominum diriguntur'. The ultimate source of these remarks is a combination of two Biblical citations: Jeremiah 10:23 *scio, Domine, quia non est hominis uia eius* and Proverbs 20:24 *a Domino diriguntur gressus viri*. Yet both passages are likewise combined in Jerome, ep. 71.7 'Et quia non est in homine uia eius et a Domino gressus hominis diriguntur', and ep. 133.7 'quomodo scribit Ieremias "Non est in homine uia eius" et "A Domino gressus hominis diriguntur"?' These are clearly the sources upon which Lupus drew. The context of the second citation in Jerome (a discussion of freedom of the will) makes it more likely that this is the immediate source of Lupus' remarks in a passage where his next words are 'humani libertas arbitrii eget omnimodo auxilio gratiae Dei'.

As a polite, if formal, excuse for not writing to Abbot Odo at too great length (ep. 106, vol. 2, p. 136), Lupus says: 'si, quas animo retineo, gratias verbis explicare conarer, non epistolae solum, uerum etiam uoluminis modum excederem'. The same turn of phrase is to be found in Jerome, ep. 133.2: 'multaque alia, quae si de scripturis sanctis uoluero congregare, non dicam epistulae, sed uoluminis quoque excedam modum'.

In addition,²⁶ Lupus' words in ep. 5, vol. 1, p. 50 'praeterea scriptor regius Bert-caudus dicitur antiquarum litterarum, dumtaxat earum quae maximae sunt et unciales a quibusdam uocari existimantur, habere mensuram descriptam' not merely complement, but are taken directly from Jerome, preface to Job 'habeant qui uolunt

²⁶ As was seen by E. T. Merrill, 'The "Uncial" in Jerome and Lupus', *Classical Philology* 11 (1916) 452-57. It is worth recording that in his 1644 edition of Lupus, E. Baluze had already suspected the influence of Jerome's *Letters* on those of Lupus: he observed that ep. 3, vol. 1, p. 16 'recens natum cito posse mori et senem diu non posse uiuere' (a theme repeated in ep. 81, vol. 2, p. 62) was derived from Jerome, ep. 127.2.

ueteres libros uel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, uel uncialibus, ut uulgo aiunt, litteris'.

Finally, the phrase in ep. 18, vol. 1, p. 100 *nos autem in quodam meditullio positi* surely is derived from Jerome, in whose writings the expression *in meditullio positus* occurs frequently.²⁷

AUGUSTINE

It is already well known that Lupus was familiar with the *De ciuitate Dei*: in an early letter to Einhard (ep. 5, vol. 1, p. 42) he refers specifically to chap. 27 of book 21, while in a later letter to Gottschalk (ep. 80, vol. 2, pp. 42 ff.) he makes frequent use of chap. 29 of book 22. His works other than the *Epistulae* show a similar ease of reference. To these borrowings may now be added another. When talking of the inscrutability of the judgement of God, Lupus resorts five times to the same language: ep. 4, vol. 1, p. 24 'dum quod uobis eligendum fuerat ipse [*sc. Deus*] ultro ingesserit, quamquam occulto, minime tamen iniusto iudicio'; ep. 78, vol. 2, p. 26 'quamuis occulto, iusto tamen iudicio derelinquit'; ep. 79, vol. 2, p. 38 'istis eandem gratiam, quamquam occulto, iusto tamen iudicio non largitur'; ep. 81, vol. 2, p. 56 'diu est quod Deus, occulto, iusto tamen iudicio, permisit esse te rectorem gentis tuae'; *Liber de tribus quaestionibus* (PL 119.635D) *occulto iudicio Dei, quamquam rectissimo*. The source of this thought is, in fact, *De ciuitate Dei* 12.28 *quamuis occulto Dei iudicio, sed tamen iusto*. The same thought and formulation (clearly a great favorite with Augustine too) may also be found in *De ciuitate Dei* 15.6, 18.18, 21.13.

To phrases borrowed from Augustine may perhaps also be added ep. 107, vol. 2, p. 140 'ne apud uos metas moderationis excedam'. The phrase *metas excedere*²⁸ is to be found in the *De doctrina christiana* 3.12.18 'ut metas consuetudinis bonorum, inter quos uersatur, excedat'.

BOETHIUS

The influence of Boethius on the *Epistulae* of Lupus is already known from four passages. (1) In a long and complicated letter (ep. 5, vol. 1, pp. 44-46) Lupus quotes several sentences from the *Arithmetica*. (2) In writing to Adalgaud (ep. 21, vol. 1, p. 110), he says: 'nec minus tibi gratulor pro commento Boetii'. This presumably refers to the same work to be found in (3) ep. 53, vol. 1, p. 214 'supplicamus ut commentarios Boetii in Topica Ciceronis ... dirigatis'. (4) Finally,

²⁷ See *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, s.v. *meditullium* 581.53-63.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, s.v. *meta* 867.64 ff., which also cites *den. ad lit. imperf.* 459.9.

in ep. 37, vol. 1, p. 162 there is the anonymous citation of the sentence 'Quae pestis ad nocendum efficacior esse potest, quam familiaris inimicus' from *Cons.* 3.4 (CCL 94.45; Turnhout, 1957).

Furthermore, it must be remembered that Lupus was the author of a work on the metres of Boethius.²⁹ Most recently, Bischoff has shown³⁰ that the hand of Lupus is to be found in a manuscript containing the theological writings of Boethius and the *Consolatio* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana 14.15).

Yet one more piece of information may now be added. In the year 854, Lupus wrote to Hilduin, archchaplain of Charles the Bald, abbot of St. Martin at Tours and of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (ep. 90, vol. 2, p. 92). Hilduin had asked that Lupus take his (Hilduin's) church treasure into the safe keeping of Ferrières. But Lupus, greatly worried by the danger of pirates, politely refused to take the risk, concluding with the words: 'proinde uestra merito laudata et laudanda prudentia prospiciat nostrae formidini et suae rei, ac pretiosa pericula alio transferenda procuret'. Here the phrase *pretiosa pericula* has been lifted from *Cons.* 2.5 (CCL 94.29). What is noteworthy is the way in which Lupus feels free to throw in this almost incomprehensible expression in a letter to Hilduin. In the context of the *Consolatio* the words are perfectly clear, and Lupus must have counted on his recipient's easy familiarity with his source.

ISIDORE

It has already been noted above that an extant manuscript of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville contains notes in the hand of Lupus. It may therefore well be that ep. 107, vol. 2, p. 142 *calamo in ueritate tincto* has as its immediate source *Etym.* 2.27.1 'calamum in mente tinguebat'.³¹

* * *

²⁹ This curious work may be seen on pp. xxv-xxix of R. Peiper's 1871 Teubner edition of the *Consolatio philosophiae*. For a thorough examination of the light this throws on Lupus as a metrician, see V. Brown, 'Lupus of Ferrières on the Metres of Boethius' in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900. Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. John J. O'Meara and Bernd Naumann (Leiden, 1976), pp. 63-79.

³⁰ p. 72 in the article cited in n. 7 above.

³¹ In the case of Isidore, of course, the phrase comes directly from Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 2.11. It has been claimed (e.g., by Levillain in his notes) that in ep. 119, vol. 2, p. 180 the translation of *Bethleem* as *domus panis* may come from Isidore, *Etym.* 15.1.23 'Bethleem nomen ... quod domus panis interpretatur, propter eum panem qui ibi de caelo descendit'. However, it has not been noticed that Isidore is here drawing on Jerome, ep. 108.10 'Salve Bethlem, domus panis, in qua natus est ille panis, qui de caelo descendit' or possibly Jerome's commentary on Micheas 5:2 'Et tu, Bethleem, id est domus panis. ... domus enim panis dicitur, propter panem uiuum qui de caelo descendit' (CCL 76.482; Turnhout, 1969). (The ultimate source of the phrasing is biblical: John 6:33 'Panis enim Dei est, qui de caelo descendit, et dat uitam mundo'). It would seem to be at least as likely that Lupus

That it has proved possible to uncover so many literary allusions in the writings of Servatus Lupus should indicate that more are surely waiting to be detected. As a tantalising example, I cite ep. 91, vol. 2, p. 94 *tot sibi succedentibus annis*. The dactylic rhythm (so uncharacteristic of Lupus' careful prose style) suggests strongly that this is, or is based upon, a line of verse.³² So far I have failed to trace it, although it is worth observing that a line ending *succedentibus annis* is to be found in the ninth-century collection known as the *Carmina cenomanensia*.³³

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derives his interpretation immediately from Jerome. As Lupus shows no knowledge otherwise of the *Letters* of Ambrose, it is presumably irrelevant that this same etymology is given by Ambrose, ep. 18.9 (CSEL 82.132; Vienna, 1968).

³² The form of these words may ultimately go back to Virgil, *Aen.* 2.14 *tot iam labentibus annis*; for the language cf. Esther 9: 27.

³³ *Carm. cen.* 7.91 (MGH *Poetae latini aevi carolini* 2; Berlin, 1884), p. 631.

UN NOUVEAU TÉMOIN
DU *DE MIRACULIS* DE PIERRE LE VÉNÉRABLE:
LE MANUSCRIT DE NEUCHÂTEL ARMOIRE DE FER A 25

Denise Bouthillier

La recherche des manuscrits du *De miraculis* de Pierre le Vénérable, poursuivie depuis deux ans dans les bibliothèques d'Europe, nous a permis de repérer une quantité considérable de récits isolés ou de groupes de récits extraits de cette œuvre et réemployés dans la littérature postérieure. Plus ou moins nombreux et plus ou moins fidèles ou abrégés selon les cas, les textes ainsi reproduits témoignent au moins de la considérable diffusion de cet ouvrage. Parmi les collections que nous avons étudiées, certaines sont d'une importance suffisante pour être ajoutées à la liste des treize témoins principaux déjà inventoriés par Giles Constable.¹ Aucun pourtant n'est comparable à celle que nous transmet le manuscrit Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique de la ville, Armoire de fer A 25. Grâce à lui, il est maintenant possible de répondre à certaines questions posées par l'édition imprimée, notamment celle de savoir d'où venaient deux chapitres du second livre du *De miraculis* dont nous n'avions jusqu'ici aucune attestation manuscrite. Non seulement ce témoin contient la plus ample collection connue à ce jour, mais il offre le texte des deux chapitres qui manquaient dans tous les autres manuscrits. En outre, il apporte une nouvelle attestation du prologue II et de onze chapitres dont nous n'avions jusqu'ici qu'un seul témoin manuscrit. Il constitue donc une précieuse confirmation de la valeur de l'édition imprimée procurée par Pierre de Montmartre en 1522.²

¹ Ce sont les manuscrits: Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale 237, ff. 62r-80v; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale 11986 (Van den Gheyn 3234), ff. 266r-272r; Londres, British Library Royal 7.D.i, ff. 61r-139v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale n.a. lat. 346, ff. 6r-14r; Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 17 (27), ff. 106v-164v. On trouvera la liste des treize manuscrits déjà connus ci-dessous à la note 6; voir Giles Constable, 'Manuscripts of Works by Peter the Venerable' in *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156-1956. Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death* (Studia anselmiana 40; Roma, 1956), pp. 219-42; voir aussi notre analyse: 'La tradition manuscrite du *De miraculis* de Pierre le Vénérable. Bilan d'une première recherche', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6 (1976) 99-142; nous citerons désormais en abrégé: 'La tradition manuscrite'.

² Pierre de Montmartre, ed., *Petri Venerabilis, integerrimae et vere Christianae doctrinae viri, Cluniacensis quondam Abbatis, opera haud vulgaria, D. Petri de Monte Martyrum theologiae pro-*

Ce manuscrit de Neuchâtel contient dans sa première partie une collection d'apophtegmes (ff. 1r-96v), et nous nous proposons de publier dans une autre communication l'inventaire détaillé que nous en avons fait. Nous ferons alors la description matérielle de ce manuscrit ainsi qu'une présentation complète de son contenu.³ Quant à la présente note, consacrée à faire connaître ce nouveau témoin du *De miraculis*, elle est divisée en deux parties. La première donne les incipit et explicit ainsi que les tables des matières des deux livres de ce texte.⁴ La seconde procède à une analyse détaillée de ces données en vue de souligner l'importance et l'originalité de ce nouveau témoin.

I. DESCRIPTION DES FF. 97R-158R

(Livre I)

(Prologue)

- (f. 97r) *inc.* 'Incipit prologus in libro primo domni petri abbatis clu<nia-censis> de miraculis. Cum inter spiritus sancti karismata gratia miraculorum non paruam obtineat dignitatem utpote que ...'
expl. '... que de corpore domini moderno tempore facta miracula ad me peruenire potuerunt narrare incipiam. Explicit prologus.'

(Table)

- inc.* 'Incipiunt capitula
 I De miraculo quod in aruernico territorio contigit
 II De quodam presbitero diuina misteria indigne tractante
 III De illo qui dominicum corpus retinere non potuit non (!) prius facta confessione
 IV De obitu fratris cuiusdam et ad ultimum facta confessione
 V De alterius cuiusdam ficta confessione
 VI De illo qui per ueram confessionem liberatus est a diabolo
 VII Quomodo demones aqua benedicta fugati sunt

fessionis viri doctissimi, cura et labore nunc primum in lucem edita... Miraculorum praeterea libri duo. Ex quibus, quid in omni vita sequendum, fugiendumque sit, veraciter et perfecte quisque edificare possit. Cum privilegio vaeneunt in vico Jacobo a Damiano Hichman Bibliopola... (Paris, 1522), ff. i-xxviii des cahiers aa-DD. Au sujet de cette édition (= EP), voir 'La tradition manuscrite', 102 n. 1.

³ Ce manuscrit est venu à notre connaissance par l'intermédiaire du professeur Giles Constable, à qui l'avait signalé le professeur Paul Oskar Kristeller. Puissent-ils trouver dans ces lignes l'expression de notre vive gratitude. Nous poursuivons notre recherche en vue de découvrir d'autres manuscrits du *De miraculis* et nous serions reconnaissante pour toute information qui pourrait nous être communiquée à ce sujet.

⁴ Nous suivons l'orthographe manuscrite laquelle respecte rarement les 'e' cédillés; en cours d'analyse nous utilisons les chiffres arabes pour désigner les chapitres et dans l'ordre où ils se trouvent dans les éditions imprimées afin d'éviter toute confusion avec les diverses numérotations manuscrites.

	VIII	De gerardo pure et simplicis uite monacho
	IX	De his que in cluniaco uel circa contigerunt
	X	De stephani qui blancus dicebatur apparitione mirabili
	XI	De simili apparitione bernardi qui grossus dicebatur
	XII	Quanta semper inuidia diabolus aduersus cluniacum infremuerit
(f. 97v)	XIII	De fratre quem sub abbatis specie decipere uoluit
	XIV	De eo qui demones audiuit flagitia sua iactantes
	XV	Quid beatus hugo narrauerit in capitulo uigilia nathalis domini
	XVI	De fratre qui demones uidit quasi religiose incedentes
	XVII	De algero sene religioso
	XVIII	De armanno nouitio quem diabolus in specie ursi perterrit
	XIX	Quod angelus locum ubi fratres defunguntur cruce christi signauerit
	XX	De illo qui moriens albatorum multitudinem uidit
	XXI	De turquillo priore marciniacensium sororum
	XXII	Miraculum quod in eodem marciniacensi monasterio contigit
	XXIII	De defuncto milite qui ter apparuit cuidam presbitero
	XXIV	De guidone gebennensi episcopo
	XXV	De quodam presbitero terribiliter mortuo
	XXVI	De gaufrido sinemurensi domino
	XXVII	De milite mortuo qui apparuit humberto beliocensi
	XXVIII	Item de apparitione cuiusdam in hispania
	<i>expl.</i>	Finiunt capitula.'

(Texte)

(f. 97v)	<i>inc.</i>	'Incipit liber primus. Capitulum primum' — <i>rubr.</i> 'De miraculo quod in aruernico territorio contigit' — <i>inc.</i> 'Erat in aruernico territorio rusticus quidam habens examina apum...' (chap. I à <XXVIII>);
(f. 130v)	<i>expl.</i>	<XXVIII> '... quem per opera misericordie uelut per eos (f. 131r) quibus impensa est a tormentis eripuit et requiei beatorum spirituum sociauit. Explicit liber primus domni petri abbatis de miraculis.'

(Livre II)

(Prologue)

(f. 131r)	<i>inc.</i>	'Incipit prologus in libro secundo eiusdem. Quoniam ad roborandam fidem et mores instruendos miracula nostro tempore uel circa nostra tempora gesta...'
(f. 131v)	<i>expl.</i>	'... si quid dignum uel utile inuenire potuerit ad dei laudem uel

profectum legentium modernis et posteris manifestet.
Explicit prologus.'

(Table)

	<i>inc.</i>	'Incipiunt capitula libri secundi
	<I>	De oppressore ecclesiarum qui uisibiliter raptus est a diabolo
	<II>	De illo qui terra obrutus per sacrificia et orationes ecclesie ab angelo pascebatur
	<III>	Excusatio quare scriptor horum in narrando non potuerit ordinem conseruare temporum
	<IV>	De ortu et adole<sce>ntia bona domni mathei episcopi albanensis
	<V>	Qualiter uenerabili radulpho remorum postea archiepiscopo adheserit
	<VI>	Quomodo ad monasticam uitam aspirans ecclesiasticos honores dimiserit
	<VII>	Quod propter celebrem religiosi famam clun<iacum> eligens apud sanctum martinum de campis monachi habitum suscepit
	<VIII>	<i>om.</i>
	<IX>	Qualis erga subditos fuit
	<X>	Qualis erga proximos uel remotos extiterit
	<XI>	Qualiter a domno petro abbate cluniacum evocatus ordinem rigidissime tenuit
(f. 132r)	<XII>	De scismate cluniacensi per pontium qui abbas fuerat concitato
	<XIII>	De fine scandali cluniacensis et sapientia domni mathei
	<XIV>	Qualiter in episcopum albanensem assumptus sit et quam sancte in eo sese habuerit
	<XV>	Quod cum adhuc prior esset pecunias a iudeis mutuari prohibuit
	<XVI>	De scismate romane ecclesie et quam uiriliter catholicam partem defenderit
	<XVII>	De fine ipsius miris insignibus glorioso
	<XVIII>	De uisione quam de ipso uidit prior sancti zenonis
	<XIX>	De uisione alterius fratris
	<XX>	Quomodo signo crucis demones a se fugauerit et de infatigabili eius ad deum intentione
	<XXI>	De reuelationibus ante mortem illi ostensis et gloria quam sibi paratam uidit
	<XXII>	Quam sancte in gloriose die sancto natalis domini prima lucescente aurora de hoc mundo transierit
	<XXIII>	De celeberrimis exequiis eius et tumulatione honorabili in basilica sancti frigidiani
	<i>expl.</i>	Expliciunt capitula.'

(Texte)

- (f. 132r) *inc.* 'Incipit liber secundus domni petri abbatis cluniacensis de miraculis' — <I> *rubr.* 'De oppressore ecclesiarum qui uisibiliter raptus est a diabolo et per aera subuectus est stupentibus qui aderant uniuersis' — *inc.* 'Primum igitur ad terrorem et correctionem malorum principum quod matisconi gestum est proferatur...' (chap. <I> à <XX>);
- (f. 145v) <XXI> *rubr.* 'De reuelationibus ante mortem illi ostensis et de gloria quam sibi preparatam uidit' — *inc.* 'Ostendit benignus saluator antequam ille ex toto deficeret hec eius studia sibi placuisse...'
- (f. 146v) (le récit s'arrête en bas de page sur les mots suivants:) 'Recedente ergo ab ipso iam' ... (la finale de ce chap. XXI et les chap. XXII-XXIII manquent à l'appel; voir ci-dessous p. 531 n. 14).
- (f. 147r) <XXIV> *rubr.* 'De quodam malo monacho pessime mortuo' — *inc.* 'Post illa miranda opera uel signa que ad legentium uel audientium spiritualem edificationem supra premissa sunt...' (chap. <XXIV> à <XXXIII>)
- (f. 158r) *expl.* <XXXIII> '... et sibi debita que ad animam pertinent beneficia a fratribus sollicite reddi rogauit et plura supra debitum addidi.'

II. ANALYSE DE CE NOUVEAU TÉMOIN

Pour apprécier l'apport propre du manuscrit de Neuchâtel à notre connaissance du *De miraculis*, il est indispensable de le mettre en relation avec les témoins déjà connus. A cet effet, nous résumerons d'abord brièvement les résultats communiqués dans un premier article sur ce sujet.⁵ Par souci de commodité, nous reprendrons les sigles déjà utilisés et nous en redonnons la liste ci-dessous;⁶ le manuscrit de Neuchâtel sera lui-même désigné désormais par la lettre *N*.

⁵ Voir ci-dessus n. 1, 'La tradition manuscrite'.

⁶ Voici la liste des manuscrits utilisés pour notre première recherche:

- B* Bern, Bürgerbibliothek 335, ff. 1r-62r;
*Br*¹ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale II. 942 (Van den Gheyn 3284), ff. 111r-130r;
*Br*² Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale 7462-81 (Van den Gheyn 3177), ff. 208v-216r;
*Br*³ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale 7797-806 (Van den Gheyn 3185), ff. 106r-121r;
C København, Kongelige Bibliotek GL. Kgl. S. 1361, ff. 64v-112v;
Ca Cambridge, St. John's College K 25 (James 230), ff. 66r-107r;
D Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 211, ff. 101r-120v;
L Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Vossianus lat. O.8, ff. 1r-40r;
M München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14682, ff. 1r-38v;
O Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale 238, ff. 42r-51v;

L'ensemble des treize manuscrits du *De miraculis* a été analysé selon une double approche. D'une part, la considération de leurs caractéristiques externes permet de les regrouper en 'collections' (ce terme vise essentiellement le nombre et l'ordonnance des chapitres). D'autre part, l'examen de leurs variantes communes permet de préciser la 'tradition manuscrite' à laquelle se rattache tel ou tel témoin. Cette seconde analyse, plus approfondie que la première, allant au-delà des simples divergences matérielles de contenu, fait apparaître très nettement deux familles différentes. La première regroupe huit manuscrits dont les collections, semblables à quelques divergences près, rassemblent dix-neuf chapitres du premier livre de l'édition imprimée, mais n'attestent rien du second.⁷ La deuxième famille, par contre, contient tous les chapitres du premier livre de l'édition et atteste un nombre varié de chapitres du second livre. Trois d'entre eux (*BLCa*) omettent complètement les chapitres II 3-23 qui correspondent à la *Vita* de Mathieu d'Albano;⁸ le témoin *R* transmet huit chapitres de cette même *Vita*, et le témoin *P*², qui se rattache de façon plus lâche à ce second groupe, en atteste onze autres. Malgré cela, deux chapitres de l'édition imprimée, les chapitres II 12 et 13, n'étaient transmis par aucun témoin. Seul *P*² en communique quelques bribes bizarrement rassemblées au début de son chapitre II 14.⁹ Il est évident que cette diversité pose de sérieux problèmes quant à l'édition critique du texte, mais l'apport de *N* qui vient combler la lacune des chapitres II 12-13 doit être enregistré comme un élément positif. Il faut donc examiner maintenant en détail ses caractéristiques externes et internes qui, nous allons le voir, permettent de le rattacher à la deuxième famille.

A. Caractéristiques de la collection

(1) Le premier livre se compose d'un prologue, d'une table des matières et de vingt-huit chapitres, c'est-à-dire l'intégralité du texte que l'on retrouve dans l'édition imprimée. Cette succession est caractéristique de la deuxième famille (*BLCaR*) qui se distingue ainsi de la première, qui omet la table des matières et ne

*P*¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale latin 14463, ff. 122r-148r;

*P*² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale latin 17716, ff. 25r-70v;

R Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 443 (A.74), ff. 1r-38v.

Nous aurons aussi l'occasion de renvoyer à Martin Marrier et André Duchesne, *Petri Mauricii dicti Venerabilis, abbatis Cluniacensis IX. De Miraculis, Libri Duo*, in *Bibliotheca cluniacensis* (= *BC*) (Paris, 1614), col. 1247-1338.

⁷ Cette première famille rassemble les manuscrits *Br*¹, *Br*², *Br*³, *C*, *D*, *M*, *P*¹ et *O*. Les vingt-trois chapitres qu'ils contiennent sont eux-mêmes organisés en deux livres à l'exception de la collection de *O* qui n'en compte que neuf.

⁸ Pour l'importance de cette *Vita* et diverses hypothèses émises à son sujet, voir 'La tradition manuscrite', 129 n. 1.

⁹ Voir *ibid.*, 133-35.

transmet pas la totalité de ce premier livre. Cette ordonnance est aussi celle de *EP* alors que *BC* la modifie quelque peu en plaçant la table avant le prologue.¹⁰

Outre ce premier indice d'appartenance à la deuxième famille, *N* en présente un second qui réside dans la manière dont il rédige sa rubrique initiale: *Incipit prologus in libro primo domni petri abbatis cluniacensis de miraculis*. À l'exception du mot *primo*, dont ils n'avaient pas besoin puisqu'ils n'ont qu'un seul livre, les manuscrits *B* et *L* ont exactement le même texte.¹¹ La rubrique finale de *N* rejoint également celle de *L*, seul à en posséder une dans cette seconde famille.¹²

Quant à l'ordonnance des chapitres, on ne relève qu'une différence notable entre *N* et les manuscrits de la famille II: le chapitre 8 se présente chez lui comme un ensemble d'une seule venue, alors que dans tous les autres manuscrits (y compris ceux de la première famille), ce même texte est divisé en cinq petites unités. Sur ce point, *N* anticipe l'option qui a été prise dans les éditions imprimées.¹³

(2) Le deuxième livre est ordonné d'une manière semblable au premier: d'abord le prologue, ensuite la table et enfin les trente-trois chapitres qui composent ce second livre. De nouveau, cette ordonnance est la même que celle du seul manuscrit (*R*) de la famille II qui ait divisé sa collection en deux livres et qui soit vraiment comparable à *N*. C'est aussi l'agencement retenu par *EP*, alors que *BC*, ici encore, intervertit cet ordre.

La table des matières présente quelques particularités. En effet, elle annonce vingt-deux récits seulement, alors qu'elle devrait théoriquement en contenir trente-trois. Ce décalage de onze chapitres entre les énoncés de la table des matières et le contenu effectif du texte s'explique de la façon suivante: en premier lieu, le titre du chapitre 8 a été omis; ensuite la table ne mentionne pas les titres des chapitres 24 à 33 alors que le texte contient bien ces dix récits qui auraient dû être annoncés.

De plus, il faut noter que les chapitres 22 et 23, pourtant annoncés dans la table,

¹⁰ *N* s'accorde aussi bien avec *BC* qu'avec *EP* dans la numérotation de sa table des matières; ce que ne font pas les autres manuscrits. Elle apparaît aussi dans le texte pour les récits I 1 à 13, mais cesse à partir du chapitre 14 et on ne la trouve pas davantage au deuxième livre. Cette numérotation est exacte, mais postérieure. Quant au libellé des titres, il est semblable à celui de *EP* à l'exception de deux variantes de quelque importance: *aduersus* contra *EP*; *eo* illo *EP*. Les autres sont purement orthographiques.

¹¹ Cependant, au début du premier livre, *L* dira: *Incipit liber primus*. *R* quant à lui n'a pas de rubrique initiale, bien que deux lignes aient été réservées à cet effet avant le prologue I.

¹² Voir 'La tradition manuscrite', 125 n. 1. Nous n'insistons pas sur cet aspect, mais il faut enregistrer la confirmation par *N* de l'attribution à Pierre le Vénéérable.

¹³ À propos des éditions imprimées, nous avons déjà dit que *N* est plus proche d'*EP* que de *BC*. Un nouveau détail permet de le souligner de façon irrécusable: au chapitre 22, *N* transmet un texte conforme à celui de tous les manuscrits des familles I et II ainsi qu'à celui de l'*editio princeps*. Par contre *BC*, suivant ici *P*², insère une importante incise de cinquante-six mots à la louange de la clôture stricte observée à Marcigny (voir 'La tradition manuscrite', 130 n. 4). Il est précieux que le témoignage de *N* dont la collection est plus importante que celle de *P*² vienne ici relativiser l'apport de ce dernier.

n'ont pas de correspondant dans le texte. Ceci provient de la perte probablement accidentelle (au moment de la reliure?) de deux folios qui devaient contenir le texte manquant.¹⁴ C'est en raison de cet accident que nous parlions ci-dessus d'un contenu 'théorique' de trente-trois chapitres.¹⁵

Quant au contenu et à l'ordonnance du texte, il faut d'abord signaler que *N* est le seul témoin manuscrit avec *R* du prologue de ce livre II. Ensuite, si nous exceptons les chapitres II 22-23 dont nous avons expliqué l'absence accidentelle, il faut dire que *N* contenait l'intégralité de la *Vita* de Mathieu d'Albano, confirmant ainsi le témoignage de *R* pour le chapitre 3 et celui de *P*² pour les chapitres 10 et 14 à 21. Pour ces chapitres, nous avons désormais deux témoins, alors qu'auparavant nous n'en avions qu'un seul. Quant aux chapitres 4 à 9 et 11, *N* en est désormais le troisième témoin, alors qu'auparavant nous avions seulement *R* et *P*². Par ailleurs, nous l'avons déjà dit, *N* est le premier témoin, et pour l'instant le seul, des chapitres 12-13 dont nous n'avions jusqu'ici que des traces dans la tradition manuscrite. A l'exception de quelques menues différences sur lesquelles nous reviendrons plus loin, le texte qu'il transmet est massivement conforme à celui de l'*editio princeps* et il apporte ainsi une utile sanction au travail des premiers éditeurs.

L'agencement des derniers chapitres est légèrement différent dans les manuscrits et dans l'*editio princeps*. L'unique chapitre 29 du texte imprimé est dédoublé par *N* qui s'accorde en cela avec les manuscrits *B*, *L* et *R*, c'est-à-dire toute la famille II à l'exception de *Ca*.¹⁶ De même, *N* partage la particularité de ce second groupe qui fait passer le chapitre II 27 après le chapitre II 30. Cet accord de la tradition manuscrite contre les éditions imprimées devra être soigneusement considéré lors de l'édition définitive du texte. Quant au récit final, il est également présent dans les manuscrits *B* et *L*, mais il faut noter que *N* est le seul manuscrit effectivement divisé en deux livres qui se termine sur le même chapitre que les éditions imprimées.

¹⁴ Bien que la foliotation continue du manuscrit, postérieure à cet accident, ne permette pas de s'en rendre compte au premier abord, le texte présente une solution de continuité qui apparaît à la lecture. Il s'arrête au bas du folio 146v sur les mots: *recedente ergo ab ipso iam* qui laissent le récit II 21 en suspens. Le début du f. 147r suivant reprend avec la rubrique du chapitre II 24. Le texte manquant correspond effectivement au contenu approximatif de deux folios. Il est aisé de s'en rendre compte puisque l'écriture du scribe lui permet de placer une moyenne de dix mots par ligne, soit trois cent dix mots par page de trente lignes, au total 1200 mots pour deux folios complets. Or le texte manquant compte 1127 mots, ce qui, en tenant compte de l'espace nécessaire aux rubriques, correspond bien à 120 lignes, soit deux folios recto et verso. Ces deux feuillets doivent être simples comme celui du début de ce même cahier. En effet, le f. 155r poursuit le texte du f. 154v, ce qui empêche d'affirmer qu'il y avait à l'origine deux diplômes entiers.

¹⁵ Il faut signaler que *N* n'est pas seul à présenter des singularités au point de vue de la table des matières; ainsi *R* annonce vingt-trois titres alors qu'il ne contient réellement que dix-sept chapitres; de même les éditions imprimées annoncent trente titres alors qu'elles contiennent effectivement trente-deux récits. Malgré cette différence de trente-trois chapitres dans *N* contre trente-deux dans *EP* et *BC*, le texte est cependant le même; cette différence vient en effet simplement du dédoublement de II 29 dans *N*.

¹⁶ Voir 'La tradition manuscrite', 128 n. 2.

Etant donné la complexe diversité des apports sur le contenu de ce second livre, nous avons jugé utile de dresser un petit tableau qui permet de visualiser l'ensemble des données recueillies. On y saisira d'un coup d'œil la proximité de *N* par rapport à l'*editio princeps*. Seuls le dédoublement du chapitre 29 et l'intervention des chapitres 27/30 empêchent que l'on puisse parler ici d'une coïncidence totale.¹⁷

CONCORDANCE DES TÉMOINS DU *DE MIRACULIS*

<i>EP</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>P</i> ²	<i>R</i>	<i>Ca</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>B</i>
II Prol. Table	II Prol. Table		II Prol. Table			
1	1	56	1	29	29	29
2	2		2	30	30	30
3	3		3			
4	4	38	4			
5	5	39	5			
6	6	40	6			
7	7	41	7			
8	8	42	8			
9	9	43	9			
10	10	44				
11	11	45	10			
12	12					
13	13					
14	14	46				
15	15	47				
16	16	48				
17	17	49				
18	18	50				
19	19	51				
20	20	52				
21	21	53				
22	22	54				
23	23	55				
24	24		11		31	31
25	25		12		32	32
26	26		13		33	33
27	31		18	34	38	38
28	27		14	31	34	34
29	28-29		15-16	32	35-36	35-36
30	30		17	33	37	37
31	32				39	39
32	33				40	40

¹⁷ Nous reprenons, en le simplifiant de détails qui n'ont pas été pris en compte ici et en le complétant par l'apport de *N*, un graphique semblable à celui que nous avons proposé dans 'La tradition manuscrite', 108. On pourra s'y reporter pour ce qui concerne les données du premier livre. La numérotation en chiffres arabes placée ici sous les divers sigles représente l'ordonnance des récits dans chacun des témoins signalés.

B. Caractéristiques de la tradition manuscrite

L'analyse précédente a permis de souligner à plusieurs reprises l'appartenance de *N* à la famille II. Malgré des différences bien tranchées qui viennent principalement de l'ampleur de sa collection, sa structure générale est comparable à celle des manuscrits de ce second groupe tant pour le livre I que pour le livre II. Il est toutefois possible de préciser davantage ces premières indications en procédant à la collation du texte lui-même. Nous passons ici du plan des seules caractéristiques externes de la collection à celui des particularités de la tradition manuscrite. Or, à ce niveau, nos deux familles se distinguent l'une de l'autre par des variantes opposées sur lesquelles se retrouvent de part et d'autre les différents manuscrits: huit d'un côté, cinq de l'autre. Sur un ensemble de trois chapitres comportant 1200 mots, nous avons relevé trente-six leçons caractéristiques. Le manuscrit *B*, qui a le plus fort taux d'appartenance au groupe, est le seul à présenter la totalité de ces trente-six leçons communes. Après lui, viennent *R* et *L* avec trente-quatre, puis *Ca* avec trente-deux, et enfin *P*² avec vingt-trois. Il était aisé de faire la vérification pour le nouveau venu: le manuscrit *N* partage trente-cinq de ces trente-six variantes; il se range donc de plein droit dans cette famille.

A lui seul cet argument est suffisant et il n'y aurait que peu d'intérêt à reproduire ici le tableau de ces variantes.¹⁸ Mais nous pouvons tirer plus ample profit de notre analyse, et essayer de vérifier la qualité du texte transmis par *N*. Elle ressort nettement de la comparaison que nous avons faite du texte de sa table des matières, du prologue II et du chapitre II 3 avec celui de *R*, son plus proche voisin, qui est le seul à proposer avec lui ces portions du texte. La copie de *R* est grevée de mélectures manifestes que nous avons signalées ailleurs¹⁹ et qui sont absentes du texte de *N*. Cependant, une comparaison avec *P*² dont le texte est d'assez bonne qualité oblige à relativiser cette première impression. De fait, on relève fréquemment dans le texte de *N* les traces de menues négligences plus ou moins soigneusement corrigées. De plus, si l'accord *N/P*² permet de rectifier l'*editio princeps* dont les leçons sont parfois erronées,²⁰ l'accord *EP/P*² fait apparaître quelques omissions dans le texte de *N*.²¹ Seule la collation complète du texte permettra de s'avancer davantage et de déterminer sa qualité et sa situation exactes par rapport à l'ensemble des témoins;

¹⁸ Voir 'La tradition manuscrite', 123.

¹⁹ Voir *ibid.*, 127.

²⁰ Les cas relevés pour le seul chapitre I 22 sont les suivants: contempnunt *NP*²] concernunt *EP*; vestri *NP*²] nostri *EP*; hoc *NP*²] hic *EP*.

²¹ Nous avons fait cette comparaison *EP/N/P*² pour les chapitres I 22 et II 10 et nous avons pu relever les omissions suivantes:

chap. I 22: semel facta *EPP*²] semel *N*; sed nequicquam *EPP*²] *om. N*; sanctis mulieribus *EPP*²] mulieribus *N*;

chap. II 10: ad eos uero *EPP*²] ad eos *N*; uix uel *EPP*²] uix *N*; aut quid *EPP*²] aut *N*.

mais si ces premières données se révèlent constantes, il sera indispensable de vérifier les leçons de *N* chaque fois qu'un autre témoin sera disponible.

* * *

Au terme de cette analyse, une ultime question reste à examiner: étant donné la proximité souvent signalée de *EP* par rapport à *N*, ce dernier ne serait-il pas le modèle qu'a reproduit l'*editio princeps*? L'hypothèse ne manquerait pas de plausibilité: la disparition des chapitres II 22-23 a pu se produire à une date postérieure à 1522, et le fait que la table des matières soit plus complète dans *EP* que dans *N* n'est pas non plus un obstacle majeur. C'est précisément le genre de choses qu'un éditeur peut améliorer sans manquer à son propos de fidélité au texte.

Il y a cependant contre cette hypothèse des arguments d'ordre négatif assez fort. Nous avons signalé que l'ordonnance des derniers chapitres est différente dans *N* et dans *EP*; ceci ne plaide pas en faveur de la dépendance directe de *EP* par rapport à *N*. Un argument de poids aurait pu être fourni par l'examen de la tradition manuscrite proprement dite; malheureusement, elle ne permet pas une conclusion ferme. Nous avons examiné le prologue II (qui nous a permis du même coup la comparaison avec *R*) et les chapitres II 12-13, pour lesquels *N* est le seul témoin disponible. Dans le prologue, sur huit cas relevés, nous avons pu compter cinq accords *N/EP* et seulement trois désaccords;²² cette première donnée était donc plutôt positive. Mais au niveau des chapitres 12-13, les variantes orthographiques mises à part, nous avons dû relever huit variantes par lesquelles *N* se situe en opposition vis-à-vis de *EP*.²³ L'une ou l'autre de ces leçons différentes n'interdirait peut-être pas de soutenir la dépendance de *EP* par rapport à *N*, mais l'ensemble des huit cas la rend plus improbable. Il faudra donc poursuivre cet examen sur une base documentaire plus large avant d'apporter à cette question une réponse définitive. Si l'absence de tout autre témoin manuscrit pour les chapitres II 12-13 devait se confirmer, le choix de la leçon à retenir en serait rendu plus difficile. En toute hypothèse, l'existence de ce texte dans le manuscrit de Neuchâtel doit être considéré comme un élément décisif pour notre recherche.²⁴

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²² Voici les trois désaccords: indagabant *NR*] indagantes *EP*; translatoribus (uel translationibus *alia manu*) *N*] translationibus *REP*; uero *NR*] *om. EP*.

²³ Les huit cas relevés sont les suivants: causis uel causibus *inv. EP*; ergo *om. EP*; est] fuerat *EP*; sibi sedem *inv. EP*; et] uel *EP*; peditesque *om. EP*; decesserat] iam *add. EP*; rursum] responsum *EP*.

²⁴ Les recherches qui sont à la base de cet article ont été subventionnées par le Programme Killam du Conseil des Arts du Canada.

A SOURCE OF THE *POOR CAITIFF* TRACT 'OF MAN'S WILL' ¹

Michael G. Sargent

THE *Poor Caitiff* is one of the more important and popular of the later Middle English manuals of religious devotion and instruction; in *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, P. S. Jolliffe describes no fewer than fifty-five manuscripts containing at least some of the fourteen constituent tracts of this work.² Ten of these tracts, although they represent only a small part of the actual bulk of the *Poor Caitiff*, form in themselves a short contemplative treatise which the author entitled 'some short sentences exciting men to heavenly desire'. Some fifty years ago, Hope Emily Allen pointed out that several of these tracts are made up of translations and arrangements of excerpts from the Latin and English writings of Richard Rolle, and from Latin compilations that often occur together with his works.³ Sister Mary Teresa Brady, who edited the *Poor Caitiff* in 1954,⁴ expanded, clarified and corrected Miss Allen's earlier suggestions. We now know that, of the ten tracts in this section of the work, three are, in whole or part, translations of parts of Rolle's *Emendatio vitae*; one of these, the tract 'Of the Desire of Jesus', and two others contain parts of *The Form of Living*;⁵ the first half of the tract

¹ I must thank here those by whose permission, and with whose assistance, this study was carried out: the Master and Fellows, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Dean and Chapter, Lincoln Cathedral, and Fordham University; the librarians and archivists of these institutions; Professor Margaret Amassian and Mrs. Margaret McGrath.

² In this reference work (Toronto, 1974), pp. 65-67, he registers the *Poor Caitiff* as 'Class B'.

³ Hope Emily Allen, 'Some Fourteenth Century Borrowings from Ancren Riwe', *Modern Language Review* 18 (1923) 1-4 and *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series 3; New York, 1927, rpt. 1966), pp. 63, 68, 218, 315 and 406.

⁴ Sister Mary Teresa Brady, *The Pore Caitif: Edited from ms Harley 2336 with Introduction and Notes* (Diss. Fordham, 1954), cited hereafter as *Pore Caitif*. Cf. the same, 'The Pore Caitif: An Introductory Study', *Traditio* 10 (1954) 529-48, cited hereafter as 'Pore Caitif', and 'The Apostles and the Creed in Manuscripts of *The Pore Caitif*', *Speculum* 32 (1957) 323-25. Sister Brady treats the sources of the contemplative tracts in *Pore Caitif*, pp. ci-cxxxii and 'Pore Caitif', 538-42.

⁵ Hope Emily Allen, ed., *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford, 1931; rpt. Scholarly Press, 1971), pp. 82-119.

'Of Temptation' is a translation of the short Latin compilation 'Quandoque tribularis vel temptaris', itself a translation of material from the *Ancrene Riwe*. This Latin compilation occurs once alone, in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Laud Misc. 111, once with the *Emendatio vitae*, appended to the edition of the *Speculum spiritualium* published in Paris in 1510 by Wolfgang Hopyl, at the expense of William Bretton, a citizen of London, for sale at St. Paul's, and with Rolle's *Incendium amoris* in two related pairs of manuscripts, Lincoln Cathedral 218 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 4929-32 (Van den Gheyn 1485) and Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR V.A. 23 (814) and Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 4483 (Theol. 429). Noting the coincidence of the compilation 'Quandoque tribularis' with the *Emendatio*, Sister Brady raised the possibility that the author of the *Poor Caitiff* had as one of his sources a manuscript like that from which the Paris print was made.⁶ The tract 'Of the Name of Jesus' is a close translation of the latter half of Rolle's comment upon the verse 'Oleum effusum nomen tuum', from the *Commentary on the First Verses of the Canticle of Canticles*.⁷ This section of the Latin commentary also appeared, as Margaret Deanesly showed, in a compilation which often accompanied the short text of the *Incendium amoris*.⁸ Yet another part of this, the 'Oleum effusum' compilation, is the hitherto unknown source of half of the tract 'Of Man's Will', and of the name itself of the tract.

The 'Oleum effusum' compilation has two sections: the first comprises the latter half of the comment on the 'Oleum effusum' verse (approximately the section translated in the tract 'Of the Name of Jesus'), and occasionally parts of the *Commentary* following this verse; the second section of the compilation is composed of four different elements:

- (1) a section from a letter of St. Anselm 'Ad Robertum eiusque moniales' ⁹ (the section begins 'Omnis actio laudabilis vel reprehensibilis'; the English, 'Every deede preisable eþir repreuable');
- (2) chapter twelve of the *Incendium amoris*¹⁰ (*incipit*: 'Si quis sancte ac iuste vivat'; the English, 'Who euere forsoþe lyueþ holili & riȝtfulli');
- (3) chapter fifteen of the *Incendium*¹¹ (*incipit*: 'Cum infeliciter florerem'; not translated in the *Poor Caitiff*); and

⁶ *Pore Caitif*, p. cx.

⁷ On this title, rather than the more common *Commentary on the Canticles*, see my note, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976) 232.

⁸ Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, pp. 63-68, 210-13, and Margaret Deanesly, ed., *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester, 1915), pp. 60-61.

⁹ F. S. Schmitt, ed., *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia* 5 (Edinburgh, 1951), letter 414, ll. 13-25.

¹⁰ Deanesly, ed., *Incendium*, pp. 177-79.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 187-91.

- (4) the first paragraph of chapter eight of the *Incendium*¹² (*incipit*: 'Ex magno amoris incendio'; not translated in the *Poor Caitiff*).

The first half of the *Poor Caitiff* tract 'Of Man's Will' is a translation of part of the second section of the 'Oleum effusum' compilation: specifically, the matter from St. Anselm and the opening sentences of chapter twelve of the *Incendium amoris*. It is this discussion of the will which gives the tract its name. The latter half of the tract is composed, as Sister Brady demonstrated,¹³ of material drawn from canon law.

Since no edition of any of this material is commonly available, I have provided transcripts of the relevant portions of two manuscripts: the first is from the Emmanuel College, Cambridge 35 text of the 'Oleum effusum' compilation; the second is from the Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds anglais 41 text of the *Poor Caitiff*.¹⁴ In these transcripts, all abbreviations are expanded in italics (the normal practise in Middle English), with the exception of the ampersand, which is retained, and the nomina sacra, which are expanded silently; capitalization and punctuation have been modernized; and folio references have been supplied.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge ms. 35, fol. 16, l. 12:

- Omnis accio laudabilis siue reprehensibilis ex voluntate habet laudem siue reprehensionem. In voluntate namque est radix & principium omnium accionum que sunt in nostra potestate; & si non possumus quod volumus, iudicatur tamen a deo vnusquisque de propria voluntate. Nolite ergo con-
- 5 siderare tantum quid facitis, sed quid velitis; non tantum que sunt opera vestra quantum que sit voluntas vestra. Omnis enim accio que fit recta & iusta, voluntate recta est; et que fit non recta, voluntate recta non est. Iusta voluntate dicitur homo iustus; & iniusta voluntate dicitur homo iniustus. Si ergo vultis bene viuere, voluntatem vestram bene custodite & indesinenter in magnis &
- 10 in minimis, in hiis que potestati vestre subiacerent & in hiis que non potestis, ne aliquatinus a rectitudine declinetis. Si autem vultis cognoscere an voluntas vestra sit recta: illa pro certo est recta que subiacet voluntati dei.

- Si quis sancte ac iuste viuatur, peccatores etiam pessimos non contempnat. Temptati enim cadunt quia non habent gratiam resistendi, quamquam per
- 15 propriam maliciam a bono in malum se conuertunt. Non potest quisquam bene operari & deum amare ac continens esse, nisi hoc sibi det deus. Tu

¹² *ibid.*, p. 165.

¹³ *Pore Caitif*, pp. cxxviii-cxxix.

¹⁴ I have transcribed from what is generally considered one of the oldest and most reliable manuscripts of the *Poor Caitiff*; it is, unfortunately, not complete, and thus was not used by Sister Brady as the base text for her edition.

- itaque, qui inflaris quia bene egisti, quia te a carnalibus voluptatibus
 restrinxisti & asperam sustinuisti penitentiam unde & ab ore humano accepisti
 (f. 16v) laudem, memento quia nisi bonitas christi tibi pepercisset, in tantis
 20 vel in peioribus malis in quantis iste lapsus est cecidisses. Non enim a te habes
 virtutem resistendi, sed ab illo cui dicitur: *Diligam te, domine, fortitudo mea.*
 Si ergo nihil habes quod non accepisti, cur gloriaris quasi non acceperis?

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds anglais ms. 41, fol. 119v, l. 13:

- Every deede preisable eþer repreuable, of mannys wille it haþ preisyng eþer
 repreuyng. Sopli in þe wille is þe roote & þe bigymyng of alle dedis whiche
 ben in oure power; & if we moun not do þat þing þat we wolden do, ech man is
 deemyd of god of his propir wil. Þerfore biholde 3e not oonly þat 3e do, but as
 5 myche what 3e wolden do; not moore whiche ben 3oure wer- (f. 120) kis þan
 which is 3oure wil. Þoru iust wil man is clepid iust; & þoru vniust wil man is
 seid vnriȝtful. Þerfor if 3e wolen lyue wel, kepe wel 3oure wil. If 3e wolen
 knowe wher 3oure wil be riȝtful: þilk wille forsoþ is riȝtful þat is vndirloute to
 þe wille of god. Who euere forsoþe lyueþ holili and riȝtfulli, dispise he not þe
 10 worste symmers. Þei temptid fallen, for þei han not grace to wiþstonde, al þouȝ
 bi her owne malice þei turnen fro good to yuel. No man mai worche wel &
 loue god, eiþer be chast, but if god 3eue it to him. Þerfore þou þat art blown
 with pride for þou hast do wel, for þou hast wiþdrawe þee fro fleschli lustis &
 hast susteyned eiþer suffrid scharp penaunce, & þerfore hast take preisyng of
 15 mannys mouþ, haue mynde þat, but if þe goodnes of crist hadde kept þee, in
 as manye yuelis or worse as þis haþ falle, þou schuldist haue falle. Not of þi
 silf hast þou vertu to azeinstonde, but of him of whom (f. 120v) þe profete
 seiþ: lord I schal loue þe, for þou art my strenkþe, my ground, my refuyt &
 myn vndirfunger eþer help. Þerfor, if þou hast no þing but þat þat þou hast
 20 vndirfunge, whi hastow vein ioie in þi silf, as þouȝ þou haddist not vndir-
 funge?

The use of material from the 'Oleum effusum' compilation in this tract of the *Poor Caitiff* makes it probable that the author also drew the material for the tract 'Of the Name of Jesus' from the same compilation, rather than from a separate text of the *Commentary*. Thus, a large part of the contemplative section of the *Poor Caitiff* would have been drawn from the *Emendatio vitae* of Richard Rolle, and the 'Quandoque tribularis vel temptaris' and 'Oleum effusum' compilations.

In her edition of the *Poor Caitiff*, Sister Brady noted that the coincidence of the *Emendatio* and the 'Quandoque tribularis' in the 1510 Hopyl print suggested itself as a later parallel to the manuscript source of the contemplative section of the *Poor Caitiff*. It is also worthy of note that the same coincidence of the *Emendatio* and the

'Quandoque tribularis' occurs in Lincoln ms. 218, mentioned above. Further, the Lincoln manuscript also contains the short text of the *Incendium amoris*, which is usually accompanied by the 'Oleum effusum' compilation. It is, however, followed there by a different commentary on the same text, made up of Rolle's commentary and part of that of St. Bernard, the *Sermo in Cantica* 15. This compilation also occurs in the Brussels manuscript, and, in a slightly different version, in the Prague and Vienna manuscripts.¹⁵ Yet it is possible that some related manuscript may rather have contained the usual 'Oleum effusum' compilation, from which the tract 'Of Man's Will' was drawn.

University of Toronto.

¹⁵ See Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, pp. 67, 218-22.

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